



## General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.60  
29 November 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

## PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 28 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President:

later:

later:

Mr. CAPUTO

Mr. ESSY (Vice-President)

Mr. CAPUTO

(Argentina)

(Côte d'Ivoire)

(Argentina)

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

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

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA:

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/43/22)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPMENT OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/43/44)
- (c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/682, A/43/699, A/43/786)
- (d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/43/802)
- (e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/43/L.30 to A/43/L.38, A/43/L.41, A/43/L.42)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should first like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Special Political Committee (A/43/802).

May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to propose that the list of speakers on the item before us this morning be closed this afternoon, 28 November 1988, at 5 o'clock. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I call first on the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, who will introduce the Special Committee's report.

Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid: It is indeed an honour for me to address this lofty body as we commence the debate on agenda item 36, on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special  
Committee against Apartheid)

The paradox of South Africa today was best defined by José Martí, who, in 1893, expressed most eloquently the essence of the struggle in today's South Africa when he said that:

"Men have no special right because they belong to one race or another: the word 'man' defines all rights."

We find it ironic that 95 years ago people of that generation could, in their limited civilization, perceive and define rightly what today our so-called civilization is at pains to make a pronouncement on. Hence it happens that in South Africa today a white minority continues to cling to power by subjugating the majority population of that country - the blacks; that, in breach of the Charter of the United Nations, the South African régime continues to implement with abandon its apartheid policies, thus negating the inalienable and political rights of blacks in the country of their birth.

(Mr. Garba, Chairman, Special  
Committee against Apartheid)

The political and socio-economic reality of South Africa and the southern African subregion is today stark. Recent negotiations in the southern African subregion give reason for cautious hope for the resolution of the war conflict in Angola and for the independence of Namibia. We are, however, aware of the enormous difficulties faced by any political accord regarding a settlement of the conflict. The fact is that changes in the configuration of the world polity have been instrumental in the role played by the world Powers in present developments in the region, in particular regarding the independence of Namibia. These changes should be an important reminder of the positive effect that international action can have on events in South Africa and in the region. One is, however, bothered that even the recent outbreak of global peace has not extended to or addressed the specific and disturbing question of apartheid.

For this reason, while South Africa is engaged in a process seeking an end to the conflict outside its borders, it remains at war with its own people. In that context we seriously question the viability of any peaceful settlement in the region while apartheid continues in South Africa. As long as the racist régime continues to pursue its aggressive policies against its people, the political stability and peace of that subregion will be under constant threat.

South Africa is today a police State. The renewal of the state of emergency and the virtual ban imposed last February on peaceful anti-apartheid organizations and individuals are designed to stifle any opposition to the régime. The Draconian measures imposed on the domestic and foreign media, affecting even an Afrikaner opposition newspaper, show that the régime persists in its efforts to censor drastically any opposing view inside the country and any media effort to relay the ugly domestic reality of that country to the outside world. What seems clear is that the enactment of these repressive measures was aimed at crushing any

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opposition to the so-called reforms and the nation-wide municipal elections of last October.

As is known, those elections were part of the "reforms" being proposed by the régime. But these "reforms" do not respond to the ultimate demand of the black people in that country for full political rights in an unfragmented, democratic and non-racial South Africa. They respond rather to a disingenuous effort to co-opt sectors of the black population into a proposed advisory political body, the so-called National Statutory Council (NSC). Overwhelmingly, blacks have rejected the proposed NSC because it gives an appearance of power-sharing that in truth is illusory and without substance. The results of the recent nation-wide municipal elections, when only 1.3 per cent of the overall black population voted, can only be a presage and sober reminder that the NSC is doomed to failure. The Human Rights Commission - a body created recently to monitor the application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in South Africa - issued a report before the elections detailing official acts of intimidation and violence and abuses designed to coerce blacks into voting and thus thwart any opposition to the elections. The Commission's report concluded that the conditions set down by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for genuine elections had not been met. The illegality of the elections was never in question, and in a resolution on the elections adopted last month the General Assembly reaffirmed that in very clear and unambiguous terms.

We believe that recent events demonstrate clearly the régime's two-pronged approach to the conflict in South Africa: on the one hand, an attempt to coerce the black majority into submission and further subjugation and, on the other, an attempt to lure them through political legerdemain into accepting sham reforms that would leave the power of the white minority intact. The election results

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demonstrated that, despite systematic repression, resistance to the apartheid régime continues, led by the national liberation movements. As some anti-apartheid organizations are banned, others rise up to take their place. And so it is today that in South Africa the trade unions and human rights and religious groups are in the forefront of the struggle for liberation.

Tragically, the situation is becoming increasingly polarized in that country, and this bodes ill for the future. Let us not forget that, along with official coercion and violence, paramilitary, right-wing extremist groups, whose links to the South African security forces are in little doubt, have in the last year increased the systematic violence against anti-apartheid opponents inside South Africa and the assassination of cadres of the resistance outside the region, even in capitals of Western nations. The bombings of Khotso and Kanya Houses - both the offices of religious and other anti-apartheid opposition organizations - show that even church and other religious organizations have not been spared. The increase in political trials of activists on charges of treason and the subsequent death sentences imposed are evidence of the régime's use of the judiciary as a legal weapon against its opposition. The conviction in the Delmas trial is significant and has long-term implications for the anti-apartheid opposition. The judgment not only criminalizes any form of opposition, but also establishes a fateful precedent: that any non-violent action that may oppose the régime is treasonous and therefore subject to the death penalty. The commutation of the death sentences on the Sharpeville Six, which we all welcome, came only after the whole world had to mobilize to save the six young people convicted on the basis of the "common purpose" doctrine. The commutation of their sentences is remarkable in that it clearly shows the dilemma of South Africa today and the tragedy of that country, and remarkable in the sense that for Botha to be able to commute their sentences he

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had to placate the extreme right by the pardon of four whites convicted of actual murder. This trading off is not only unbalanced but detrimental to whatever good the régime may want the world to perceive. The question in truth is: were the Sharpeville Six death sentences commuted on their own merit or used as an avenue to save the lives of four whites guilty of the murder of some blacks?

South Africa is today a country at war with its own people; it is a society in crisis. Time is running out as apartheid continues to corrode South African society, both black and white, a fact that is having an impact even on the National Party's Afrikaner support. It is a historical truth that the foundations of a society begin to weaken when that society loses the support of its intellectuals and its youth. More white youths are leaving the country because they cannot see a future in South Africa. Small sectors of Afrikanerdom are growing restless, further disenchanted with the National Party, and have entered a process of political dialogue with the anti-apartheid opposition forces inside and outside South Africa. Overall, a search is under way among the anti-apartheid groups, both black and white, to find common ground to confront the apartheid régime, indeed to build unity in action.

What has the international community's response been to these developments? I must admit that the response has fallen rather short of what is required. Since this Assembly last considered the apartheid question, in November 1987, with few exceptions the pressure on South Africa has come from non-governmental sources: from banks which find it increasingly risky to lend to South Africa, from companies which find investing there too hazardous and almost non-profitable, and from individuals and organizations which continue to press for global disinvestment. With the exception of further action taken by the Nordic countries, it is only the Commonwealth, with the exception of the United Kingdom, and the United States

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Congress that have kept up the momentum of governmental action against Pretoria. Unfortunately, the international community has failed to adopt the most important measure, the only measure capable of giving the South African régime the unmistakable message that its apartheid policies will not be tolerated because they are anathema to the basic tenets of a civilized world. I am referring here to the failure of the international community to impose comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.



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Committee against Apartheid)

It is true that a number of Governments have adopted measures against South Africa and therefore have contributed significantly to the common efforts of the international community in that regard. The Nordic countries and the United States have adopted some far-reaching measures. I regret to say, however, that the measures taken by the European Economic Community have been rather weak and, in many ways, seem to have been designed for perceived effect rather than effectiveness. The Special Committee is particularly concerned and deeply regrets that the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany continue to be major economic partners of South Africa, although trade between the United States and South Africa did decline in 1987 as a result of the United States anti-Apartheid Act. Our Committee views with apprehension that in 1987 Japan assumed the position of the primary trade partner of South Africa by substantially increasing its trade, both imports and exports, with that country. The Special Committee hopes that the decline of trade registered in the first months of 1988 is a sign that the Japanese Government is serious about undertaking measures to curb its economic ties with South Africa. The Committee acknowledges the efforts of the Japanese Government to streamline its trade relations with South Africa and is cognizant that the rise in trade figures has resulted in part from the appreciation of the Japanese yen. We nevertheless feel that the Japanese authorities must do more to absolve themselves. Furthermore, it appears that some countries are seeking advantages by filling the economic vacuum created by the selective sanctions adopted by those countries which have heeded the call of the international community to isolate South Africa. In this regard, the Special Committee is disturbed that the province of Taiwan and certain other Asiatic countries have also increased their volume of trade with South Africa in the past year.

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The Special Committee is particularly disturbed that the lifeline of the South African economy - that is, short-term credit - is being provided mainly by the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland. It is further concerned with reports that recent infractions of the arms embargo have involved the sale to South Africa of sensitive equipment with military use from the Federal Republic of Germany and some other Western countries. The Special Committee is closely following the investigation undertaken by the Parliamentary Committee in the Federal Republic of Germany, in particular concerning the sale of submarine blueprints. The Committee hopes that the Parliamentary Committee's final report, in contrast to the Government's fiscal review which patently failed to do so, will bring all the facts to light, for the benefit of everyone concerned. Given that the arms embargo is one area in which the United Nations has been able to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa, the Special Committee views with seriousness attempts by some Member States to bust the arms embargo to the imposition of which they had hitherto been parties. The onus is on the Governments of the countries concerned to redeem their image and credibility by thoroughly investigating these violations.

The situation I have just described gives us no reason for confidence or comfort. The situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate; if the international community is to be a serious actor in the unfolding of events in South Africa, it needs to take decisive action and adopt effective measures against the régime. In this context, it is my duty to introduce the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/43/22. I draw the attention of members to, among other things the section "Review of developments in South Africa" in paragraphs 5 to 60. I should like in particular to draw attention to the

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conclusions and recommendations made in paragraphs 183 to 194. I should also like to point out Annex I, containing a report on recent developments concerning relations between South Africa and Israel, which the Special Committee has submitted in compliance with the directives of this body. I feel it is my responsibility to point out that, in the discharge of our mandate, we have found that the Government of Israel has taken certain positive measures to redefine its relations with South Africa. The Special Committee is therefore cognizant of its recent economic actions as well as actions against its sportsmen who went to South Africa. The Committee however feels that a lot more needs to be done in the area of military collaboration.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid concludes that the most effective sanctions, short of the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, should be targeted at a few areas of the economy, notably a ban on imports of coal and agricultural products, on the supply of loans and credit, on the transfer of technology and on direct air flights to and from South Africa. A mandatory oil embargo still remains one of the most powerful ways of pressuring the racist régime. As exemplified above, the effective monitoring of the arms embargo is of extreme significance in the international campaign against apartheid. The European Economic Community and Japan which, in the scope and implementation of sanctions, currently lag substantially behind the Nordic countries and the United States, should be urged to raise the level of the sanctions and close the loopholes in existing sanctions.

Measures should also be considered to prevent countries from benefiting from the vacuum created by other States which have imposed sanctions. On this issue, paragraph 60 of the Secretary-General's report on implementation of national

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measures adopted against South Africa (A/43/786), to which I also draw the Assembly's attention, concludes that the undermining of sanctions is inherent in situations where sanctions are not universally applied or when internationally accepted principles and procedures have not yet evolved. The Special Committee further believes that States deciding to introduce sanctions should adopt national legislative measures to penalize violators of sanctions, instead of merely relying on policy statements. Finally, experience so far has shown that the sanctions adopted against South Africa need strengthening, better co-ordination and standardization, improved implementation and a more effective centralized monitoring and reporting system.

In the final analysis, events in South Africa will determine the course of the history of that country. There is no doubt, however, that the internal pressure of the anti-apartheid opposition combined with effective external pressure can become a powerful force against apartheid. In that context, the potential effect of economic measures against South Africa has been key in the call to the international community to impose further sanctions on South Africa. The cost to the régime of maintaining apartheid must continuously be increased; it should be clear, though, that the intention of the international community is not - as is sometimes disingenuously argued - to damage the South African economy irreparably. Rather, sanctions have always been envisioned as a catalyst for the domestic and international business community because sanctions can affect those economic sectors which have influence on the political decision-making process in that country. In the same vein, other efforts to isolate South Africa, such as in sports and in the cultural field, can exert a parallel pressure on the ruling white minority and therefore should also be strengthened.

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Today the need to exercise economic and political pressure against the régime is even greater. The United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan must use their considerable economic and political leverage on South Africa to assist the majority of the people of that country to defeat apartheid. Increasing attempts by some countries in the Far East and certain countries in Africa to help South Africa evade sanctions should be exposed and indeed condemned. There can be no trafficking with the apartheid régime. No country should profit from the spoils of apartheid.

On its part, the Special Committee will continue in the coming year its activities designed in particular to influence not only decision-makers but also opinion makers in order to strengthen the international campaign against the apartheid régime. The Committee is increasingly targeting its efforts, sparing resources, but sparing no efforts. Our seminar this year in Lima with some 17 journalists from Latin American and Caribbean countries was intended to mobilize opinion-makers in an area which Pretoria has tried to infiltrate - and in some cases successfully.

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Our Symposium on Culture against Apartheid, in Athens, with 36 renowned personalities from the world of culture gave the cultural isolation of Pretoria an urgent and realistic impetus. In the same vein, the Special Committee plans to organize in 1989 meetings with selected parliamentarians, members of the media, educators and labour leaders.

While there are signs that the political climate in the southern African subregion is improving - a development that the Special Committee welcomes - the international community should intensify its focus on the continuing deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa, where apartheid, which is the root cause of the regional conflict, remains virtually intact. If Mr. Botha is committed, as he says, to a peace process in the region, let him begin that process inside South Africa by responding to the demands of the black majority population and its white allies. Let him establish the conditions for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa by: first, lifting the state of emergency, immediately and unconditionally release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, particularly children, lifting the ban on all political organizations and opponents of apartheid, and allowing the safe return of all political exiles; secondly, withdrawing the régime's troops from black townships and repealing restrictions on the freedom of the press; and thirdly, ending the policy of bantustanization and forced population removals and military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring countries.

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the release this weekend of Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) leader, Zephania Mothopeng, and African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) member, Harry Gwala. It hopes that this humanitarian gesture is also a political gesture and that it will be followed by

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the genuine release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. This is the first necessary step in a process of negotiation for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in that country.

The ultimate power in any society rests with the people. In South Africa a minority assumes that the majority is not enlightened enough to exercise this power. This fallacious assumption cannot be given currency and credibility by the international community, for it creates a situation that cannot be accepted in any other sphere of the international community. In presenting the report of the Special Committee - an affair that has become an annual ritual - let me say that, while the debate on apartheid may for some of us be a chore that must be performed in the course of a General Assembly session, it is for the rest of us a commitment to bring an end - a peaceful end, indeed - to the heinous crime of apartheid. Let us remember that the fate of millions of black and white South Africans is bound to our actions and our votes.

The Special Committee is and continues to be sensitive to the feelings of those Member States that for one reason or another do not support our work and our approach to this issue. In the discharge of our mandate we continue to strive for objectivity based on a fair and unbiased assessment of issues as we perceive them. It is neither our intent nor our mandate to challenge the sovereignty or policies of Member States, but I believe that it is our responsibility to report such policies in so far as they relate to apartheid South Africa to this body. Thus, in discharging our mandate we have called names where this is factually required. This is inevitable, and I do not think we should be apologetic for our actions. If Member States feel that they must criticize our report, they must do so constructively and in good faith. They must, however, appreciate and accept,

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in their objection to name-calling, that no amount of name-calling can equal the brutality and violence that apartheid policies and the racist régime visit on South Africans. Our collective action must, therefore, be predicated upon our candid perception of the enormous burden imposed on us by the evil system of apartheid.

Mr. CHAGULA (United Republic of Tanzania), Rapporteur of the

Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa (A/43/44). This is the Intergovernmental Group's second report to the Assembly since the Group was established in 1987.

It was with considerable anxiety that at the beginning of 1987 the members of the Intergovernmental Group accepted the invitation to join the Group, for it was a unique, difficult and delicate assignment that we wittingly accepted. The Group's task is unique in that this was the first time the General Assembly had created a body specifically to monitor compliance with a non-mandatory sanctions measure. We did not have precedents or experience of other such bodies to fall back upon, and we are still aware that the future employment of this approach may well depend on how effectively we execute our mandate.

Our task is a difficult one by any standards. Our work is of a very technical nature - much more technical than outsiders perhaps realize, and more technical than we ourselves expected at the beginning of our work. We first had to acquire a technical understanding of the problem and its diverse international aspects. We had no material resources for our task, the Group having been established at a time of financial crisis in the Organization. Nor would it have been proper for us to



(Mr. Chaqula, Rapporteur,  
Intergovernmental Group  
to Monitor the Supply and  
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seek such resources at that time before we knew that we could employ them in a meaningful manner to carry out our assigned tasks.

Furthermore, the apartheid régime of South Africa has done everything possible to frustrate outside monitoring of its oil supplies, even to the extent of requiring, and paying extra for, maximum secrecy in this regard. Thus, from the very beginning we realized that our task would depend on the co-operation of Governments, particularly those of oil-exporting and oil-shipping States. However, what made our task more difficult was the fact that there had previously been almost no reliable mechanism for monitoring compliance with, or co-ordinating the enforcement efforts in respect of, the oil embargo against South Africa. This situation created favourable conditions for oil shippers and traders to defy such an oil embargo against South Africa with little fear of any adverse consequences, particularly as the embargo was voluntary.

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Just as we started out with a feeling of anxiety almost two years ago, it is only now with a certain feeling of relief that I can speak today to present our second report to the General Assembly. I feel that our achievements in these first two years have been significant and remarkable and that if we can maintain the same momentum we will soon be making serious inroads into South Africa's illegal oil supplies, so far as concerns the Assembly having regard to its resolutions 41/35 F and 42/23 F, reference to which has been made in our report.

Regarding the technical problems I can only state that we have rapidly been gaining experience in sifting and evaluating the voluminous information on ships' voyage records, oil discharge documentation and the like. We plan to widen our approach by introducing certain new methods of data analysis in the coming year. We have been heartened by the extent of Government support for our efforts and in certain cases the precision of information provided by Governments was decisive for our analysis. We have also very much appreciated the indispensable support we have been receiving from the United Nations Centre against Apartheid in our task.

The report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa consists of seven chapters and three annexes and provides both a descriptive and an analytical review of the work of the Intergovernmental Group. The report this year is more comprehensive than that of 1987. New sections on foreign investments in the South African petroleum industry, transfer of technology and the role of the oil companies, dissemination of information and the proposed hearings on the oil embargo against South Africa have been added to our report this year. Annex I of the report contains replies from Governments to the questionnaire we sent out to member States regarding the supply

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of oil and petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia. The other two annexes deal with cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo.

In this context let me provide a few statistics. In 1987, our first year of operation, 32 cases of alleged violations involving 25 ships were reported to us. Of those cases three were eliminated on the basis of information supplied by the Governments concerned. In the remaining 29 cases we concluded that oil shipments to South Africa had probably occurred, unless evidence to the contrary emerges in the future. The co-operation of Governments in this exercise is crucial.

In 1988 we received reports of 64 alleged violations of oil shipments to South Africa from outside involving 32 ships. Seven allegations were withdrawn due to insufficient information; in nine cases the Governments concerned provided documentation of oil discharge in non-South African ports, leading us to delete these cases from the list. The remaining 48 cases are still under investigation by the Group. This year there were also four additional allegations of oil shipments from South Africa to Namibia. One of these was confirmed, the other three are still being investigated.

Our rate of detection and coverage of violations of the oil embargo against South Africa is increasing, and we are dealing with more cases where the same ship has been involved in more than one voyage to South Africa.

A reasonable goal for the Intergovernmental Group at this point is to raise the rate of detection and coverage, thereby creating a powerful disincentive to engage in this traffic. Violators will think twice now that they know there is a greater chance of detection and that such detection will subject them to further scrutiny in the future in respect of other ships in their fleet, not just the one that was caught delivering oil to South Africa. Perhaps freight charterers will

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think twice about engaging ships or companies which have been identified as violators. To achieve this we obviously must publicize names, but I should like to assure delegations that our approach is one of vigilance and not vindictiveness.

Because vigilance on behalf of the Assembly is our main concern, we have felt it particularly important to apply stringently fair standards in evaluating evidence and to express ourselves very cautiously in our findings. The Intergovernmental Group has emphasized that publishing these cases

"does not in any way imply a charge against or a passing of judgement on the individual States concerned or companies under their jurisdiction." (A/43/44, p. 10, para. 38)

For that reason we stress that a "confirmed violation" to us means only that sufficient evidence has not been presented to dispel the allegation that the oil in question probably has been shipped to South Africa. For the same reason we decided to accept oil discharge documentation as a refutation of alleged violations. In the meantime we must, however, emphasize that Governments concerned should scrutinize the authenticity of the documentation presented and be more vigilant than in the past in order to prevent oil and shipping companies from forging such documentation. We prefer to err on the side of leniency in order to continue the present high degree of co-operation and trust the Group enjoys from Governments.

Our assignment is unique, or at the very least unusual, in another respect. On the one hand we have been mandated by the General Assembly to monitor compliance with measures which it has recommended to its Members. But as far as the carriage of crude oil to South Africa is concerned we are not dealing with normal legitimate commerce but rather with an "illegal" trade in a commodity which is being fraudulently diverted to South Africa against the expressed wishes of the producers

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and exporters, for no exporter or producer of crude oil allows it to be exported to South Africa. The oil-exporting countries have done everything, from discouraging and banning such exports to actually making them a criminal offence. In most cases they have done so independently of, and prior to, the recommendations of the General Assembly. In this sense the Intergovernmental Group is simply co-ordinating the enforcement of the national measures already taken by Member States.

What I have just stated applies to crude oil. In some cases, however, States have even begun to take similar legal measures with regard to refined petroleum products. And in recent years two major maritime countries, Norway and Denmark, have made the shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa illegal. We hope to see more States in the near future taking similar steps to ensure that the process of supplying South Africa with oil and petroleum products is rendered illegal by the States which in one way or another move or handle the oil between producers and end users.

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The Intergovernmental Group feels that, besides being fair, its approach should also be broad and comprehensive. For this reason we have taken up, albeit very briefly, the related question of South Africa's attempts to mitigate the effects of the oil embargo by converting other hydrocarbons to fuel and by oil exploration or stockpiling. We have done so because there is less unanimity in the international community on this question than there is on the question of supplying oil to South Africa. By drawing attention to outside suppliers of critical technologies for these activities we hope to gain greater understanding. Our view is that this too should be prohibited and that appropriate measures should be taken by the international community through the Assembly.

Let me just briefly report on several communications which reached the Intergovernmental Group after its report for 1988 had been prepared. These communications concern our ongoing investigation of cases of alleged violations of the oil embargo against South Africa, and other related matters. These communications from Governments will be considered by the Group as soon as possible and will be reflected in its report next year. However, I would like to give a brief report on them for the information of delegations.

The Permanent Mission of Qatar, on 7 October 1988, sent additional information concerning the questionnaire we had sent out.

The Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany, in a note verbale dated 10 October 1988, stated the following:

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to Monitor the Supply and  
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"The 'German Shipowners Association' has been advised of the Federal Government's Policy and of the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community on 10 September 1985. No crude oil shipments to South Africa are being carried out either directly or in transit from ports in the Federal Republic of Germany or by vessels flying its flag."

The Permanent Mission of the United Arab Emirates sent a note verbale, dated 31 October 1988, concerning the case of the ship Fidius, which stated, inter alia:

"1. It was alleged that the ship arrived at Fujairah anchorage on 18 June 1987 and left after five days. In this context, it should be known that neither an oil port nor any port for loading or transporting oil exists in Fujairah. Accordingly, no oil whatsoever could have been lifted from Fujairah.

"2. It was also alleged that the ship left for Iran and then departed and called at one or more South African ports to deliver oil. Assuming that such movement on the part of that ship is correct, it does not in any way whatsoever prove, or even indicate, that it lifted oil from Fujairah or any other port in the United Arab Emirates.

"To sum up, the allegation about Fidius carrying oil from Fujairah is false and without any foundation."

The Office for Foreign Affairs of Liechtenstein sent a note verbale, dated 31 October 1988, concerning the ships Berge Prince and Berge Princess, which states, inter alia:

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Shipping of Oil and Petroleum  
Products to South Africa)

"The Office for Foreign Affairs wishes to state that the ships owned by a company registered in Liechtenstein had been bare-boat chartered to a Norwegian shipping firm. These ships did in fact call at ports in South Africa in connection with oil trade. Such calls were according to authority contained in the bare-boat charter agreement permitting them to engage in 'lawful trade'. In the meantime, Norway has passed a law which forbids engaging in oil trade in South Africa. Accordingly, the ships will have to obey this law."\*

The Permanent Mission of Qatar, on 9 November 1988, sent notes verbales accompanied by documentation of discharge of the oil shipments of the ships Berge Enterprise and Rafio, both of which were delivered in Singapore.

The Mission of Iran sent a note verbale, dated 18 November 1988, with a copy of the certificate of discharge of the ship Fidius, which departed from Iran in June 1987 and delivered its oil cargo in Rotterdam, Netherlands, on 16 August 1987.

The Mission of Iran also sent another note verbale, dated 25 November 1988, denying that the ships Berge Prince and Berge Princess were involved in supplying Iranian oil to South Africa.

It may be recalled that the Intergovernmental Group has always requested that certificate of discharge should be submitted to prove that the oil shipment in question has not been delivered in South African ports.

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\* The President returned to the Chair.



(Mr. Chagula, Rapporteur,  
Intergovernmental Group  
to Monitor the Supply and  
Shipping of Oil and Petroleum  
Products to South Africa)

I have tried to reflect faithfully the views expressed by various Governments after our report for 1988 had been prepared simply to assure Member States that the Intergovernmental Group very carefully considers all communications it receives from governments before it compiles its recommendations to the Assembly.

Before I conclude, I am duty bound to express the indebtedness of the Intergovernmental Group to the Centre against Apartheid and its Director, Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, as well as to its staff, particularly Mr. Amer Arain, who very competently acted as the Group's secretary throughout the year, for their support and collaboration.

Finally, in my capacity as Rapporteur of the Intergovernmental Group, I should like to thank the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and all members of the Group for their collaboration, which has enabled me to finalize and present this report to the General Assembly in good time. It is my hope that the Assembly will adopt the report without any dissent or reservations.

Mr. MLLOJA (Albania): South Africa's racial policy has been before the United Nations in one form or another for more than 40 years. International opinion has not failed during all that time strongly to denounce that inhumane system, which has deepened and institutionalized in that country the racial policies inherited from the 19th century. In spite of the efforts and struggle of the Azanian people for national and social freedom, which takes various forms, apartheid continues to act like a system that oppresses, exploits and humiliates not only the Azanian people, but also the Namibian people, and in so doing defies the entire African continent. Therefore, the international community cannot remain and has not remained silent towards that régime and its system which is based on the racist theory that the white minority should rule the coloured majority only because they are born coloured. That abhorrent régime, which relies on violence, is the cause of the destabilization and tension in southern Africa. Testimony to this is the grave situation of the Azanian people, the occupation of Namibia and the aggressive and subversive acts carried out systematically against the countries of the region.

In the present circumstances, as in the past, the source of concern is the plight of the Azanian people. Regardless of the rigid censorship the racists have imposed with the aim of creating a blackout around the country, information reaching the world shows that apartheid leads to the killing, arresting and blackmailing of people, only because they demand the most elementary rights. Even defenceless children, women and old people are not spared. The demonstrators protesting for better working and living conditions, for equal rights and justice, are suppressed most ferociously. Every aspect of life in South Africa is characterized by violence and terror. The massive oppression of the people is the racists' agenda. Through the draconian laws enforced under the state of emergency, which has long since been declared throughout the country, the racists carry out

(Mr. MIloja, Albania)

criminal acts. Under the pretext of the state of emergency, the so-called security committees have been turned into a shadow administration of violence and terror.

But this abhorrent régime does not confine itself to the oppression of the Azanian population alone. Aspiring for hegemony, it has turned the southern region of Africa into a hotbed of subversion and destruction. The illegitimate occupation of Namibia, the continuous acts of subversion against the neighbouring countries, testify to the policy of State terrorism pursued by the régime. The front-line States, which are a direct target of such criminal practices, as well as all the other African States, are conscious that South Africa is the real cause of the grave situation and the political, economic and social complications in the region. At the same time, they know that this challenge should be opposed in solidarity, with determination and without compromise. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania stands in full solidarity with them in their legitimate struggle.

In the history of our Organization, among the dictatorial régimes the racist régime of South Africa is probably the most condemned and denounced by world opinion. Such unanimous condemnation is a demonstration of the opposition they have shown to the régime, which has constantly defied the aspirations of the Azanians and the solidarity that other peoples maintain with them. There is no doubt that the source of its defiance and arrogance does not rest on the strength of the racist repressive machine of the white minority alone; it stems from the support that the régime gets from the big imperialist powers, notably the United States, which have various interests in that part of the continent.

Furthermore, the destabilized situation in southern Africa is becoming more complicated because of the continued interference of the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which are serving their imperialist interests.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

Each of them tries to exploit the situation in the way that most benefits them, trying to make space for their expansionist ambitions. In addition, their bargains and agreements, which they ever more consider to be their exclusive domain for the settlement of regional conflicts, in fact aim to secure a carte blanche for their diktat and interference in the internal affairs of the region, their goal being the strengthening of their political, economic and military positions. But it is clear to the peoples of the region that imperialist interference entails grave consequences. The unity of their efforts, desires and will, should be determinant in lessening tensions and creating genuine circumstances conducive to the realization of their aspirations.

The course of events in Azania and in southern Africa as a whole has shown that the racist régime will be eradicated neither through pleas nor as a result of the bargains or schemes designed by the imperialist powers, but through the resolute struggle of the peoples of Azania and Namibia with the solidarity and support of the African peoples and international opinion.

The struggle waged by those two peoples against apartheid is a major social conflict and not a conflict between races. It is a struggle between the Azanian people on the one hand and the apartheid system on the other. The so-called solutions based on reform are but manoeuvres to hoodwink the masses of the people with the aim of perpetuating the racist rule. That is why, in our opinion, the Azanian question is not a question of constitutional reform, for apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be completely vanquished and abolished once and for all. By uprooting the racist, neocolonialist and imperialist domination and plundering of that part of Africa, the people would eventually gain the rights for which they have long fought. Therefore, the Azanian and Namibian peoples, as well as all the other African peoples, have never agreed with the demagogy of reforms; on the

(Mr. Miloja, Albania)

contrary, they have opposed them and are fighting, arms in hand, for freedom and self-determination. Their struggle and, in the first place, the spirit of determination displayed by the popular masses are the best guarantee, clearly indicating that no future awaits the racist régime of South Africa.

The Albanian delegation reconfirms that our people, as in the past, will resolutely oppose every kind of racial discrimination. We strongly denounce the racist policy of South Africa and support without reservations the just struggle of the Azanian people and of the other African peoples for national liberation, in defence of freedom and national independence and against the interference of the imperialist and neocolonialist Powers. We express confidence that, due to their spirit of sacrifice, courage and strong will to live freely in their homeland, the day is not far away when the Azanian people become masters of their own country, like their brother African peoples.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The African continent is confronting enormous and various challenges which can be overcome only by unshakeable will and fierce determination. Our peoples in Africa have no choice but to face up to those challenges and overcome the difficulties. The first of those challenges, and perhaps the most provocative, is the deteriorating situation in southern Africa created by the racist and aggressive policy of South Africa against the people of the region.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Apartheid is a frightful human tragedy, and it is practised by an inhuman régime based on repression, bloodshed and murder. The United Nations and the international community have reiterated their condemnation of this crime against mankind, and we all remain convinced that it must continue to be opposed and that those responsible for it must be punished. A régime based on racial discrimination and the denial of the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the population is in flagrant contradiction of the spirit and doctrines of the revealed religions and goes against the principles of the United Nations Charter, from which all Member States draw inspiration. Egypt's strong principled stand is against all forms of racial discrimination running counter to the principles of freedom and justice, as contained 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 remains firmly committed to the shameful policy of apartheid, which it practises against the overwhelming majority of the population, in flagrant violation of human rights, the United Nations Charter and resolutions of the Organization. As has been shown in the past, this policy is the root cause of the shedding of blood and the escalation of violence in a vicious circle not limited only to South Africa but spread throughout the region. It has forced the oppressed majority to take a stand against it since it has not only been subjected to racist legislation and deprived of its fundamental human rights and just political representation but has also been the victim of terrorist measures, oppression and repression. The prisons are thus overflowing with detainees, many of whom have been tortured and killed.

The growing violence in South Africa has taken on unprecedented proportions. Emergency measures are applied against elements of the national resistance in a desperate attempt to suppress and annihilate the growing resistance by means of

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

which the masses are confronting the racist policies and manoeuvres. This terrible human suffering endured by the persecuted people of South Africa has only strengthened that people's resolve to rid itself of oppression and in a rarely seen political awareness to unite behind its organizations and leadership. The international community must consolidate its commitment to the oppressed majority of South Africa in its struggle against racial discrimination and must redouble and diversify the pressure brought to bear against the Pretoria régime and unify all efforts in support of the growing rejection of apartheid in order to secure the final elimination of all inhuman practices.

The United Nations first considered the question of racial discrimination in South Africa more than 40 years ago. It is regrettable that circumstances have allowed these heinous policies to persist, in spite of the international community's unanimous condemnation of them. Throughout these years the United Nations has been firmly against racial discrimination, in the conviction that the effect of these policies poses a serious threat to international peace.

That is why Egypt believes that greater efforts must be made without delay to free that State, which is torn by racism, thus alleviating the misery and suffering of the people and ridding mankind of the shame and the poison of apartheid. Egypt also believes that it is up to the international community to take more effective action in order to rid South Africa of violence and prepare the way for a peaceful and democratic settlement. A democratic dialogue among all the parties, on the basis of equality, is still possible; it is in fact the most effective way of reaching a peaceful solution to the racist conflict in South Africa.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Although this is nothing new, we nevertheless believe that there must be dialogue among the leaders of all factions in South Africa and that such a measure is increasingly urgent. Peace can be restored in southern Africa only with the participation of the overwhelming majority of the region's population. The Pretoria régime should respond to all appeals to reason and wisdom and enter into a democratic dialogue with the oppressed majority aimed at reaching a peaceful solution guaranteeing the interests of all the parties.

Thus the Government of South Africa should rescind all the measures it has adopted against the peaceful resistance and immediately release all political prisoners as an essential first step towards the peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa. Pretoria is only deceiving itself when it continues to believe that it can put an end to the problem by stubbornly adopting measures against the resistance by banning political rallies or by flouting justice and the cause of this oppressed people, or by arresting its leaders. On the contrary, dialogue is the only means of restoring peace in the region.

On behalf of the people and the Government of Egypt, I take this opportunity to express our best wishes to the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to its Chairman, Mr. Garba, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Committee. The international community sincerely hopes that the Committee will be successful in its efforts to carry out its mandate in denouncing the racist policies and practices of apartheid and making world public opinion aware of the cruelty of the régime and mobilizing it in the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination. For a quarter century the Committee has with great dedication made laudable efforts to develop and co-ordinate a plan of action to put an end to apartheid.



(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

We also commend the struggle of the fraternal people of South Africa, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, who, in this heroic struggle, has been exemplary in his principled firmness and faith in justice. In spite of all the trials and difficulties, he has made of that struggle a legendary saga.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Egypt has always supported the liberation movements in Africa because of its belief in the unity of the past and the future. It reaffirms its determination to do all in its power to give moral, political and material support to its brothers in South Africa so that their heroic struggle may soon be crowned with success.

Mr. HAMADNEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on the item on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Those policies are not only a crime against humanity and an affront to the dignity of man, but also a threat to international peace and security.

The Islamic States, on the basis of their principles, their history and their firm positions, vigorously condemn and totally reject that heinous policy. They consistently affirm their solidarity with and support for the people of South Africa in their valiant struggle against the racist Government of South Africa to force it to renounce its policy of racial discrimination. The States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference reaffirmed that position at the 17th Conference of Foreign Ministers, which my country had the honour of hosting at the end of March this year.

The United Nations has tried ever since it was established, to bring an end to the racist policies of South Africa. It has adopted many resolutions strongly condemning those policies and calling for their elimination. However, the Government of South Africa persists in defying the will of the international community and violating the principles of the United Nations. It continues to defy Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on this subject. It persists in its repressive policies aimed at suppressing any national opposition to its apartheid policies, while continuing to step up its undeclared war and commit acts

(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

of aggression against the front-line countries within the framework of its policy of destabilization designed to ruin the economies of those States and prevent them from opposing the policies of apartheid and supporting the national resistance movement.

The Government of South Africa tries from time to time to implement proposals that it calls reforms. The latest of these have been the elections to the municipal councils, which were boycotted by the people. These are desperate, vain attempts, under internal and external pressure, to hide the ugly face of apartheid and make it more acceptable and more viable. Thus the Government of South Africa is going against the current of history, disregarding the fact that racial discrimination is an erroneous system that must be eliminated. It is a crime against humanity and its perpetrators must be punished. It is also a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Some people believed that they could persuade South African leaders to give up the policies of apartheid voluntarily. But now that the opportunities and the time given to those leaders led to nothing, they realize their mistake. It is now clear that the South African leaders merely wish to consolidate their racist régime and make it more effective. The régime believes that it can turn this conflict to its own advantage by using force and violence, despite the lessons of history.

We are convinced that despite the armed attacks by this régime on all fronts, internal and external, the national movements will continue to mobilize their own forces and step up their activities so as to pursue their struggle for as long as is required and whatever sacrifices are necessary, because they are determined to win their freedom and preserve their dignity.

(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

The United Nations, in its purposes and principles represents the conscience and aspirations of mankind. Therefore the Organization has a special responsibility, that is, to spare mankind from the ignominy and the scourge of apartheid. Since this racist policy is being pursued by the South African Government and in view of its flagrant defiance of the international will, the United Nations must take effective deterrent action and impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions to isolate the Government of South Africa internationally and force it to renounce its policies of apartheid and eradicate them once and for all and without further delay. The situation in South Africa is becoming worse and spreading, thus endangering international peace and security.

That is why we condemn all co-operation between South Africa and any other State. We call upon all States to cease to support and assist that racist Government. We condemn the collaboration between the Government of South Africa and Israel, as mentioned in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22), particularly in the military and nuclear spheres. That collaboration extends, as in addition to arms trafficking and the strengthening of South African defences, to the training of that régime's forces and auxiliary troops in its regional conflict, which is harming all the front-line States and all those fighting for freedom and independence in Namibia.

We hail the struggle of the people of South Africa against the policies of apartheid, and the resistance carried out by the front-line States against the continuing acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa. We call on all States Members, to respect and guarantee effective implementation of all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions relating to the struggle against apartheid.

(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

Without that commitment on everybody's part, the policies of apartheid could not continue. We call upon all States to give moral and material support to the people of South Africa in continuing their struggle, to support the front-line countries in their resistance and to help to mitigate their sufferings.

We appreciate all the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid in fulfilling its mandate, and those of the Secretary-General in consolidating and co-ordinating international action to combat the policies of apartheid and ensure their elimination.

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset to extend my thanks and appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid for the valuable efforts it has made in the interest of the eradication of apartheid, that obnoxious evil which the United Nations and the international community as a whole have declared to be a crime against humanity.

The United Nations was established to reaffirm the belief of all the world's peoples in the rights of man, his basic freedoms, and to uphold the dignity of the individual and his human worth. It was entrusted with safeguarding and promoting those rights and freedoms for all men, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

This year's debate in the General Assembly on the policies of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It takes place at a time when the concepts of freedom, equality, decency and human dignity have become fundamental to the adherence by the world's nations to the principles of the Charter and of other international instruments and conventions. They have become constants of international behaviour that can no longer be abridged, diluted or denied; nor can they be ceded, abandoned or violated.

One of the glaring paradoxes of today's world is that, at the very threshold of the twenty-first century, the Government of South Africa continues to pursue its

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

anachronistic policy of apartheid, which has been unanimously condemned by the whole world as a heinous crime against mankind and a grave threat to international peace and security.

In its report (A/43/22) the Special Committee against Apartheid fully reviews the political conditions and the policies of apartheid in South Africa and their regional and international ramifications. It also reviews the latest developments in the relationship between the two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel. During the period under review in the report, the apartheid régime in South Africa has not shown any sign of readiness to accept the establishment of a democratic, political and social system. On the contrary, the dominance by the white minority of the black majority continues. The racist régime still denies the basic rights of millions of non-whites. The majority is still denied the most elementary political, economic, social and civil rights, and even the most fundamental right to equality and dignity.

The Government of South Africa has been escalating its apartheid practices against the black majority. It has even invented new methods of repression against them, in contempt of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations, which has been condemning this vicious policy since 1952.

The most serious consequence of this escalation is the use of murderous paramilitary civilian groups, whose appearance and growth are a most serious tendency in the anti-opposition strategy of the apartheid régime. The revised labour law of 1987 was designed to add yet another link to the chain of restrictions imposed on the black people in order to ensure the full paralysis of their movements and full control over them.

It is now evident that the plight of the black majority in South Africa is not yet over. The report sheds light on the tragic details of the conditions in the country and highlights their grave consequences. The majority still lives under

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

the yoke of an anachronistic régime which resorts to all forms of racialism, oppression, humiliation and persecution. It is adamant in pursuing its outdated policies by whatever arbitrary racist means it can devise. The racist régime has reimposed the state of emergency and siege. It has resorted to censorship and the muzzling of the media. It has also shackled all the political activities of the opposition, the trade unions and the opponents of apartheid.

The racist régime continues to flout the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for a stay of execution of the foes of apartheid. This has been demonstrated by the declared intention of the Government to execute the activist Paul Tefo Setlaba.

The period under review has also witnessed an increase in the numbers of men, women and children who have been imprisoned and detained without trial. They still languish in prisons and camps. Moreover, the freedom fighter Nelson Mandela is still imprisoned in spite of the deterioration in his health. He should have been released on purely humanitarian grounds. My delegation joins in the appeals to the South African régime for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

History has shown that apartheid cannot be reformed out of existence. This is a pipe dream. The régime is unreformable. It must be eradicated, exactly as stated in numerous General Assembly resolutions. All the so-called constitutional reforms, phony bicameral councils and local and municipal elections, which run counter to General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolutions 38/11 and 43/13, are merely cosmetic changes. They are categorically rejected by the international community as they are contrary to the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions. What is really needed is the establishment of a democratic system based on the political and social equality of all South African citizens. This can be brought about only if the South African Government embraces the tenets of justice and recognizes the historical inevitability of the dismantling of the apartheid régime through genuine and sincere consultation with the real African leaders in South Africa, with a view to achieving majority rule and creating a system to which all the citizens of South Africa can belong, irrespective of race, colour or creed. This is the only viable approach to establishing a genuine, democratic society in South Africa.

Pretoria's continued onslaught on the opponents of apartheid, including Church leaders, the imposition of censorship, the recourse to detention and the banning of all anti-apartheid activities show very clearly that that régime has no intention of putting an end to its obsolete policies, but rather intends to consolidate them in practice and legislation.

The situation in South Africa has developed into a nightmare that tortures the conscience of the international community. Year after year, the General Assembly witnesses the infliction of more misery and suffering on the overwhelming majority at the hands of the practitioners of the abhorrent apartheid policy. This suffering continues because the majority rejects that policy and carries on the struggle to put an end to this abhorrent régime.



(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

A careful reading of the report of the Special Committee leads to the following conclusions.

First, there is no reliable evidence that the apartheid policy can be eliminated. On the contrary, we see that the régime is resorting to behaviour aimed at consolidating this policy by all possible means.

Secondly, the continued state of emergency in South Africa reflects increasing deterioration of the situation. This deterioration has led to the escalation of popular resistance in an attempt to change this régime, which is anathema to all who cherish human values.

Thirdly, if the situation continues to deteriorate, the possibility of a blood-bath in South Africa cannot be precluded. Such a development cannot be avoided under the policies of apartheid. This is a frightening fact, especially if we take into account the arbitrary policies of oppression of the racist Pretoria régime.

Fourthly, continued trade, and the increasing economic and military co-operation between South Africa and Israel and some other States help to perpetuate the apartheid régime and increase the suffering and aggravate the plight of the South African people. It has become abundantly clear that this is the result of the close co-operation between the Pretoria and the Tel Aviv régimes, which has been condemned by the United Nations, especially the military collaboration. This increasing co-operation is neither new nor strange. These two racist régimes systematically use violence and terrorism against the opponents of their racist policies and colonial settlement. They flout United Nations resolutions and disdain the basic values and principles enshrined in the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, indeed, any other international instruments.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

In the light of all this, the international community as embodied in the United Nations should take specific measures to put an end to the apartheid régime and support the struggle of the South African people by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the eradication without further delay of the inhuman policy of apartheid and to safeguard peace and stability in southern Africa.

On numerous occasions Bahrain has condemned the abhorrent apartheid policy, which is contrary to the values and ideals of the glorious Islamic sharia, based on the unity of human hope, the equality of all people and the right of all to enjoy their basic rights without regard to race, sex or religion. My country once again declares that it supports all concerted international efforts aimed at putting an end to the apartheid régime and at the establishment of a democratic society in which all citizens can enjoy equal rights, without discrimination as to race, colour or creed.

In this respect, I appeal to the international community to continue its assistance and help to the peoples of Azania in support of their legitimate struggle to put an end to the abhorrent apartheid régime and enjoy their legitimate right to freedom, equality and self-determination.

Mr. WAN HUSSEIN (Malaysia): Malaysia is gravely concerned over the situation in South Africa. The brutal repression of the majority black population by the racist régime has continued with increasing severity. The mass arrests, detention and forced removal of populations reflect the alarming desperation of the régime in the face of the relentless struggle of the black majority against the evil and inhuman policy of apartheid.

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

Malaysia has stated time and again that apartheid cannot be reformed. The only way to accord the black majority of South Africa its legitimate right to self-determination is by totally destroying the inhuman system of institutionalized racism embodied in apartheid. This heinous system must be abolished if peace and stability are to be attained in South Africa and in the southern African region.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the reports of the Secretary-General provide comprehensive and graphic accounts of the repressive policies and practices of the evil Pretoria régime against the majority black population, as well as its acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line States. My delegation expresses its appreciation to Ambassador Garba for his outstanding leadership of the Special Committee in the promotion of international action against apartheid.

The deteriorating situation in South Africa is due to the escalation of repression and State-sponsored violence against all forms of opposition to apartheid. The racist régime continues to pursue its two-track policy of brutal repression and attempting to draw black leaders into its racially segregated administrative structures.

In February this year the racist Pretoria régime severely restricted the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and 18 well-known anti-apartheid campaigners. The largest trade union federation in South Africa, the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), was also restricted to shop floor activities only. This was followed up by the adoption in September of the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which was intended to paralyze the black labour movement in South Africa. A wage freeze in the public sector, the majority of whose employees are blacks, was also instituted, with adverse consequences for the already deteriorating living standards of the black population.

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

These acts of suppression of the majority population were facilitated by the renewal of the emergency in June this year. The emergency, first declared in 1986, has facilitated the increasingly brutal treatment of the black population by the police, security agencies and armed forces. Vigilante and paramilitary extremist groups have been increasingly deployed by the régime against opponents of apartheid. Forced mass removals of the black population have continued as part of the racist régime's plans to consolidate the homelands. In the urban areas new laws have been enacted to enable the authorities to enforce strictly racial segregation in residential areas.

Mass arrests, detentions, political trials and executions have been continued with undiminished rigour by the racist régime as a means of silencing opposition and depriving the resistance of its leadership. As stated in the report of the Special Committee:

"81 persons are known to have been executed between 1 January and 14 July 1988. By May 1988, there were 274 persons on death row, most of whose names are not known. At least 70 political prisoners are presently on death row." (A/43/22, para. 34)

While we are relieved to learn of the commutation of the death sentences on the Sharpeville Six, and the release of Zephania Mothopeng, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and Harry Gwala, one of the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), we condemn the recent conviction by the courts of four leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on the grounds that speaking and demonstrating against apartheid constitute a treasonable offence against the State. Nelson Mandela continues to be denied his freedom, as are other political prisoners in South African gaols. International pressure must continue to be applied to force the racist régime to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners in South Africa.

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

Brutal repression of anti-apartheid resistance has also been carried out against African National Congress members overseas. In March this year, the ANC representative in France, Switzerland and Luxembourg, Mrs. Dulcie September, was brutally murdered. Attempts were also made on the lives of other ANC representatives in Belgium, as well as those living in Swaziland, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, as part of the racist régime's systematic campaign to eliminate the leaders of ANC. Activists from UDF, COSATU and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) are also increasingly singled out for political assassination by the security forces and the vigilante groups.

Parallel with its brutal acts of violence against the opponents of apartheid are the racist régime's attempts to involve black leaders in its racially segregated administrative structures in order to confer legitimacy on the régime. Such an attempt to co-opt the black population to official structures was first started in 1963, but the uprising and rent boycott by the majority successfully destroyed the system of town councils which had been imposed on them. In October this year the régime, in an attempt to re-establish the racialist and segregated administrative structures, held municipal council elections.

The municipal elections were condemned for what they were in no uncertain terms by the General Assembly. It was not a democratic expression of free choice by free men and women but a travesty of the democratic process, and it did not serve to advance the cause of majority rule in South Africa. Clearly, those elections were a deception to provide a semblance of black participation in the racialist administrative structure of the régime. Those elections indeed had no legitimacy, as they were based on the 1984 Constitution, which had been rejected by the blacks of South Africa and declared null and void by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

Indeed, the duties and responsibilities of the municipal councillors as designed by the racist régime were not to attend to the needs of their local communities, for the councillors have neither real power nor the necessary funds for the maintenance and development of vital services in their segregated communities. The so-called elected councillors were intended by the régime merely to form colleges to elect nine of the 15 representatives to serve on the proposed national statutory council, which the régime hopes will play a role in the preparation of a new constitution for the black majority of South Africa. We know that the municipal elections were a fraudulent attempt to deceive the international community into believing that a process of political reform is under way in South Africa. The aim was simply further to entrench the abhorrent system of apartheid in South Africa.

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

In its strategy to perpetuate apartheid, Pretoria has also sought regional domination. Acts of aggression, destabilization and State terrorism continue to be mounted by South Africa and its surrogate forces against Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Namibia and, recently, Angola. As reported by the Special Committee,

"The loss of human life has been substantial, and over 2.5 million people have been displaced in countries bordering on South Africa. It is estimated that the cost of regional destabilization since 1980 amounts to over \$US 27 billion, while for 1985-1986 alone it was \$US 15 billion." (A/43/22, para. 53)

Malaysia has repeatedly called for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, as an effective instrument in the struggle to bring about a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. The racist régime must be totally isolated for apartheid to be destroyed. Current restrictive measures and sanctions undertaken have had some impact on South Africa, but because they are not well co-ordinated and comprehensive in nature the racist régime has been able to circumvent some of these restrictive measures. Another aspect of the current piecemeal measures has been that some countries have been able to take advantage of the restrictive measures imposed by the traditional trading partners of South Africa to expand their trade with the racist régime.

We are convinced that only mandatory and comprehensive sanctions would prove effective in exerting pressure on the régime and make it fully comprehend the rejection of its policies by the international community and force it to abandon its inhuman policy of apartheid. At the same time assistance must be extended to the black South African and the front-line States to alleviate any possible effects of sanctions and to enable them to sustain their valiant struggle against the evil

(Mr. Wan Hussain, Malaysia)

system of apartheid. Malaysia, for its part, has pledged a contribution of \$US 2 million in kind for the Africa Fund established by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to provide assistance to the liberation movements and front-line States in their heroic cause of bringing about justice and freedom for the majority of the population of South Africa. We appeal to all Member States to contribute generously to the Africa Fund to help bring about the speedy elimination of apartheid and the achievement of black-majority rule in South Africa.

In conclusion, Malaysia would like to reaffirm its unequivocal commitment to the struggle of the majority in South Africa for the total elimination of the evil system of apartheid and for the establishment of majority rule in South Africa, so that men may live in dignity and freedom irrespective of the colour of their skin.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): As we are all aware, the situation in South Africa has continued to deteriorate since the last session of the General Assembly. Despite the claim to the contrary, the intransigence of the racist régime and its determination to maintain the evil system of apartheid has by now become unmistakably obvious. Hardly is it possible today to deny that the abhorrent system represents an affront to the international community, which has strongly and persistently condemned it as a crime against humanity. It is also clear, unfortunately, that the pressure that has been applied on the racist régime so far is nowhere near the level that is required to compel the apartheid régime to take the indignation of the international community seriously.\*

The last four decades have seen numerous international conferences that have duly addressed themselves to the continued flagrant violation of basic human rights and of accepted international laws and norms by the South African régime. It is

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\* The President returned to the Chair.



(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

high time that any subsequent deliberations on South Africa be geared towards making concrete contributions to bring about the eradication of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a land where all citizens, regardless of their colour, race or religion, live together in peace, freedom and harmony.

It is perhaps pertinent at this juncture to reject most indignantly the frivolous excuses being advanced by apologists for apartheid about the so-called positive process in South Africa. Of late there have even been those who argue that the ongoing negotiations on the situation in south-western Africa will have a direct bearing on the ultimate fate of apartheid in South Africa. While we recognize the positive impact of such steps on the peace and security of the region, we submit that these are two separate issues that must not be so mechanically linked and confused.

Despite repeated calls by the international community to the contrary, we are still witnessing in South Africa the intransigence of a racist régime most avidly pursuing the obnoxious system of apartheid. And there does not seem to be any sign of movement or change of heart towards the abandonment of the widely condemned racist practices. We should not, therefore, be deluded by all the posturings that have been displayed so far or that are likely to be countenanced in the future.

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid has clearly indicated, the objective situation prevailing in the region leaves no room for equivocation nor for any justification for complacency. In fact, if there is anything that the current situation in South Africa clearly reveals, it is the continued deterioration of the situation in that unhappy land.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

Grave violations of human rights persist on a wider scale: children who joined in peaceful demonstrations during school boycotts remain behind bars; detention without trial is resorted to massively under the infamous emergency regulation of June 1987; cases of widespread torture and acts of violence by security forces have been reported extensively; deaths, in mysterious circumstances, of people in custody have been on the rise; kidnappings and murders have become rife.

The truism that violence breeds violence has indeed become the way of life in that troubled society. Because the racist régime is so brutally violent the black population of South Africa has been forced to speak in the only language the racist régime seems to understand. Thus the indigenous inhabitants had to respond in kind, very often facing machine-guns with sticks, and tanks with crude stones. Given the determination of the people of South Africa, and in the light of the lessons of history, we are confident that the struggle of the people of South Africa will result in the ultimate demise of the apartheid régime and the establishment of a multiracial and democratic society in the land that hitherto has been one of racial violence.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

The Ethiopian delegation is outraged that apartheid should be practised today 40 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That a parochial minority should prevail over a peace-loving majority is indeed regrettable. That indigenous people should be treated as third-class citizens in the land of their birth is not only a perversion of the basic tenets of logic but an affront to the best instincts of mankind. It is therefore incumbent on the international community to take immediate and practical steps to bring to a halt the dramatic escalation of violations of basic rights by the racist régime. Likewise, we would like to associate ourselves with all those who have urged the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. For all these changes to be realized my delegation wishes to underscore the need continuously to mobilize widespread international action to compel the apartheid régime to comply with the aspirations of the majority of the indigenous people of South Africa and the demands of the international community.

In conclusion, my delegation expresses its continued solidarity with the front-line and neighbouring States and reiterates its call for assistance to those States with a view to enabling them to withstand the economic and political destabilization and military aggression directed against them by the racist clique. In this regard my delegation wishes to congratulate the Nordic countries and others that have demonstrated their willingness to aid front-line States by taking concrete steps.

As we all know, a lasting solution to the chronic problem in South Africa and its devastating effects in the region can be obtained only through the eradication of the root cause - the odious system of apartheid. In this connection we once again reaffirm the unflinching support of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). As the apartheid system continues to pose a grave danger to the region and a threat to international peace and security, we take this opportunity to call upon the Security Council to impose the long-sought comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in fulfilment of its responsibility under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is the duty and obligation of the international community to assist all victims of racism and to make concerted efforts to bring about the total demise of the apartheid system which, has remained an affront to humanity. My country will spare no effort in doing its part for the fulfilment of this arduous task.

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal) (interpretation from French): The United Nations is this year commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This commemoration, which gives us an opportunity to welcome the success achieved by our Organization in the defence and promotion of human rights, should make us more than ever determined to restore the lost rights of millions of Africans subjected to all kinds of suffering and humiliation by the condemned régime of Pretoria.

Indeed, the situation that continues to prevail in South Africa is the most massive and flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. If words and ethics had a destructive force, no one doubts that apartheid, so universally condemned, would have long since ceased to exist. But we still face this immoral, inhuman system based on institutionalized racial discrimination, bringing death and suffering in its train, a system that does not hesitate to attack even innocent children. Is it not significant that, like the teachings of other revealed religions, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, which finds most of its followers among the Afrikaners, stated last year in a dramatic change of position that apartheid was not justified by the Bible and was not in keeping with the principles of Christianity?

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

When it decided on 24 February this year to ban the activities of several people and black and white organizations that were peacefully opposed to apartheid, the South African Government confirmed that it had deliberately opted for arbitrary rule and chosen to go against the current of peace. Despite the state of emergency decreed in July 1985 and extended since then, Pretoria has shown itself incapable of maintaining order; it has its back to the wall and feels obliged to silence the peaceful victims of its racist policies.

But the strengthening of the arsenal of oppression against the black majority has not prevented a dangerous worsening of the situation in South Africa, where the supporters of apartheid have proceeded to increase arbitrary arrests, iniquitous judgements, unjustified imprisonments, terrorist acts of aggression against the anti-apartheid organizations and summary executions of freedom fighters.

There is no doubt that, by increasing massive and violent arbitrary oppression against anti-apartheid forces and by gagging the national and international press, the racist minority South African régime has been defying the international community, and in particular the authority and credibility of the United Nations. By these racist and aggressive acts, South Africa has continued to hold itself outside the generally encouraging atmosphere of détente that has become the hallmark of the current international political situation. As the Foreign Minister of Senegal stated on 3 October from this very rostrum during the general debate,

"... after four decades, the question of apartheid still arises in the same terms: the legitimate aspirations of a people are still stifled and its right to freedom and dignity violated." (A/43/PV.14, pp. 19-20)

The policy of obstinacy and systematic defiance of reason, law and ethics practised by the Pretoria régime is clear evidence of an increasingly explosive situation in southern Africa and poses a serious threat to international peace and security, which is the direct responsibility of the United Nations Security Council.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

The only peaceful way to avert total chaos is by imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. In order to be effective, such sanctions must be comprehensive, concerted and mandatory.

The main goal of these measures would be to create the conditions for frank, sincere peace negotiations between the South African authorities and the legitimate representatives of the national liberation movements and the South African patriotic forces. These conditions, we would remind the Assembly, must include the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, including women and children; the total, effective lifting of the state of emergency; the complete abrogation of repressive laws against anti-apartheid political and social groups; and the rescinding of laws that institutionalize racial discrimination.

Since 1986, with the extension of the restrictive measures taken by the various components of the international communities against South Africa, it has been amply proved that the only language that the upholders of apartheid really understand is that of sanctions.

It is a matter of concern that, despite the recent release of Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala, whose health has been ruined by many years of pitiless imprisonment, no reassuring sign has come from the racist Pretoria régime. On the contrary, for those who might still have doubts about the intentions of the South African racists suffice it to recall the recent masquerade of the municipal elections orchestrated by Pretoria, which the General Assembly immediately rejected in its resolution 43/13, of 26 October 1988, the repeated attacks against the front-line States, the increasing militarization of Namibia and the increasing internal and external

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

repression. These are terrible reminders of the inhuman realities of apartheid, which has quite rightly been declared a crime against humanity.

If the United Nations wishes to be the crucible and the reflection of the aspirations of peoples to justice, dignity and human rights, it cannot remain indifferent to the tragedy of the South African people.

All nations, organizations and people that cherish peace, justice and freedom must, individually and collectively, maintain, indeed increase, strong, effective pressure for the speedy dismantling of the odious system of apartheid, which is the primary source of all the ills from which the southern part of our continent is suffering. The declaration adopted by consensus at the International Conference on the plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa, held in Oslo in August of this year, reminded us unequivocally of this.

In this fortieth anniversary year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations cannot fail to lead the crusade for peace and justice in South Africa. As was solemnly stated by the General Assembly in its resolution adopted on 26 October 1988:

"only the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa." (resolution 43/13, para. 4)

Nelson Mandela, the Sharpeville Six, the men, women and children that die each day from the effects of apartheid, as well as all the other martyrs of South Africa, are for us symbols, and reminders that the struggle for freedom and dignity is yet to be won.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

In the face of these violations and the serious attacks on 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 against the front-line countries of southern Africa, which are daily subjected to the policy of aggression and destabilization of the Pretoria régime, should not the international community at last rise up and fulfil its duty of human solidarity with the victims of the cause of equality and peace?

I take this opportunity to reaffirm our full support for the clear-sighted, dynamic work accomplished by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, under the guidance of Mr. Joseph Garba.

We appeal to Member States which have not yet done so to ratify or accede to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which entered into force on 3 April this year, to enable the monitoring machinery established under this important legal instrument to operate.

Senegal, for its part, despite its meagre resources, which are needed for our economic and social development, nevertheless did not hesitate for an instance to establish a diversified programme of assistance and solidarity for the benefit the South African and Namibian people and to carry out a continuing campaign to sensitize and mobilize public opinion, both in Senegal and internationally, concerning the facts of apartheid and the need to combat this odious system of domination.

The decision taken by my country to host in Dakar, in July 1987, the historic meeting between a delegation of South African white liberals of the Afrikaner majority and a delegation of members of the African National Congress, was part of that policy.



(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

It is to this struggle against injustice, intolerance and the negation of human rights that Senegal calls the international community, to eradicate completely the scourge of apartheid so that the people of South Africa may at last play its full and rightful role in the community of free nations.

Miss AL MULLA (Kuwait): The new atmosphere generated by the relaxation of tension between the two super-Powers is having an impact all over the globe. The resolution of regional conflicts is already in process, and southern Africa is no exception. We await the successful finalization of these processes. The energy spent, and wisely so, on solving a problem of strategic interest should be extended to the very enclave, the root, of the problem - the apartheid régime of South Africa. The genuine concerns of the international community should not be overlooked. The intrinsic rights of the national majority should be paramount.

The international community is in unison in its abhorrence of apartheid. There is a strong and uniform call for the eradication of apartheid. It must go, said one Western leader; but go how? Apartheid is a sickly object, a deformed, twisted concept of relations among human beings.

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

It has neither the will nor the energy to go. It has to be forced, or at least goaded to go. Apartheid has proved to have a huge appetite for feeding on itself, getting extra nourishment from outside. How can apartheid be eradicated? By force? No, insist a few strong voices, the use of force cannot be condoned. A population standing up to a State machinery of terror and aggression is denied recourse to armed resistance. The honourable struggle against institutionalized violence, say some western countries, should be disavowed. But should South Africa itself not disavow violence, aggression and terror both inside and outside South Africa? Do not ask from peoples what State machineries are unwilling to deliver. Indeed, the right of self-defence under the United Nations Charter has often been invoked when States, singularly at times, resorted to arms to defend themselves. Why, then, are the people of South Africa and their liberation movements denied that right by those who exercised it in the past and continue to resort to it now?

Last week's decision by the apartheid courts that the non-violent demonstration of four leaders of the United Democratic Front and others against the system constituted treason is further testimony of the institutionalized terror pursued by South Africa. The systematic efforts to eliminate African National Congress officials in Africa and Europe, aggression against the front-line States and regional destabilization are debts borne by the racist regime. Without underestimating the valiant struggle waged by the people and their liberation movements, or the steadfastness of the front-line States, it is regrettable that their objective cannot be attained without assistance from the outside.

Externally, non-violent action against apartheid should ideally be the imposition of sanctions, a powerful but peaceful implement. It would have an immediate impact on the abhorrent system if it were adopted by all members of the international community. But there are some who are averse to the imposition of comprehensive

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

and mandatory sanctions. Communication with South Africa, they argue, should be maintained to allow pressure to be used against that régime. Their argument cites other factors which are themselves arguable if not rejectable.

A pragmatic alternative exists, namely the imposition of selective mandatory sanctions. A precedent has already been established with the arms embargo. I shall not speak about its effectiveness, for all are aware of the constraints involved in its implementation. However the international community delivered a strong message to South Africa by adopting those sanctions. That was ten years ago, in 1978. The international community should take further action to demonstrate its political will and its rejection of apartheid. An embargo against the supply and shipping of oil to South Africa should be next on the agenda of the Security Council. Kuwait strongly supports that course. It should be remembered that the Security Council toyed with the idea in 1977, but the draft of the resolution was not to see the light then.

Many countries have come a long way in observing the importance of the oil embargo against South Africa. The change witnessed in the policies of many States, notably Norway and Denmark among the shipping States, is an asset to the world campaign in this field. There is in fact a consensus by the international community to stop the flow of oil to South Africa. It is our earnest hope that that consensus will be translated into a resolution by the Security Council in the not too distant future.

There is a wide range of selective sanctions that can relay a message to South Africa. Disinvestment, divestment, a ban on loans, trade credit and scientific and technological exchanges are all areas that could be explored. South Africa will not relent from its policies unless it is forced to do so. Apartheid will not go unless a united international community makes it go. Let us explore all possible action.

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

Short of selective mandatory sanctions, Kuwait believes that one peaceful means to be employed in the struggle against apartheid is that of concerted efforts by the majority of the international community. In our experience, this has proved feasible. I am referring to the role played in the oil embargo by the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. Just two years of its activity have underlined the importance of co-operation among States in the successful implementation of common policies. Mandated by the General Assembly to monitor the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, the group proved to be an asset in strengthening the oil embargo. Through its principal activity of investigating alleged reports of oil shipments to South Africa, the group is co-ordinating the efforts of suppliers and shippers to enforce the embargo. Kuwait, for its part, has always maintained that for an embargo by oil-exporting States to be effective it should be supported by the efforts of the shipping States as well as the handling States. The vigilance of all those parties is necessary to enforce the embargo. The Intergovernmental Group is instrumental in co-ordinating such efforts. Kuwait is gratified that it could contribute to the work of the group under the able and wise chairmanship of Mr. Vraalsen, Ambassador of Norway.

We recognize the invaluable role of the Special Committee against Apartheid in mobilizing public opinion and in promoting the international campaign against apartheid. Kuwait would like to express its gratitude to the Chairman, Mr. Garbo, and members of the Special Committee, and to the secretariat of the Centre against Apartheid for the valuable report before the Assembly.

We note with appreciation the contents of Section III, entitled External relations of South Africa and international action against apartheid. Sub-section D(b) on the scope and degree of implementation of sanctions is of special interest to my delegation. It should be studied with seriousness for it sheds light on

(Miss Al Mulla, Kuwait)

several aspects of sanctions. It could provide a basis for developing further national measures against the apartheid régime.

My delegation further notes and supports the conclusions and recommendations in Section V of the report. Overall, the comprehensive coverage of developments inside and outside South Africa is a positive element.

We wish to make the following comments concerning Annex I to the report, on relations between South Africa and Israel. Its main focus is on military relations. My delegation does not wish to dwell on that matter; other speakers will surely refer to it. Kuwait does not underestimate the gravity of military collaboration between the two régimes, but wishes to draw attention to other forms of collaboration that highlight the trend in their relations. The information available indicates that Israel maintained contacts with the Bantustans, particularly the Ciskei; and that Pretoria has increased the export of its manufactured goods to Israel, which are then re-exported to the West, thereby taking advantage of the facilities granted to Israel by the European Economic Community members. There are more than 250 firms in Israel belonging to the South African-Israeli Chamber of Commerce. It is reported that South Africa has agreed to maintain investments of \$100 million per year in Israel. Israel has been granted the right to fish in South African territorial waters. It was allowed to continue to import South African coal with cheap credit. All of that and more is documented in a recent report by the Council for Namibia. The campaign against apartheid can only be enhanced by knowledge. Exposure enhances the struggle against apartheid; it does not derail it. The international community owes at least that much to the children, women and men of Africa.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.