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Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 19 November 1987, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. MATOS PROENCA (Vice President) (Portugal)

later: Mr. FLORIN (President) (German Democratic Republic)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

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

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Matos Proença (Portugal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 33 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/42/22, A/42/22/Add.1)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/42/45)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/659, A/42/691, A/42/710)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/42/765)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/42/L.26 and Corr.1, A/42/L.27 and Corr.1, A/42/L.28 and Corr.1, A/42/L.29 and Corr.1, A/42/L.30 and Corr.1, A/42/L.31, A/42/L.32, A/42/L.36)

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): The declared policy of my country is based on the categorical rejection of apartheid. We call for an end to the denial of citizenship and political rights to the majority of the population of South Africa, and the granting of those rights exclusively to an alien minority that settled in the country in the abhorrent colonial era, of which the Pretoria régime is considered the last vestige in the continent of Africa. It is a régime which is based on the monopoly of political power, by a minority and which represents barely 15 per cent of the total population. It deprives the overwhelming majority of the right to be represented in any branch of government and keeps them in an inhuman situation in which they are the victims of brutality and are deprived of all their rights. This situation is unique in the world. The rulers in Pretoria are mistaken in their belief that they can continue to move against the tide of history by depriving the overwhelming majority of its rights. The system of according superiority to one ethnic group cannot continue; it must come to an end.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

The racist Pretoria régime has continued to defy United Nations resolutions ever since the item on apartheid was first inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly and the Security Council began to consider this issue and adopt resolutions on it - that is, since 1960. Repeated General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have remained unimplemented because of the international community's lack of seriousness in confronting the racist régime and its reluctance to impose mandatory sanctions to force the régime to comply with the will of the international community and implement United Nations resolutions. We would go as far as to say that the racist régime's disregard of the will of the international community and its blatant and flagrant violation of Security Council resolutions is not due solely to the intransigence and obstinacy of that régime; it is also the result of the encouragement it receives from certain countries which have ambiguous and equivocal positions. Such positions open loopholes in any unified position by the international community.

However, among recent developments which offer a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel, is the fact that some countries which were reluctant to take a firm and decisive position regarding apartheid have at long last decided to enact national legislation to combat apartheid and racial discrimination. This is a welcome sign that the world has come to appreciate the situation and is determined to confront the racist régime in South Africa. We hope that such proposed steps will help to encourage the struggle of the people of South Africa to force the Pretoria régime to comply with the will of the international community.

Israel continues to be at the head of the list of countries that co-operate with South Africa, ignoring United Nations resolutions. Israel continues to co-operate with the racist régime in all areas. We do not expect any change in the Israeli position, as the two régimes have the same philosophy and close ties.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

My country once again affirms its solidarity with all countries that stand against apartheid in South Africa. Our firm position against apartheid is representative of the clear Arab political stand, which gives the highest priority to the co-operation and solidarity of the Arab nations with the nations of the African continent. This was reflected at this month's Amman summit, in the final communiqué of which the racist apartheid policy of the Pretoria régime was once again deplored. The United Nations should exert every possible effort to make that régime correct its anomalies.

In reaffirming its position against apartheid, my country hopes that Member States will correct this sad situation by ensuring the implementation of the relevant resolutions, which are being challenged by the racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): Apartheid, a system of racial segregation established as a principle of government, is in its philosophy as in its practice a crime against humanity, to use a United Nations formula.

For all human beings with a conscience and the ability to reason, the policy and practices of apartheid are the pure and simple negation of all the values, principles and norms on which inter-community and inter-State relations in our contemporary world are based.

Is there any other way of describing a régime whose daily action at the domestic and international levels is based on a deliberate violation of principles as basic as those of respect for the integrity and dignity of the human person, the protection and promotion of human rights, the self-determination of peoples, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence among States and peoples. There can be no doubt that this is an anachronistic political régime which in its stubborn

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blindness is attempting to perpetuate a most odious state of affairs by means of oppression and repression - often with bloodshed - of the majority component of its population, whose only fault is to have black skin and to aspire to live in peace and equality in a non-racial, democratic society.

Not content with racial repression within South Africa, the minority Government of South Africa believes that it can divert attention and gain time by trying to impose its racist diktat on the Namibian people, whose independence it has blocked, by opposing, for over 40 years now, its right to self-determination. At the external level, the Pretoria régime has reduced the principle of neighbourliness virtually to repeated acts of aggression and invasion, and attempts at destabilization of the front-line States through military and economic sabotage.

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These actions, which flout law and reason, defy the conscience of all mankind and have affected the whole of the southern part of the African continent, thus very seriously jeopardizing international peace and security.

That is why the international community in all its elements - States, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations - has unanimously condemned the policy and practices of apartheid. The general mobilization that followed under the impetus and guidance of the United Nations made it possible to discern the evil in all its manifestations. The objective is the complete dismantlement of apartheid, to be replaced by a "non-racial, egalitarian and democratic society based on self-determination and the principle of majority government, through the full and free exercise of the right to vote by all adults in a South Africa that is united and not fragmented."

However, so far Pretoria's reaction to these repeated appeals by the United Nations has only been disdain and arrogance, inasmuch as it has increased its internal repression and has refined its methods of repression, strengthened its hold over the international Territory of Namibia and increased its military incursions into neighbouring countries. The sham elections by racial communities, the so-called reforms and selective and conditional releases of political prisoners recently observed in the country only add to the affront to the international community, since they are only attempts to make the South African racist Government seem respectable, while leaving intact all the foundations of apartheid.

The South African Government has never really felt threatened by serious international penalties. On the contrary, the racist Government has always felt assured of a certain impunity, since the main organ of the United Nations entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security is still unable to set in train a truly effective coercive process such as is provided for in Chapter VII of

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the Charter. What I have in mind, of course, is the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

The only peaceful means that we now have available to us is the intensification of international pressure on the racist Pretoria régime. Thus, our Assembly could ask its members, first, to work towards making sanctions against South Africa total by strictly applying the already existing sanctions and by adopting new voluntary sanctions and, secondly, to increase the number of anti-apartheid movements that could have a significant effect on South Africa itself.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, submitted to us in document A/42/22, contains highly useful suggestions and recommendations, which we support and which the General Assembly should be able to endorse without difficulty. I have in mind in particular the recommendation in paragraph 150 (m) of the report, which seems very worthy of attention, since it proposes the preparation of a study on national measures adopted by States and their impact on the struggle against apartheid.

In this regard, I should like to mention briefly some of the most significant measures that have been taken by Senegal in this field. First of all, it should be noted that Senegal, an African country completely committed to the cause of the liberation of Africa and to respect for human dignity, has no relations whatsoever with the racist Pretoria Government and it has signed and ratified, being among the first to do so, all the international conventions designed to bring about the elimination of apartheid, including the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which we ratified on 15 October 1986. In general terms, Senegal's anti-apartheid actions have been organized around a multi-faceted programme of assistance and solidarity with the populations of South Africa and Namibia and a

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campaign to make the public in Senegal and in the world at large aware of the situation in South Africa. Among these actions of solidarity, we can mention that we welcomed in Dakar, from the very first years of the independence of our country, the offices of the South African liberation movements, and we have given them the diplomatic assistance and support required by the representatives of those movements. We have trained South African nationals in several fields and at different levels, have given refugee status to many South Africans, and have given material and financial aid to the South African population, including, for example, the establishment of a national solidarity fund for southern Africa, which has just been started with the collection of 25 million CFA francs. Every year we commemorate international days and weeks concerning southern Africa.

With regard to public opinion, we might mention the decision of the Government to include in the curriculum and discussions in classrooms throughout Senegal the United Nations declaration, according to which apartheid is a crime against mankind. My Government has also decided to honour the heroic struggle of the anti-apartheid militants by giving their names to public buildings, squares and roads, such as Place Soweto, Nelson Mandela Avenue, Martyrs of Apartheid Square and so on. State and private media in Senegal have also accorded great importance to the situation in South Africa in providing information to the public. Senegalese non-governmental organizations have also taken initiatives in the struggle against apartheid. An inter-ministerial working group has been established to co-ordinate Senegal's implementation of economic sanctions against Pretoria. In 1986, President Abdou Diouf, then President of the Organization of African Unity, visited the front-line States and on that occasion took an initiative, which was universally welcomed, leading to the convening in Paris of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa in June 1986. There have been sporting and cultural



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events, and international anti-apartheid events, such as the one in 1986 on the Island of Goree, a historic symbol, with political personalities and widely-acclaimed international artists on the occasion of twin-city days.

This steadfastness of Senegal in taking concrete action in the anti-apartheid cause has been confirmed again by the important decision taken by President Diouf to offer the capital of Senegal to serve as host for a historic event on the occasion of the meeting last July between a delegation of 61 white South African liberals and a delegation of 17 members of the African National Congress. Organized on the initiative of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, with the collaboration of the France Libertés Foundation, presided over by the French First Lady and the Association of African Jurists, the meeting was under the chairmanship of President Diouf and Mrs. Mitterrand.

These sessions, which culminated in a Declaration of Dakar, have had a resounding echo throughout the world because of the quality of the protagonists and because it was held at a time when, according to the words of President Diouf

"History is accelerating in South Africa, a country that is at a crossroads, a decisive time for its destiny and that of all Africa".

The gathering at Dakar caught the attention of the international community because its objective was to study ways and means of establishing in South Africa a democratic alternative to the odious system of apartheid, as can be seen from the topics of the discussion, that is, strategies to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the building of national unity, prospects for government structures in a free South Africa and prospects for economic structures in a free South Africa.

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

In opening the work of the colloquium the President of Senegal said that "with the Dakar meetings it was possible to begin a process through which South Africans within the country and outside it could present a plan of a future society for their country that would thwart the objectives of Mr. Botha and, above all, his attempts to thwart the action of the freedom fighters and patriotic South African forces."

Even if the participants did not produce a complete plan for such a society they defined the outlines which could strengthen this vast democratic movement.

It is precisely fear and misunderstanding that is cultivated by those who support the apartheid régime. The participants in the colloquium indicated in paragraph 7 of their Declaration that

"The source of violence in South Africa is the use of force, which is inherent in the very existence and practice of racial domination."

While awaiting more forceful action by the Security Council in accordance with its historic responsibilities, and to avert a destructive, deadly and chaotic civil war in South Africa, we would like to invite all Governments, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations to support and strengthen the dynamics, the spirit and hope that emerged from Dakar by promoting inter-community dialogue and gatherings in South Africa. This concerted action should be based on a rejection of the ideology and practice of the system of apartheid and should also lead to forceful and sustained sanctions which must be made global as soon as possible.

It is also important for the international community to act concretely and concertedly in its duty of solidarity towards the freedom fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the

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front-line countries of southern Africa, victims of the policies of aggression and destabilization of the Pretoria régime.

This course of action is consistent with reality, reason, law, peace, justice and human rights, to which we as Members of the United Nations are all committed. May we very soon witness the birth of a South African society that is peaceful, non-racist, egalitarian and democratic.

Mr. TIMERBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): A few days ago our country and all progressive mankind observed the seventieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was described by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in his 2 November commemorative speech as "the shining hour of humanity, its radiant dawn. The October Revolution," Mr. Gorbachev stressed, "is a revolution of the people and for the people, for every individual, for his emancipation and development".

The world historic significance of the Great October Revolution is enduring in nature. It provided a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement which resulted in the collapse of the colonial empires. As a result, dozens of independent States have occupied their legitimate places in the international community, the United Nations and regional organizations.

Unfortunately, colonialism, the exploitation of enslaved peoples and discrimination have not yet been fully brought to an end. They find their most inhuman, concentrated expression in the apartheid system in South Africa.

The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid stresses that "apartheid is a crime against humanity", that the "inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid ... are crimes violating the principles of international law ... constituting a serious threat to international peace and security".

(Mr. Timerbaev, USSR)

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the General Assembly, the many statements made at plenary meetings by representatives and petitioners' communications serve as a vivid illustration of the nature of apartheid in South Africa today. It includes increasingly severe repression, the escalation of violence in all respects, the desperate economic situation of millions of black people who have no access to education and cannot find jobs, the increasingly censored press, the policy of bantustanization and so on. All this cannot but arouse outrage and concern in the international community.

The Soviet Union has invariably advocated the early elimination of apartheid, that immoral anti-human anachronism in modern history. Guided by this policy of principle, the USSR supports and respects the United Nations decisions aimed at bringing about the complete international isolation of the racist régime in South Africa. It maintains no contacts with South Africa in the political, economic, military and other spheres and, consequently, no contract or licence agreements. Instructions to this effect have been given to appropriate Soviet departments and institutions and are being scrupulously complied with.

The Soviet Union voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 41/35 H and therefore is honouring all its provisions. The USSR fully supports the urgent appeal contained in the resolution to the Security Council to consider without delay the adoption of effective mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

(Mr. Timerbaev, USSR)

It shares the General Assembly's appeal urging the Security Council to take steps for the strict implementation of the mandatory arms embargo it instituted in resolution 418 (1977) and of the arms embargo contained in resolution 558 (1984) and, in the context of the relevant resolutions, to secure an end to military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa and to imports of military equipment or supplies from South Africa.

The Soviet Union believes that it is a moral, political duty of all Member States of the United Nations that have not yet done so to consider, pending mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, national legislative or other appropriate measures to increase pressure on the apartheid régime of South Africa as listed in operative paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 41/35 H.

The lack of progress in finding solutions to the accumulated problems of southern Africa causes profound regret and concern in the USSR. The unceasing acts of aggression committed by the South African racists against the front-line States, the policy of economic destabilization of these States which Pretoria has elevated to the level of official policy, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and South Africa's build-up of its military-industrial potential pose a constant threat to peace and tranquillity in that region. This is also a source of danger for international peace and security.

The Soviet Union vehemently condemns South Africa's overt act of aggression committed several days ago against Angola. Those actions by the South African racists and the visit paid by President Botha and a number of his ministers to southern Angola have aroused general indignation in the world community.

The United Nations must emphatically condemn this act of provocation by South Africa.

(Mr. Timerbaev, USSR)

The foreign ministers and heads of delegations of the non-aligned countries at their meeting in New York during this forty-second session of the General Assembly have stated that apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity and an insult to the conscience of all mankind and that apartheid is the main cause of the conflict in southern Africa. A similar assessment of apartheid was also given at the meeting of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth nations held on 13 to 17 October in Vancouver, Canada.

Even the United States Administration, whose support South Africa enjoys, is in words calling for the elimination of apartheid. However, it is essential that those words be backed up with deeds. As long as support is given to the South African régime, whether in the framework of constructive engagement or other co-operation, as long as efforts are made to pull South Africa out of international isolation, as long as Security Council efforts to apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter are blocked, and as long as the desire of South Africa to gain possession of nuclear weapons is encouraged, and so on, the racist régime will not back off, will not retreat from its positions.

The Government of South Africa displays no readiness to heed the voice of the overwhelming majority of States of the world. Moreover, the state of emergency is being maintained in the country, repression is being stepped up and aggressive actions against neighbouring African States are continuing.

The Soviet delegation believes that in these conditions international pressure on the apartheid régime should be intensified. To that end, it is imperative that all States strictly abide by the embargo instituted by the Security Council with regard to arms supplies to and imports from South Africa. The Security Council

(Mr. Timerbaev, USSR)

must at last make full use of its potential and apply comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The authorities of South Africa should long ago have modified their policies, taking into account the realities and the will of the South African people which demonstrate ever more forcefully in favour of the dismantling of the anti-human system of apartheid.

The Soviet Union fully associates itself with the just cause of the peoples of southern Africa and will continue to support vigorous, resolute action by the United Nations aimed at a definitive, irrevocable eradication of the system of apartheid.

Mr. AL-AMIN (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly is once again considering one of the most important issues involving the interests of the international community, arousing its concern, threatening its security and flouting its conscience: the policy of apartheid practised by the minority Government of South Africa. That Government, which opposes the most elementary human principles and the most fundamental human rights to freedom and a free life also opposes the march of history. It represents an anachronistic ideology which is drawing its last breath.

Everyone is aware of the suffering of the black majority in South Africa at the hands of the repressive policies of the Pretoria Government against African citizens. These are attempts to abort the march of history in Africa, to thwart the efforts of the Africans to achieve self-determination and free themselves of the hegemony of the oppressive minority in power, which does not act only in South Africa but extends its aggressive action to the Territory of Namibia and the front-line African countries.

(Mr. Al-Amin, Iraq)

The important report submitted by the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/42/22 deserves our full attention. It describes the suffering of the African people as a result of the apartheid régime's practices of massacre, repression, arrest and extermination, designed to perpetuate its own existence. These repressive measures are becoming increasingly vigorous. They are the daily lot of the black population.

Acts of aggression and other military actions are also being stepped up against all the front-line States. The aim is to sabotage the African identity and to destabilize and weaken the national Governments of neighbouring countries.

The apartheid régime has imposed an embargo on the foreign mass media in order to hide its brutality.

But recent events have also demonstrated the strength of the black population's opposition to the apartheid régime. This has had important repercussions throughout the world against apartheid.

The Pretoria régime launched a violent offensive against all forms of opposition and in July 1985 established a state of emergency. Thus, Pretoria has become a police State, in which the police and army forces have enormous power. They engage in massacres and arrests without charges and without trial. There are civil security forces and police and army forces, but the fact is that they all act mercilessly against the patriotic opposition, in an attempt to eliminate the resistance.

Bantustans are established for the purpose of enshrining discrimination between black and white and strengthening the repression of the African population.

Despite all those oppressive and repressive measures, there has been a general revolt and an increasingly strong mobilization of the people, which reflects the resolve of the majority to eliminate the apartheid régime and create a régime that is free of racial discrimination and is completely democratic.



(Mr. Al-Amin, Iraq)

The practices of the Pretoria régime are not confined to South Africa's borders; they extend to the whole of southern Africa. That régime's forces are still occupying Namibia, whose potential and natural resources are usurped. The Territory is used as a bastion for aggression against the front-line countries, in pursuit of the minority régime's strategy of ensuring its hold over the entire region and destabilizing neighbouring countries in order to weaken them so that they will remain eternally in the power of the racist régime.

The Pretoria régime carries out brutal attacks against the People's Republic of Angola. South Africa's regular troops engage in incursions into southern Angola. Furthermore, Pretoria is assisting the mercenaries acting against the Maputo Government. Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia are also constant victims of acts of military aggression, resulting in the displacement and deportation of thousands of citizens of those countries. Recently, it has become impossible to transport merchandise from Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia across South African territory. That is a repressive step.

South Africa could not have continued to defy the international community and to engage in military acts of aggression were it not for the assistance and support it receives from certain Powers as a result of the political, economic and military relations that those Powers have with the Pretoria régime. These Powers have not responded to appeals to break off all relations with the aggressive racist régime. They make all sorts of excuses but what they really have in mind is their own selfish interests. That is the reason why they co-operate with the Pretoria régime. Thus, there is an organic link between the Pretoria régime and other reactionary régimes which co-operate in the political, economic, military and even the nuclear fields with the Pretoria régime, both publicly and through clandestine channels.

(Mr. Al-Amin, Iraq)

I have in mind in this respect the co-operation between Pretoria and Tel Aviv. The special report submitted by the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/42/22/Add.1 sets forth undeniable facts about this close co-operation between the two régimes. The international press and information bulletins from the journal on the oil embargo against South Africa all indicate that Iranian oil is being exchanged for weaponry from South Africa, through the Lonrho group, with headquarters in London.

Another well-known fact is that the Iranian Oil Company has 17.5 per cent of the shares of the Natref refinery in the port of Durban. We read in paragraph 32 of document A/42/45, submitted by the Intergovernmental Group, that ships are constantly transporting Iranian oil to South African ports.

I take this opportunity to affirm that Iraq is completely committed to the decision on the total embargo and to non-co-operation with the South African régime. On the basis of that policy of principle, Iraq opposes the racist policy. We affirm too that all the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must be urgently implemented. There is no alternative to the application of Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria régime and all the other régimes that refuse to heed the will of the international community for the establishment of a better world in which security and prosperity prevail.

We have reached this undeniable conclusion: the Pretoria racist régime cannot be reformed: it must be replaced by a non-racist democratic system under which the rights of all citizens are equally guaranteed and in which there is no discrimination on the basis of colour, race, religion or creed.

(Mr. Al-Amin, Iraq)

Although there has been an improvement in the attitudes of some States as to their support for the South African people and their struggle as reflected in student manifestations and the boycotting of the Pretoria régime, the international community as a whole has a responsibility to provide material and moral assistance to the militant people of South Africa, who are playing the major role in the resistance to the policy of oppression. All possible assistance should be given also to the front-line States, which are resisting the racist attacks in a spirit of heroism and making all kinds of sacrifices, because of their faith in the inevitable triumph over the fascist, racist régime.

Mr. Govan Mbeki has been released from jail along with four of his compatriots. That is proof of the failure of the Pretoria régime. The people's organizations must therefore persist in their efforts. Nelson Mandela must be released. The state of emergency must be ended. Normal life must be restored to the country. Those are demands that brook no delay.

Finally, we salute and support the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa for an honest, dignified life, the establishment of a unified democratic society, free from racism, and the restoration of peace and justice for the benefit of all citizens of Africa and Namibia.

Mr. VERGARA (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): The subject of apartheid and the racist Government of South Africa has been under discussion in the United Nations ever since that odious situation emerged and as its effects have spread like wildfire throughout the world. The United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have, with the diligence that the situation warrants, adopted relevant resolutions. The General Assembly did so on 8 December 1970 and, more recently, on 10 November 1986, thus echoing the outcry of all the peoples of the world that are sensible, cherish peace and fight resolutely for the equality of

(Mr. Vergara, Panama)

all human beings, without discrimination on grounds of race, religion, ideology or economic and social system, as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since 6 November 1962, when the Special Committee against Apartheid, composed of 18 Member States, was established, there has been frequent consideration of the continued acts of aggression by the neo-colonialist régime in Pretoria against the people of South Africa subjected to discrimination, its armed aggression, based on racial hatred, against bordering States and its illegal occupation of Namibia. Since the beginning of the application of Pretoria's odious racist methods a great deal has occurred, and a great deal has been done in innumerable studies, discussions and resolutions against apartheid.

Panama, loyal to its third-world, non-aligned, anti-colonialist, anti-racist policy, in favour of peace, détente and negotiation, expresses its concern at this situation and demands that without further delay, without subterfuge on the part of third parties, all the measures contained in resolutions against apartheid be implemented and that those measures be reaffirmed explicitly in resolutions of this forty-second session of the General Assembly.

However, we wish to raise some specific points. First, Panama considers it to be of vital importance that every effort be made to ensure that the racist régime of Pretoria puts an end to the repression and murder of the South African people. Given this neo-colonial, fascist situation, we cannot but support those fighting for the freedom of the black people of South Africa and, with the experience of our own anti-colonialist struggle, we assure them that, just as Panama put an end to colonial designs, so the definitive collapse of racism and apartheid will also come about. No colonialism can last 100 years; no people could bear that.

Secondly, we demand the unconditional and immediate release of that heroic fighter for the unity of the African peoples, Nelson Mandela, and his colleagues in

(Mr. Vergara, Panama)

that struggle, who have now been imprisoned for over 25 years. We demand an end to the torture and murder of men, women and children, in accordance with the Geneva agreements and Conventions.

Thirdly, we demand the release of the heroic black combatants who are today subjected to detention and torture that has been denounced from this rostrum by groups recognized by the United Nations, such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. To the black South African people, which has given incontrovertible evidence of sacrifice and has offered up what is most precious, its own life, Panama can only recall its own flag and its own motto in the struggle against colonization: "Always upright; never on its knees".

Fourthly, we demand that Pretoria immediately put an end to the policy of bantustanization, with its sequel of forced displacement of the population, poverty, hunger and death.

Fifthly, we demand that Pretoria put an immediate end to military action against the front-line countries and to its occupation of heroic Namibia. We also demand the cessation of the policy of dismembering the people of South Africa and creating phantom nations in order to divide South Africa. The only thing that will be obtained through this ignominious practice will be the firmest international solidarity with the South African people in claiming its inalienable right to choose its own course and use whatever means are necessary to eliminate apartheid from the face of the earth and build a free and sovereign nation.

(Mr. Vergara, Panama)

Panama, an integral part of the Non-Aligned Movement and loyal to its militant principles against colonialism and all its new manifestations, considers it essential to increase real and effective aid to the liberation movements that are fighting apartheid and attempting to safeguard the integrity of the African peoples and reject aggression against neighbouring peoples - aggression that attempts to subject them to the same evil régime.

Apartheid is a concrete form of racism, perhaps its most brutal form, but we cannot fail to note an overall situation of racism in many and varied forms. Panama, with the moral authority given it by its political constitution, which faithfully reflects a lack of racial distinction, urges all the nations of the world to join together in the struggle against racism in general and apartheid in particular.

Racism is a disease whose symptoms are signs of hatred among men, and apartheid is one of its most dangerous consequences. But there is still time to eliminate it and to eradicate once and for all that disease of racism and build a completely healthy society.

We would conclude by quoting a portion of the brilliant statement of a tireless fighter for human rights and especially for the elimination of racism and apartheid, Mr. Jesse Jackson, who, in his statement of 12 November 1987 before the Special Political Committee, said:

"For the third world, including Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa, liberation is a history of struggles which at the same time have served as an opportunity to develop new and lasting bonds of friendship in the economic, political and social spheres, on the basis of principles of respect and mutual trust, although these may have been built on the ashes of poverty and hunger left behind by colonialism, and worse yet, in the case of South Africa, on the ashes of apartheid."

(Mr. Vergara, Panama)

The struggle against apartheid is therefore a moral and correct course of action. It is the course of action we must follow because it is just, and the struggle must and will be won.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): On no other issue that I can call to mind do the Member States of the United Nations stand more united than in their condemnation of apartheid. The system of apartheid is the most blatant example of racism and racial discrimination, and South Africa is the only State in the whole world where racial discrimination serves as an organizing principle of society, thereby negating the fundamental social value we find in all cultures: the dignity of man.

When the South African Government denies to the majority of the population the right to live in a dignified way and to share in a just and equitable manner the shaping of their country's future, all of us who have upheld in many forums the principles of human rights and democracy are more than concerned.

A social system that is based on defying fundamental values and suppressing the majority can, of course, sustain itself only by the use of force.

It is thus that the brutal repression of the South African population continues unabated. Let me only mention arbitrary arrest, torture, detention without trial, hundreds of children in gaol, prisoners dying under mysterious circumstances and capital punishment.\*

The state of emergency seems to have become permanent; its regulations are getting harsher and harsher. In our view, the long-standing state of emergency is only a desperate attempt to give a legal cover for the application of a range of brutal and repressive measures. In order to conceal the disastrous consequences of this policy, the South African Government had to resort to imposing a total black-out on relevant news on the situation in the country.

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\*The President took the Chair.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

The perfecting of the manifold curbs on the media has reached such a degree that even South African courts have had to repudiate them. The reaction of the South African Government was the immediate promulgation of basically unchanged regulations. Thereby, the South African authorities clearly demonstrated their refusal to abide even by their own law.

But defiance of legal norms is the main threat of the policy of apartheid. For decades we have witnessed South Africa's obdurate contempt for the Charter of the United Nations as well as the international instruments for the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The same applies to South Africa's lack of response to scores of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

The South African Government argues that it pursues a policy of reform. But how can we trust in its will to reform when the suppression goes on? And can apartheid be reformed? A mere reform would not affect the central issue: the discrimination against the majority population. A so-called reform as envisaged by the South African Government would, in our analysis, be tantamount to modest cosmetic changes. What is needed is not a so-called reform that does not bring about equal rights for all South Africans, including the principle of one man, one vote, but an unequivocal commitment by the South African Government to abandon apartheid and to enter into serious political dialogue with the genuine leaders of the majority population.

It is obvious that such a political dialogue cannot take place as long as representative black leaders are not released. May I recall here that Nelson Mandela has spent the last 25 years in prison. Undoubtedly, the release of such a leader would help to bring about a spirit of reconciliation. Thus, a united international community does not cease to demand that the South African authorities



(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

immediately grant unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned, detained, banned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

It is not surprising that a government that uses violence against its own population should also use military force against neighbouring States. These attacks as well as the instigation of acts of destabilization and economic measures aggravate the problems of the front-line States.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

These countries, which have not faltered in the struggle against apartheid under adverse conditions, must be able to count on assistance from the international community. Austria highly values projects aimed at lessening the dependence of the front-line States on South Africa and is, for example, actively engaged in the rehabilitation of the Beira-corridor railway.

The international community must also intensify its efforts to alleviate the suffering of the victims of apartheid. Austria has this year increased its contribution to the United Nations programmes for southern Africa. My country will also in the future intervene in favour of political prisoners in South Africa.

In addition to granting humanitarian help, the international community can do more to promote an early elimination of apartheid. Although developments inside South Africa constitute the most important factor in the struggle against apartheid, concerted international pressure can play a considerable role. In keeping with Security Council resolutions 418 (1977), 558 (1984), 566 (1985) and 569 (1985), Austria has adopted concrete autonomous national measures. In this context, we have this year, as in the past, joined like-minded delegations in sponsoring the draft resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid.

Austria has consistently upheld the view that the only solution to the problems of southern Africa lies in a peaceful transition to a free, democratic and non-racial society in a united South Africa based on the free exercise of universal suffrage.

We are painfully aware of the immense gap between this vision and the dismal reality of South Africa today. Indeed, the current situation appears to confirm that there is little ground for hope.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

But precisely because of this gloomy outlook for the future we must redouble our efforts in the search for a political solution which will replace apartheid with a system based on racial equality and justice.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The African continent faces enormous challenges which it cannot cope with without a great deal of determination and strong resolve. Our peoples in Africa cannot but face up to those challenges and overcome the difficulties which beset their countries.

Foremost among those challenges, and the most provocative, is the deteriorating situation in southern Africa brought about by the racist policies of aggression pursued by South Africa against the peoples of the region.

Apartheid is a terrible human tragedy. It is an inhuman régime based on racist repression and exploitation. It has been branded by the United Nations and the international community as a crime against humanity. That crime must be fought and the criminal must be punished.

A racial discrimination régime which denies fundamental human rights to the overwhelming majority of the population is a total contradiction of the letter and spirit of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to which all Member States have subscribed.

Egypt has a firm position of principle against all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination. Such practices run counter to the principles of justice and equality embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

The racist minority in Pretoria continues to pursue to the policy of apartheid and persists in the resultant practice of extreme brutality and violence against the majority of the population. This is a shameful breach of human rights and a naked defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The experience of the past years proves that that policy is the major cause of the bloody conflict and escalation of violence in South Africa. It is a policy that begets inevitable resistance by the oppressed majority, whom the racist minority has not been content to deprive of every basic human right. The racist minority has subjected the black populace to racist laws, denied them their political rights, including the right of political representation, and in so doing the racist minority went to excesses of oppression, persecution and terrorism against the oppressed majority. Prisons are bursting with detainees who are subjected to every form of torture and inhuman crime.

Violence in South Africa has reached unprecedented levels under the emergency legislation and the repression of national resistance by the ruling régime in a desperate attempt to conquer this increasing resistance by which the population is facing up to the racist policies and the deceitful manoeuvres of the régime.

Rather than weaken their resolve, however, this horrendous human suffering has steeled the determination of the oppressed people in South Africa to rid themselves of injustice and has rallied them in rare political awareness behind their leading organizations. The international community should never lose sight of the fact that the struggle against racism in South Africa is not confined to the African majority. Whites with democratic leanings are also engaged in that struggle. Those are people of good faith who abhor racial discrimination and consider it a moral disgrace that they do not accept nor even surrender to its practice.

The Dakar Seminar which took place between 9 and 23 July, on an initiative by the Institute of Special Studies, which seeks a democratic alternative in South Africa in co-operation with the Association of African Jurists, brought together a number of the white citizens in South Africa and members of the African National Congress (ANC). It was a very important beginning, indeed a milestone, in the history of joint human struggle against the scourge of racial discrimination.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

We in Egypt welcome this new development which explored the possibilities of the coming together of the people of South Africa themselves in an attempt to forestall a conflict that may lead to tragic consequences, as well as the initiation of the process whereby a non-racial democratic society where equality prevails may emerge in South Africa. Such a society will be based on majority rule in a non-fragmented community where the diversity of cultures will lead to enrichment and to harmony.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The meeting at Dakar paved the way for negotiation for the first time between the people of South Africa. It was based on a common rejection of the policies and doctrine of apartheid. The result of that meeting gave the international community considerable satisfaction, because it is a contribution to a historical process in which the people of South Africa are shaping the history of their country and of mankind. We think that meetings, dialogue and understanding of this kind can pave the way, psychologically and practically for negotiations on a settlement of the question of South Africa, because they express the concern that haunts nearly all the parties at the uncontrollable escalation of violence.

The Dakar meeting helped to make the international community understand that the source of the violence in South Africa is the persisting racist hegemony, and that this is not acceptable. Violence is the only possible reaction to racism and discrimination. That meeting also proved that the intransigent stand of the rulers of South Africa is the only obstacle to progress towards peace in the country. The unconditional, immediate release of all political leaders, including, first and foremost, the African leader, Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the ban on political organizations would provide a real impetus for negotiations.

The restoration of peace to South Africa cannot be achieved without the participation of the majority of the population; those that own the land are the ones that should shape the future.

It is incumbent on the Government of Pretoria to respond to the call of wisdom and reason, and create the conditions for a democratic dialogue with the oppressed majority. Only this can lead to a peaceful solution in the interest of all the parties.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Egypt, which has always supported the African liberation movements, on the basis of the unity of past and future history, salutes the struggle of the South African people. We reiterate our resolve to extend all possible political and material assistance and support so that this heroic struggle may soon triumph.

Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The General Assembly has been discussing the question of the inhuman policies of apartheid for many years now. Numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have been adopted decisively condemning the apartheid system as a crime against humanity, and demanding its immediate elimination. Unfortunately, these decisions remain unimplemented because the South African régime continues to disregard the will of the international community.

Today the attention of the General Assembly has again been drawn to the ruthless, rampaging terror and repression against the black population of that country and its national liberation movement. In that country one state of emergency follows another and police forces have unlimited powers over the lives of the people. Imprisonment without charge has been legalized. Many thousands of valiant opponents of apartheid, including leaders of various organizations, are behind barbed wire and concrete walls. Mongolia decisively condemns the repression and acts of terror by the racist régime against the South African people and supports the demands of the international community for the lifting of the state of emergency in the country, the ending of mass terror and the release of all political prisoners.

Together with the intensification of oppressive measures, South Africa is carrying out reformist activities designed to maintain the domination of the white minority behind a semblance of radical change. The white elections that took place in May this year were another attempt by Pretoria to reinforce its power. Acts of

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

violence are the main weapon used by Pretoria against the intensified resistance to the apartheid system. However, it is not able to take the fire out of popular indignation.

In this atmosphere of State terror the South African authorities have imposed blanket censorship on the activities of the national and foreign mass media in order to prevent the world from knowing the truth about their lawlessness and barbarity. Escalation of violence by the racist régime is met by the freedom fighters with a stepping up of their struggle, which is characterized by a massive movement of the people from the various strata of the society.

The just struggle of the African people is fully supported by the international community. In this respect, the Mongolian delegation notes the contribution of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the promotion of international action in the struggle to bring about the elimination of apartheid, mobilize public opinion and encourage solidarity with the South African people in their struggle. It supports the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee. The reaffirmation of the legality of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to use every means, including armed struggle, to ensure the eradication of apartheid was particularly relevant.



(Mr. Nyamdo, Mongolia)

The shameful policy of apartheid and the increasingly aggressive nature of the Pretoria régime constitute a primary source of the dangerous tension in southern Africa. Acts of aggression, state terrorism and the destabilization of independent African States pose a serious threat to international peace and security on that continent and outside it. Angola and Mozambique are undergoing the most powerful military pressure from South Africa. For many years Angola has been the victim of constant aggression.

In order to implement its expansionist plans aimed against the liberated countries of southern Africa, the apartheid régime has been expanding its military potential. With the direct support of a number of Western countries and also Israel, a powerful military industry has been established in South Africa. A particular danger is posed by the nuclear ambitions of the Pretoria régime. The report of the Special Committee contains detailed information about the military collaboration between the South African authorities and leading Western countries. The Mongolian delegation believes that the commonality of interests of the imperialists and the racists and the collaboration between them in various areas constitute the main reason why the adoption of effective measures against the racist régime has been blocked.

For many years the United Nations the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and other international forums - inter alia, the Paris World Conference on Sanctions against racist South Africa and the Vienna International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia - have called decisively for the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. This year the United Nations Security Council considered the serious situation in southern Africa resulting from the

(Mr. Nyamdoo, Mongolia)

pursuance of the policy of apartheid by the South African régime. Unfortunately, once again the advocates of constructive engagement obstinately stood in the way of the adoption of effective measures against the racist régime.

The People's Republic of Mongolia decisively advocates the speedy elimination of the shameful system of apartheid. The position of principle of Mongolia on this item has been set forth in detail in statements made by our representatives in various United Nations bodies, as well as at other international forums. Mongolia expresses solidarity with the just struggle of the South African people against apartheid. We support that struggle for freedom and independence.

My delegation fully supports the demand for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The Mongolian delegation believes that a definite contribution towards increasing the international isolation of the apartheid régime should be made by the decisions taken at this session of the United Nations General Assembly. Hence we shall support the draft resolutions on this item.

Mr. KOWOUVI (Togo) (interpretation from French): Despite the efforts that have been made by the international community, the first decade of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination has not attained its basic goals. Millions of human beings still continue to be victims of various kinds of racism and racial discrimination, in particular apartheid. In southern Africa a régime unworthy of mankind and our time is seeking to subject the majority of the people to systematic exploitation and arbitrary and ruthless racial laws, is illegally occupying Namibia and is constantly committing acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States.

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

The alarming news that reaches us from South Africa attests to the gravity of the situation now prevailing in that country, and it all indicates that the events taking place there reveal the intentions of the white racist régime. These events once again confirm the determination of the South African Government to pursue the ignoble and inhuman policy of apartheid. They remind those of us that are still hoping for some change in the behaviour of the South African racist régime that it is pointless to continue to delude oneself. Finally, they are part of an implacable logic typical of the apartheid system, which cannot survive without repression.

Since the establishment of the state of emergency in June 1986, the situation of the black population has deteriorated tragically. Between June 1986 and September 1987 more than 30,000 people were imprisoned and systematically tortured. A number of those have lost their lives, but their dignity still challenges the human conscience. Now the children have replaced the trade unions, students and churches as the prime targets of the repressive machinery of the South African racists. Between June and September 1987 alone more than 10,000 young people aged 9 to 17 were imprisoned and tortured. This was pointed out at the Harare Conference on Apartheid held in September 1987, which revealed that detainees were beaten, prevented from sleeping for days at a time, tortured by electric shock and thrown into cold cells. According to a report of the International Commission of Jurists, imprisoned children in Ciskei - an independent bantustan unrecognized by any State - are beaten with barbed-wire whips and then burnt with boiling water or burning plastic.

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

According to the Detainee's Parents Support Committee, 1,400 cases of torture of children have been established and 15 per cent of those tortured died. It is estimated that more than 2,000 children have been killed by the South African racists since the imposition of the state of emergency. Those who manage to get out of racist gaols invariably suffer physical and moral effects, serious behavioural problems or irreversible psychotraumatic shock. The massive displacement of peoples is now practised with exceptional violence, as shown by the cruel fate of the inhabitants of Oukasie, Moutse and many other places.

However, it is well known that even the most terrible fire power cannot stop the fighter for freedom and dignity. The anti-apartheid militants, despite the oppressive measures and barbaric repression used against them by the racist authorities, are intensifying their struggle.

Faced with those who rise up against apartheid, the determination of Pretoria to impose a total blackout on the situation in the country was demonstrated by the second wave of laws under the state of emergency and the muzzling of local and foreign press coverage. In a statement to the Reuter agency on 11 December 1986 a spokesman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in South Africa said:

"Pretoria has just imposed the harshest censorship system in the world. The Government's action has made any proper reporting on a social conflict of the greatest importance impossible."

Again this year, in a parody of an election organized exclusively for whites, Botha was mandated to intensify racism and repression. The law on separate residence zones will be applied to the hilt and the idea is to move Coloured people out of the white areas which they have been able to infiltrate.

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

Whether deliberately or involuntarily, the media played down the white elections in South Africa, while devoting a great deal of attention to the trial of Klaus Barbie. Yet, the Jewish holocaust and the policy of apartheid are the same crime against humanity, the same infamy, the same deliberate, obstinate refusal to accept other people and their right to be different. It is the same racial superiority complex, the same process of excluding a specific community from the rest of a nation, the same massacre of the innocents. The policy of apartheid is the holocaust of South African blacks at the daily level. When will Botha and his clique be judged?

The South African racist régime claims to be ensuring the separate development of races in South Africa. Apart from the fact that this notion in itself arouses indignation, the facts show every day that the South African racists are simply promoting the disintegration in every way of the black people. These people are expelled from fertile lands and dispersed to arid areas. Social services do not exist for the blacks. The unemployment rate for blacks is the highest in Africa. Illiteracy now affects 85 per cent and the right to education is denied to blacks. The infant mortality rate for blacks is also the highest in the continent. That is how Botha is ensuring the development of the black population while he continues to consider it an insignificant majority.

While in South Africa the inhuman apartheid régime is violating the human rights of the South African people, denying it its fundamental freedoms and flouting its dignity, that same policy has crossed the borders of the country and has become identified with constant acts of aggression and destabilization against peaceful neighbouring States. Thus, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique are constant targets of serious violations of their sovereignty and territorial integrity by the South African army. Material damage already amounts

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

to more than \$10 billion. This undeclared war has already cost the lives of more than 100,000 innocent people and forced 100,000 others to leave certain areas, thus becoming refugees.

In occupied Namibia, which has been transformed into an enormous concentration camp, with an army of more than 100,000 men, the racist Government, trampling the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, denies the right of Namibians to self-determination and imposes abject racial laws on them. Here too the repression of Namibian nationalists is particularly savage. Here too there are visits and beatings by night, kidnappings, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, torture, disappearances and death.

Consideration of the policy of apartheid of the South African Government always gives all States Members of our Organization an opportunity to voice their indignation at this inhuman practice, to denounce the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to denounce the acts of aggression and destabilization carried out by Pretoria against the peaceful front-line States.

The international community will continue to refuse to accept a political system that makes a State policy of human degradation and social oppression and uses violence as a way of managing the society. The anti-apartheid campaign organized throughout the world over the past two years reflects our resolve to dismantle the odious system of apartheid, which is the very antithesis of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter.

In all conferences, whether in Paris, Vienna, London, Oslo, Buenos Aires, Harare or New York, the international community has stated that the weapon of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions alone can wear down the Pretoria racists. This campaign has had tangible results. A number of limited measures against the racist régime have been adopted by the European Economic

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

Community (EEC), the Commonwealth, the Scandinavian countries and the American Congress. My delegation, while believing that these developments are an important step in the right direction, has some serious questions about the impact of selective voluntary sanctions against the Pretoria racists. The way the South African Government has responded to sanctions so far imposed against it has shown that so long as the economic sanctions are not comprehensive and mandatory, so long as sanctions against Pretoria are limited, it can still live with them thanks to the many mechanisms linked to the complexity of international trade relations.

(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

My delegation exhorts the international community boldly to move to the next stage, to force the racist minority of South Africa to heed the march of history, to advance the cause of peace which is closely linked with the cause of freedom and dignity.

My country remains convinced that the imposition of economic, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions alone is the realistic way to bring about a peaceful change in South Africa and promote the advent of a democratic multiracial society in that country. Once again we appeal to all peace- and justice-loving countries to take constitutional and other necessary steps to impose punitive comprehensive measures against the illegitimate Government in Pretoria. We are merely deluding ourselves if we believe in untenable arguments to the effect that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa will have the greatest impact on the blacks of that country and intensify violence and destabilize the entire region. Blacks in South Africa and Namibia have stated that they are ready to pay the price of sanctions, provided that frees them and leads to recovery of their lost dignity. Is it not playing into the hands of Pretoria continually to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa? Those who have so far adopted a so-called cautious approach to South Africa should seriously rethink their position. If we oppose sanctions, how can we dare to criticise those who meet violence with violence? On 29 January 1987 the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Oliver Tambo, told a reporter of The New York Times:

"Apartheid is basically the practice of violence. We have chosen not to submit to it but to fight with arms in our hands. We have no other alternative than stepping up our armed resistance because, as was stated in your Declaration of Independence, in the face of systematic tyranny it becomes a duty and a right to take up arms."



(Mr. Kowouvi, Togo)

When fundamental iniquity exists, a fundamental approach must be adopted to fight it.

Barbie massacred before; Botha is exterminating now. This should arouse in us the same determination, the same resolve and the same courage to combat this scourge wherever it exists. Let us work out consistent policies to abolish the last bastion of shame and human decadence, the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa.

Mr. JACOBVITS DE SZEGED (Netherlands): In his statement on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community - with which my delegation fully associates itself - the Danish Permanent Representative reiterated the unequivocal condemnation by the Twelve of apartheid in all its forms and demanded its immediate abolition. The main reason for my delegation to make some additional remarks in this debate is to share some thoughts about generally accepted fundamental principles which could facilitate a genuine national dialogue on the future of post-apartheid South Africa. Before doing so, however, I should like to outline briefly my Government's policy on the apartheid issue.

Apartheid, as a form of institutionalized racial segregation, is a systematic violation of the principle of equal rights of all human beings enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a morally unacceptable system that can be maintained by the South African Government only by means of a continued state of emergency, by repression and violence, by severe curtailment of the press, by massive detention - even of children - by torture and by death. The great majority of the population in South Africa is suffering under these devastating consequences of apartheid, and the consequences are not restricted to South Africa itself, as preceding speakers have pointed out.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

In its statement on southern Africa the Palme Commission stated:

"Apartheid lies at the core of the political, economic and social turmoil that continues to plague all of southern Africa".

It continued:

"The alternatives are clear: a peaceful process of change or increased violence. If the fear, hatred and mistrust generated by a universally condemned régime in South Africa are allowed to persist, a bloody struggle is inevitable - one which can reach far beyond the region. Time is fast running out for the option of peaceful change."

Indeed, apartheid must be brought to an early end. The international community must use all its power and pressure in order to realize by peaceful means the replacement of apartheid by a democratic system in which all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race or religion, can enjoy their legitimate rights and fundamental freedoms. In order to bring this goal closer to realization it is necessary to start in South Africa a national dialogue in which the authentic representatives of the South African people will participate. A prerequisite for this is the release of all political prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties. In this respect my Government hopes that the release of Mr. Govan Mbeki - after 24 years of harsh imprisonment - will be the beginning of a fundamental change in the policy of the South African Government and that that Government will take the necessary bold steps to embark upon a broad-based dialogue, involving the representatives of all sectors of the South African people. My delegation feels encouraged by meetings like that held in Dakar, where brave attempts are made - and with clear success - to overcome the

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

mistrust and lack of confidence built up over the years between blacks and whites. We welcome these endeavours and are ready to support follow-up activities, particularly if these contacts can be broadened in order to encompass the whole spectrum of anti-apartheid movements in South Africa.

The question we must ask is this: how can we, how can the international community, contribute in the most effective way to an early and peaceful change in South Africa? This is a question that many delegations answer differently, however united on the ultimate goal, the total abolition of the abhorrent system of apartheid.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

My country has chosen a three-track approach to the question.

First of all, the Netherlands encourages - nationally as well as in the framework of the European Communities - processes of peaceful change within South Africa. An example is the Communities' Code of Conduct for firms operating in South Africa, which is playing an important and useful role in the improvement of working conditions of the non-white workers in South Africa. The Netherlands has, furthermore, increased its bilateral assistance to organizations and groups working in a peaceful manner for the abolition of apartheid, and it now spends over \$US 5 million each year on projects in the field of training and education, in close co-operation with, amongst others, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, the South African Council of Churches and the South African labour unions. Apart from that, the Netherlands is participating in the European Community's concerted programme for the victims of apartheid. All these activities are aimed at contributing in a positive way to the process of change from within South Africa.

A very important part of the Netherlands assistance efforts in southern Africa is directed to the States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the front-line States, with the purpose of enabling these States to cope with the additional economic burdens resulting from the spill-over of South Africa's problems. SADCC has received since its establishment in 1980 more than \$US 80 million, mainly in the field of infrastructure, and the front-line States, on an annual basis, receive more than \$US 225 million.

However, we cannot confine ourselves to those activities. Since the South African Government is still refusing to take the measures and steps needed to achieve the total abolition of its policy of apartheid, it remains necessary to increase the pressure on the South African Government by means of economic

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

sanctions. Here I come to the next track of the policy of my Government. Parallel to the actions just mentioned, restrictive measures are taken aimed at convincing the South African Government that the continuation of apartheid - apart from being morally objectionable - will require an ever-increasing price both politically and economically and will therefore in the end be untenable.

The Netherlands Government therefore took, in 1985 and 1986 - in the framework of the European Communities - an extensive number of restrictive measures in addition to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa called for in Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and the ban on the import of arms from South Africa, embodied in Security Council resolution 558 (1984). The Netherlands strictly applies these restrictive measures, which include the prohibition of the import of Krugerrands, iron and steel, a ban on the export of crude oil that has entered the customs territory of the Netherlands, a ban on the export of computers and software to South African police and paramilitary organizations, a ban on the export of nuclear goods and a ban on new investments. Furthermore, the Netherlands does not buy uranium from South Africa, and electricity plants in the Netherlands have voluntarily agreed not to burn South African coal. Finally, as long ago as 1976, Dutch commercial banks discontinued all lending to the South African Government, while the Netherlands Government is not extending any credit to that Government and has ceased insuring export credits for transactions with South Africa.

Such political and economic pressure by the international community remains indispensable so long as political freedom remains the privilege of the dominating minority. But - as my Minister asked in his speech in the general debate - should our call for justice and our deep-felt abhorrence of the system of apartheid be restricted to condemnation, political pressure and sanctions alone? And here I come to the third track.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

Should we not equally try to reflect on what comes after apartheid? How can a society be brought about in which all South Africans, irrespective of their race, can live in peace and harmony and enjoy equal rights? It goes without saying that only the South Africans themselves can and will determine their future and the shape of a new constitutional order; it is not for the outside world to present a blueprint. But what we can do is try to encourage and facilitate a national dialogue between South Africans. The formulation of generally accepted principles may prove helpful in bringing that about.

What is at stake in these negotiations is not only the removal of apartheid but also its replacement by a constitutional order which embodies the basic principles of freedom and pluralistic democracy and which takes into account the diversity of the South African people. The legitimate political aspirations of the majority should be met. But is it not also right to ask what steps should be taken to ensure that every South African can look to the future with confidence and a feeling that he will have a say in decisions which affect him? I may recall here that the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons spoke, in paragraph 56 of its report, about the need for "adequate and appropriate safeguards and guarantees for minorities" and for a "genuine approach to power-sharing".

One can think of a number of principles which seem fundamental to a just and lasting solution, such as suffrage for all, a geographically united South Africa, a democratic and pluralistic political system with adequate minority participation, respect for human rights, protection of minorities and the rule of law, guaranteed by an independent judiciary. Such principles are closely interrelated and therefore mutually reinforcing.

(Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged,  
Netherlands)

With that three-track policy - first, encouragement of the process of peaceful change within South Africa and assistance to victims of apartheid and to the neighbouring countries in southern Africa; secondly, increased pressure on the South African Government to change its policy and to abolish apartheid; and, thirdly, a look to the future, to post-apartheid South Africa - we desire to contribute effectively to this debate, in the firm hope and conviction that soon apartheid will be abolished and all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will be able to enjoy all the legitimate rights and democratic freedoms which have been so long withheld from them.

Mr. ROSHAN-RAWAAN (Afghanistan): The General Assembly is once again seized of the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa". This question has been before the United Nations from the very inception of the Organization. It has been constantly discussed by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and year after year resolutions have been adopted by those organs expressing the profound indignation of the international community at the abhorrent nature of apartheid and demanding its total dismantling and replacement by a free, democratic and non-racist system.

And yet the inhuman policy of apartheid continues its shameful life, facing humanity as the most naked example of acquiescence in evil. And that is not all. For, notwithstanding the condemnation of all humankind, the Pretoria régime in South Africa has managed to accomplish more than mere survival. If anything, it has acquired a more all-encompassing character, added a more brutal facet to its already sinister nature and become more manifestly inhuman and devilish. The blindness and insensitivity of apartheid to basic humanity has become total, leaving no room for human dignity and values to assert themselves even in their primitive and rudimentary form.

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

During the year following the forty-first session of the General Assembly, the Pretoria régime has continued to defy not only the commands of this Assembly of nations, but also the call of human conscience itself. Its suppression of the black and other non-white majority of the people of South Africa has been continued with such cruelty as surpassed even its own previous dishonourable record. Under the Draconian laws of the state of emergency, the police and the army of South Africa, notorious for their total disregard for human rights and dignity, have been empowered with virtual control not only over the freedom of the black and other non-white majority of the people, but also over their very lives, randomly and brutally killing people with impunity and without legal constraints. The wave of suppression and murder have not spared even the lives of women and children in conditions where not only the police and the army, but also vigilante groups are roaming the black townships like angels of death.

The policy of bantustanization is also continuing unchecked. That policy is aimed at confining the majority of the black population of the country in less than 30 per cent of the territory of the country, mainly consisting of barren and unproductive land, which will leave them economically dependent on the white minority forever. This policy is also designed to deprive the black majority of the right to citizenship in their own country. The forceful and cruel displacement of hundreds of thousands of people is one of the grim results of that policy.

We have had occasion to express our views on the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime. However, it is worth stressing here that the tragedy in Namibia is not only a classical colonial question, for Pretoria has extended its abhorrent policy of apartheid to Namibia as well. Thus in Namibia the intrinsically oppressive nature of colonialism has been coupled with the inhuman and cruel character of apartheid. The policy of bantustanization has also been



(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

applied in Namibia, limiting the better part of the Territory to the white occupiers only.

The Pretoria régime has also posed a grave threat to peace and security in southern Africa. Its acts of destabilization and naked aggression against the front-line States, particularly against Angola, must be condemned in the strongest terms.

Yes, apartheid is continuing to exist, with its ugly, inhuman face. Pretoria has become more oppressive and cruel and the tragedy in South Africa is acquiring new dimensions. This sorry state of affairs has been continuing because the huge profits, which are possible only under an exploitive system such as apartheid, has made it expedient for multinational corporations to co-operate with Pretoria and thereby become accomplices in its crimes against humanity; because certain imperialist countries, particularly the United States, have found it possible to continue their links with Pretoria; and because the Security Council has failed to apply, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime of South Africa. Furthermore, the loopholes in the resolutions of this Organization have been so wide that it has allowed the system to survive until now.

But this system cannot survive forever. It cannot survive for the simple reason that sooner or later it will be engulfed in the quagmire of crime and sin that it is perpetrating in South Africa. More important, it will not survive because the sons and daughters - and even children - of South Africa have risen to defend what is rightly their due, that is, human rights and dignity.

The more Pretoria has resorted to repression, the more the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress, have demonstrated their unbreakable resolve to dismantle apartheid. They are bent on dismantling apartheid because, the justifications of its apologists notwithstanding, apartheid

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

has no room for reform and correction. Face to face with its totally inhuman nature, the people of South Africa have launched the liberation movement, which is bound by the nobility of its cause to eradicate this ignominious phenomenon from the surface of our planet. We salute their resolve and courage and we express our full solidarity with and support for its honourable cause.

However, we must constantly remind ourselves that the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa has carried with it a heavy price tag of human blood, tears and unfathomable sorrow. We have every obligation to do everything in our means to shorten the length of this tragedy. What is required of us is to uphold our moral principles and stand firmly by our total and irrevocable indignation against apartheid. That will enable all of us to adopt and implement meaningful measures which will positively contribute to the dismantling of the abhorrent phenomenon of apartheid.

Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The situation in South Africa has not improved since our discussion during the forty-first session of the General Assembly. The conflict between the Government and the majority of the South African people continues, causing enormous suffering for the people. The minority Government has not, however, been able to subjugate the oppressed majority under its apartheid rule. That is proved by the fact that the state of emergency still continues in the whole of South Africa. Oppressive measures are not the right way of solving the problems of the South African society. Only the abolition of apartheid, together with the recognition of the civil and political rights of all South Africans, can provide the basis for a peaceful and democratic evolution of South African society.

One can also see some positive features in the present development. We have noticed signs of evolving interest between different groups of South African people

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

in initiating a dialogue on the extensive problems of the country. As a token of this interest, I refer to a meeting between some members of the Afrikaner community and the African National Congress in Dakar last summer. However, this dialogue should be elevated to an operative political level between the South African Government and different national groups.

The South African Government has recently freed one of the leaders of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr. Govan A. Mbeki, after 23 years in prison. My Government welcomes this measure and hopes that it will be followed by the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. That, in turn, would help to open the way for negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

Finland, in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries, has worked within the United Nations towards the eradication of the racist system in South Africa and towards the transfer of the power in the country to a freely elected Government. We are convinced that the best way to influence the South African Government is through joint and unanimous measures by the international community.

It is the firm opinion of the Government of Finland that mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, are the most effective instruments for a peaceful change in South Africa. Only abolition of apartheid, together with the recognition of the civil and political rights of all South Africans, can provide the basis for a peaceful and democratic evolution of South African society.

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

Pending mandatory sanctions Finland, together with the other Nordic States, has committed itself to intensifying its work to achieve decisions as soon as possible on effective measures by the Security Council. Finland has strongly urged those permanent members of the Security Council who, through the threat or exercise of the veto, have obstructed the imposition of sanctions to reconsider carefully their position.

The Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid are a solid and workable basis for joint international action against apartheid. They should be implemented by all countries and especially by the major trading partners of South Africa.

The Nordic Countries have implemented all the above-mentioned United Nations recommendations and gone beyond them. This year the Nordic Countries have by law forbidden all trade relations with South Africa. All trade between Finland and South Africa has been stopped.

Other measures taken by the Government of Finland include a tightening of visa restrictions on South African citizens, further limitation of sport and cultural links, a ban on nuclear technology projects, an increase in humanitarian aid for South African refugees, liberation movements and the victims of racial oppression, and an increase in aid to the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The Finnish Government has significantly widened its co-operation with the members of SADCC so as to help the countries of the region to increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa. One third of Finland's direct development assistance goes to SADCC States.

The international community has a special responsibility to increase its moral and material support to the victims of apartheid. One of the focal points in rapidly expanding co-operation with the neighbouring and front-line States within

(Mr. Korhonen, Finland)

the framework of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, is to increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa. If South Africa were to resort to any reprisals against its neighbouring countries, it would be the responsibility of the whole international community to take necessary steps in order to alleviate their effects. The argument that sanctions might cause hardship for the blacks in South Africa, as well as for Namibia and the front-line States, should not be accepted as a pretext for inaction.

Finland gives its full support to the United Nations Southern Africa Funds and, together with the other Nordic Countries, is their main contributor. In addition, we give substantial humanitarian assistance directly to the liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): As this is the first occasion on which I have had the opportunity to address the Assembly since the untimely death of the late President of the Niger, I wish at the outset to pay a tribute to the memory of General Kountché and to extend the sincere condolences of the Canadian Government and people to the Government and the people of the Niger.

This is the fourth day on which we have been addressing the subject of apartheid during this session of the General Assembly. A year ago I came to this rostrum, as, indeed, most of us have been addressing this issue not for a matter of days, not for years, but for decades and in many cases for lifetimes. Why, some may ask, are we back again? Are there not more commanding topics for the General Assembly? Would there not be some more effective use of the talents and resources of the representatives of Governments here present?

Let me affirm why we do this again and again and again. Let me affirm why this chorus must not stop, at least not in the foreseeable future. It must not

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

stop because it is having some effect. At its core the issue of apartheid is one of inhumanity. It is one of racism, clothed only by the thinnest of tissues. It is racism which dehumanizes. It is racism which destabilizes. It is racism which deservedly brings the wrath of this body and world opinion upon its head.

The Harare Conference portrayed the consequences of apartheid for the nation's most important resource - its children. Let me quote from the summary of the proceedings:

"The harsh reality of apartheid ensures that black childhood is dominated by fear, deprivation and exploitation through the application of laws and practices which produce hunger, malnutrition, high infant mortality rates, chronic disease and illiteracy. Apartheid has ensured that black children have become the internal refugees of apartheid - deprived of the right to free movement, vulnerable to eviction, without the security of home, and deprived of family life."

We must keep this issue alive here in the General Assembly, just as we have done in the Security Council. Canada has worked with other countries in the Francophonie and Commonwealth to ensure that pressure on South Africa is maintained. We will continue to press this issue.

The subject, however, is one of special relevance for us here. In his annual report to this body, the Secretary-General correctly warns us that the policies and practices of apartheid will bring about a human tragedy of overwhelming proportions unless timely action is taken to prevent it. That is why we, all of us, come to this rostrum. We do it to send a clear signal to Pretoria. We do it to endorse the Secretary-General's call for the concerted action of the international community to ensure the disappearance of apartheid. We do it to show solidarity with those who suffer under apartheid.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Canada had the honour of hosting the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Vancouver last month where, once again, much attention was focused on the situation in southern Africa. Let me take a moment to share with colleagues something of that meeting, which I attended as part of the host delegation. Heads of Government, reviewing developments in that region since their last meeting in Nassau in 1985, were both saddened and angered that the crisis engendered in the region by apartheid had become more serious. Commonwealth leaders recognized that intolerable sacrifices continue to be forced upon South Africa's neighbours in a cause that concerns all countries and peoples, not just those of the Republic. Leaders once again called on the South African Government to accept the negotiating concept set forth by the Eminent Persons Group. This concept was, of course, brutally rejected in May of 1986 when South Africa attacked Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

In developing our response at Vancouver to apartheid and to the desperate plight of South Africa's neighbours, circulated under the symbol A/42/677, we focused in that forum on four major areas: first, sanctions; secondly, aid to the front-line States; thirdly, ways in which we could reach into South Africa to aid the victims and opponents of apartheid; and, fourthly, on the methods to promote dialogue.

Canada agreed with members of the Commonwealth that economic and other sanctions have a significant effect on South Africa. They affirmed that their wider, tighter and more intensified application must remain an essential part of the international community's response to apartheid. Commonwealth countries further committed themselves to securing a more concerted application of a programme of global sanctions. This must encompass the measures that have now been adopted by most of the Commonwealth and many other countries.

Commonwealth leaders recognized the urgent need to strengthen the countries of the region in their resistance to South Africa's destabilization. As we know through this debate, destabilizing action perpetuates dependence on South Africa by undermining the front-line States' development efforts. Let me quote from the leaders' statement:

"In the face of a systematic campaign to undermine the economies of these countries, the Commonwealth should itself take - and encourage the wider community to take - a broader view of the region's needs; assistance is needed both to advance disengagement from the South African economy and to provide for its security against South African aggression." (A/42/677, annex II, para. 14)

In order to achieve this, Commonwealth leaders agreed to initiate an enhanced programme of assistance, consistent with the objectives of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. Particular attention will be directed to the



(Mr. McLean, Canada)

rehabilitation and protection of the Limpopo rail line and of the port of Maputo in Mozambique.

All members of the Commonwealth agreed that more assistance must be given to the victims of apartheid within South Africa. One important aspect is humanitarian and legal aid to political detainees and their families. Economic and social development assistance was agreed upon in such areas as education. Similarly, all members agreed that the Commonwealth should seek opportunities to promote real internal dialogue. The Commonwealth will also act in response to South African propaganda with information programmes to counteract the censorship imposed on the media this year.

As the report notes, in order to further these objectives, it was decided to establish a Committee of Foreign Ministers, composed of Australia, India, Guyana, Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Canada, which will meet periodically until the next meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur in 1989. The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, has agreed to chair this Committee. Yesterday, he announced in the House of Commons in Ottawa that its first meeting will be held in early February in Lusaka.

This Committee will look into ways of widening and intensifying the programme of economic measures already in place, including an examination of the way sanctions have been frustrated, and studies on the impact of sanctions and on South Africa's financial relations. The Committee will also give priority to encouraging and assisting the opponents of apartheid, and to counteracting the effects of censorship and propaganda. Finally, much of its time will be devoted to finding effective ways of helping the front-line States to develop themselves independently from South Africa and countering these destabilizing efforts.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

For its part, Canada believes that the entire international community must continue to demonstrate clearly to South Africa that the apartheid system is intolerable. While even President Botha has been forced to describe apartheid as "outmoded", tragically reforms have not yet touched the basic structure of apartheid. It is still true that, for the population of South Africa, race determines where one can live and work, race determines the limits of economic and social opportunities and race determines that the majority of the population will remain without political rights.

Without fundamental change, South Africa cannot expect to have normal relations with the rest of the world. We are aware that most countries represented here have taken action to demonstrate concretely their opposition to apartheid. For its part, my country has implemented fully the measures agreed upon by the Commonwealth Heads of Government, which were reaffirmed at their meeting in Vancouver last month.

It is clear that international pressure is beginning to be felt. Economic sanctions are increasing the cost of maintaining apartheid. There is evidence that the South Africa business community is taking economic sanctions seriously, and is pressing its Government to respond with substantial changes, which it hopes could then reduce international pressure.

International sanctions demonstrate the repugnance that peoples everywhere feel towards apartheid. The major effects of sanctions are, at heart, of course, psychological, political and moral. To opponents of apartheid, sanctions demonstrate that they are not alone; sanctions demonstrate that their cause is shared by the entire world; and sanctions demonstrate that there is a basis for hope. To those who try to perpetuate apartheid, sanctions are a reminder that the principles of rights and freedoms, which underlie the civilized conduct of human beings, can never justify the practice of apartheid.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Furthermore, we see evidence that the Pretoria Government is beginning to feel the effects of pressure from both inside and outside Africa. Increasing numbers of individuals in the white community are accepting the inevitability of change. They are increasingly willing to take initiatives to bring about a dialogue. The Dakar meeting, organized by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, is an example mentioned by our Finnish colleague a moment ago. The international community must help this process continue.

The Government of South Africa must recognize the inevitability of change in South Africa before time runs out. It must negotiate with genuine leaders of the South African people, not selectively choose whom it will tolerate across the table. Recently the Government released Govan Mbeki, the African National Congress leader. Canada joins in welcoming this gesture. But it must not stop there. Will Mr. Mbeki be allowed to travel and speak here at the United Nations and across the world? Will Nelson Mandela, and the rest of the political prisoners and detainees be freed? When will the children held in South African jails be released?

Negotiations cannot be held with leaders who are still in jail. Negotiations cannot take place while thousands of South Africans are still detained because of their opposition to apartheid. The historic and moral authority of leaders now languishing in South African prisons is too valuable to be lost if there is not to be a blood-bath.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Again in this past week, we have had further dramatic evidence of South Africa's relentless destabilization efforts in the region. Canada has repeatedly condemned South African incursions into neighbouring countries. Indeed, we have learned with amazement that the President of South Africa himself visited his troops in southern Angola, a further example of South Africa's brazen violation of the territorial integrity of a neighbouring State. South Africa presents its actions as a defence of the democratic world from communist domination. This is nonsense. We all know the major problem in South Africa is apartheid, which can never be justified on the basis of democratic values.

It has been announced by Botha that South African attacks in Angola have been mounted from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia, whose people, like the majority in South Africa, have been denied their basic human and political rights by Pretoria. We condemn categorically the repression of the Namibian people by the South African occupation forces.

South Africa's contempt for the demands of the international community is displayed by its interminable delaying tactics; it is displayed by oppressive military occupation in Namibia; it is displayed by the use of Namibia as a base for military actions against its neighbours, and it is displayed by its establishment of a so-called interim government, designed to frustrate the will of the Namibian people.

In February, at the instigation of a Canadian non-governmental coalition called "Partnership Africa Canada", and as a Member of Parliament, I led a unique delegation to Mozambique, representing Government, church, non-governmental organizations, educators and the media. We travelled throughout Mozambique. We saw first-hand the devastating and tragic repercussions of destabilizing activities on this front-line State. We saw the human carnage of massacres. We inspected

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

down bridges, oil tanks and power lines. We visited schools and health clinics, which had been burnt by RENAMO. We noted, piling disaster upon crisis, that Mozambique has suffered from the severe drought that has swept much of south-eastern Africa. And the war-induced famine has taken the lives of a quarter of a million Mozambicans. And so today, as we discuss this region, this cancer of apartheid, our United Nations analysis is that 3.5 to 4 million Mozambicans are at risk of starvation.

Let me tell the Assembly that three days in the city of Beira reminded me of the importance of that port and rail link for land-locked Zimbabwe and Zambia. But I shall never forget the sight of 500,000 people crammed into this concrete city, designed for a maximum of 150,000 people, for safety against RENAMO attacks. I lived with everyone in 100° heat, without electricity, food, water or sanitation. I went with others to the market in search of food, to the hospital devoid of even basic medicines to treat the sick and the injured. I felt the anger and frustration of seeing food 20 miles away at Dondo, but there were no roads and no carts to bring it into that starving city. I want to tell the Assembly that stabilization took on a personal meaning. Statistics have faces for me as they may never have had before.

Let me report that individual Canadians are responding. A joint emergency appeal has been launched by 15 national Canadian agencies. The Canadian Government is also responding to help alleviate the suffering of the Mozambicans. Most recently, it joined its Commonwealth partners at Vancouver in establishing a special fund for technical assistance for Mozambique.

But Mozambique is not unique. All the countries of that region, in varying degrees, have the vulnerability of developing economies. They are all dependent on south Africa. The destruction and destabilization to which they are subjected destroys these countries' quest for a viable social and economic life. Canada's

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

concerns about this region were personalized by the visit of Prime Minister Mulroney to the front-line States earlier this year, and the accompanying public discussion that went with that signal visit.

Until apartheid is abolished, no one in southern Africa can be truly free. Every nation has its role to play. In Minister Clark's words:

"Both the Government of South Africa, and the opponents of apartheid, should know that Canada intends to continue to mobilize its resources and its influence to maintain steady pressure and leadership against apartheid and the violence that it engenders."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I call on the representative of Sweden, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/42/L.36, entitled "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa".

Mr. FERM (Sweden): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/42/L.36 concerning the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa which is sponsored this year by no less than 44 Member States of the Organization.

The Trust Fund was set up more than 20 years ago. Its purpose is humanitarian: to provide legal assistance, relief and other assistance to persons persecuted for their opposition to apartheid. Over the years, the Fund has played an increasingly important role. The Trust Fund has, moreover, been a concrete testimony that the United Nations and its Members are supporting the struggle against apartheid not only in words, but also in deeds.

Since 1965, the Fund has contributed a total of more than \$30 million to several thousands of persons persecuted under the discriminatory apartheid legislation in South Africa and Namibia.

The debate this week in the General Assembly has demonstrated our common and grave concern at the unprecedented repression in South Africa and Namibia of

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

everal thousands of opponents of apartheid, including leaders of democratic and non-racial political mass organizations, trade unionists, community and church leaders and students. In the Secretary-General's report on the Fund, we find ample indications of the extent and depth of that repression.

(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

Despite the severe limitations imposed on the courts, lawyers have been able to render significant relief to political detainees in Namibia and South Africa. In many hundreds of cases this year detainees have been released, sentences reduced, dependents allowed access and so on, with legal assistance provided through the United Nations Trust Fund. The support from the Fund for civil action challenging the apartheid laws, and the humanitarian assistance in these cases, have, I am sure, been of crucial importance. Such action is vital for defending fundamental human rights. It also serves the cause of the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

The Trust Fund has during the past few months received several reports of the desperate need for more funds. The agencies involved in this work cannot meet to the extent necessary the soaring cost of supporting the drastically increasing number of cases.

Therefore we appeal strongly in the draft resolution for generous and increased contributions to the Trust Fund and the voluntary agencies. We express in the draft resolution our appreciation to the Governments and organizations which have contributed to these ends. As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees, I appreciate the fact that a large number of Governments contribute to the Fund and I appeal to those that have not contributed so far to do so. I cannot fail to note that four Governments contribute more than 75 per cent of the Fund's budget. It is indeed my hope that, in particular, the industrialized countries concerned will find it possible to contribute or increase their contributions to the Fund. I hope that the many words against apartheid and of solidarity with the detained and imprisoned victims of apartheid that have been spoken here and elsewhere will be reflected in increased contributions to the Trust Fund.



(Mr. Ferm, Sweden)

In conclusion, I wish on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/42/L.36 to express the hope that the General Assembly will adopt it unanimously without a vote, as was the case with other draft resolutions on the subject in previous years.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.