



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.61

1 December 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 28 November 1988, at 3 p.m.

President:
later:

Mr. DLAMINI (Vice-President)
Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vice-President)

(Swaziland)
(Vanuatu)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa: [36] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
 - (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipment of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa
 - (c) Reports of the Secretary-General
 - (d) Report of the Special Political Committee
 - (e) Draft resolutions

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

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dlamini (Swaziland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22)
- (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa (A/43/44)
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General (A/43/682, A/43/699, A/43/786)
- (d) Report of the Special Political Committee (A/43/802)
- (e) Draft resolutions A/43/L.30 to A/43/L.38, A/43/L.41 and A/43/L.42

Mr. TORNUDD (Finland): A fortnight ago this body was debating the question of Namibia, one of the burning problems of southern Africa. At that time we had reasons for cautious optimism, which subsequently has gained strength. Unfortunately this optimism has little room in our present deliberations on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. In fact the situation in South Africa has even deteriorated since our discussion during the forty-second session of the General Assembly. Violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms continue unabated. The two-year-old state of emergency has again been extended by one year. However, the South African Government is not able to suppress the will of the nation by the measures used in previous years. It has therefore decided to eliminate the remaining channels of discontent of the black people by banning and restricting the activities of 17 democratic mass organizations which are members of the United Democratic Front and the country's largest trade union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

The South African Government has made it clear by these actions that it apparently lacks the moral power and the will to achieve the goal, avowed by it time and again, of introducing more democracy and bringing about a peaceful, orderly transition to a South Africa free of political discrimination.

During last year's session we welcomed the release from prison of Mr. Govan A. Mbeki, one of the leaders of the outlawed African National Congress. A few days ago Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala were also freed. We hope that these measures will be followed by the full release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. We consider the release of political prisoners to be of the utmost importance for opening the way for negotiations between the South African Government and the organizations of the black community.

In this rather gloomy situation, we should like to draw attention to certain efforts to eliminate apartheid in some circles of the South African society representing its white businessmen. Last month the Congress of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South Africa held its annual meeting in Durban. This meeting was concerned about growing international pressure for sanctions against South Africa and therefore adopted a resolution in which the Congress recognized that the prospects for generating investment in South Africa were directly dependent on the elimination of all forms of statutory racial discrimination and the accommodation of all people in a new political dispensation. The Congress also urged that the Group Areas Act and all remaining discriminatory legislation be dismantled as soon as possible. The world community should do its utmost to give strength to this kind of effort to eliminate apartheid. The best way to do this that we can see is by strengthening existing sanctions.

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

The Finnish position is very clear. Finland, in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries, has worked within the United Nations towards the eradication of the apartheid system in South Africa and the transfer of power in the country to a broadly based and freely elected Government. We believe that the best way to move the South African Government in this direction is through joint and unanimous measures by the international community. It is the firm opinion of the Government of Finland that mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter are the most effective instruments for achieving peaceful change in South Africa. Only abolition of apartheid, together with recognition of the civil and political rights of all South Africans, can provide the basis for a peaceful and democratic evolution of South African society. Pending mandatory sanctions, Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, is committed to continued work in order to achieve as soon as possible decisions on effective measures by the United Nations Security Council.

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

The Nordic countries have implemented all the aforementioned United Nations recommendations, and gone beyond them. The remaining trade links were broken last year. This year the Nordic countries adopted a revised Nordic Programme of Action against Apartheid, which is a follow-up of the previous programmes of 1978 and 1985. The new Programme of Action incorporates all the measures so far taken by the Nordic countries against apartheid. These measures, which have already been notified to the United Nations, include bans and restrictions on economic and cultural links between the Nordic countries and South Africa.

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

Consistent with the Nordic Programme of Action, the Finnish Government has significantly widened its co-operation with the members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in order to help the countries of the region to increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa. The international community has a special responsibility to increase its moral and material support for the victims of apartheid. Finland gives its full support to the United Nations southern Africa Funds and, together with the other Nordic countries, is the main contributor to them.

If South Africa were to resort to any reprisals against its neighbours, it would be the responsibility of the whole international community to take the necessary steps in order to alleviate their effects. The argument that the sanctions might cause hardship for the blacks in South Africa and its neighbouring States should not be accepted as a pretext for inaction. By supporting the imposition of effective mandatory sanctions, Finland does not aim at the destruction of South Africa. Our only goal is the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a pluralistic system in which the Government is based on the whole population and elected in free elections, and the civil, political and other human rights of the whole population are recognized.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community and to reiterate our views with respect to apartheid in South Africa.

The Twelve have repeatedly expressed their revulsion at the immoral system of apartheid and have demanded that it be abolished. It has no place in the international community and we have unequivocally condemned it in all its forms and manifestations both in the United Nations and in other international forums.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Apartheid is an institutionalized system of State racism which deprives the majority of the people of South Africa of their basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It is a flagrant violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Twelve attach the highest importance to this Declaration, the fortieth anniversary of which we shall celebrate this month. We utterly reject a system in which a person is treated solely on the basis of his or her colour. Apartheid is an insult to the dignity of those it affects and has bred hatred and violence. Indeed, violence is inherent in the system.

Apartheid survives through ruthless application of Draconian measures against the great majority of the population by the South African authorities. The continuation of the state of emergency has further diminished prospects for peaceful change. The reforms introduced so far have proved too few and too slow.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

In addition, new serious and disturbing developments have again occurred this year which have resulted in a further deterioration of the situation in South Africa. In February the South African Government prohibited 17 South African organizations peacefully opposing apartheid from carrying on any activities whatsoever and severely restricted the activities of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The Twelve vigorously condemned this action and urged the South African Government to repeal these measures. But since then, restrictions have been imposed on the activities of even more organizations.

These restrictions against a number of organizations peacefully opposing apartheid, the arrests of church and trade union leaders and the bill aimed at depriving peaceful anti-apartheid organizations of external funding underline Pretoria's lack of political will to commit itself to real and significant change. Because of this we fear that relations between the Twelve and South Africa will worsen even further.

The Twelve share the widespread anxiety felt by the international community over the conditions in which some of the detainees in South Africa are being held. Detention without charge of men, women and even young children, a number of which have suffered maltreatment and torture, is an abhorrent violation of the most basic human rights. We once again condemn arbitrary arrests and detention without trial and call for the release of all who are imprisoned or deprived of their freedom because of their opposition to apartheid. We have also made clear our opposition to the policy of forced removals and other discriminatory legislation, such as the Group Areas Act.

The Twelve welcome the decision of President Botha to commute the death sentences inflicted on the Sharpeville Six. The Twelve hope that this decision will be followed by further action conducive to the relaxation of tensions and to peaceful change in South Africa.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Freedom of information is a principle of fundamental importance and part and parcel of a genuine democratic process. The Twelve view with deep concern the continued curtailment of press freedom in South Africa under the state of emergency. We urge the South African Government to lift the restrictions on the press without delay.

The Twelve reiterate once more their firm conviction that apartheid must be totally abolished by peaceful means. This can be achieved only if the vicious circle of repression and violence is replaced by a constructive dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion. Only broad-based negotiations involving the genuine representatives of the black community and all other elements of the South African population can lead to peace and prosperity in a free, democratic and united South Africa without racial discrimination which takes into account the diversity of its society.

However, there can be no dialogue so long as the state of emergency remains in force and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other political parties are proscribed, and while leaders of the black majority remain in prison or detained. In this context the Twelve believe that the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela would considerably improve the present tense climate in South Africa. The Twelve urge the Government of South Africa to remove the state of emergency, to lift the ban on the ANC, PAC and other political parties and to release unconditionally Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. We deplore the refusal of the Government of South Africa to make efforts to establish a genuine national dialogue.

In pursuit of these goals the European Community and its member States have adopted an active policy based on a two-track approach to the problem of apartheid. First, we have undertaken intensive diplomatic activity to persuade the South African Government of the inescapable need for fundamental reform. These

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

efforts have been reinforced by a number of restrictive measures designed to bring the message home. Secondly, we have taken a series of positive measures to provide assistance to the victims of apartheid.

Our efforts to persuade the Government of Pretoria of the need for fundamental change have included numerous démarches, either collectively or on a national basis, on the question of political prisoners, detainees, those facing the death sentence, discriminatory legislation, the homelands policy and the restrictive measures taken against organizations peacefully opposing apartheid, and the bill aimed at depriving those organizations of external funds.

Our restrictive measures include: a ban on new investments; a ban on the import of iron and steel and of gold coins from South Africa; an embargo on the export of arms and paramilitary equipment to South Africa; an embargo on imports of arms and paramilitary equipment from South Africa; refusal to co-operate in the military sphere; the cessation of exports of sensitive equipment to the South African police and armed forces; the prohibition of oil exports to South Africa; the recall of military attachés accredited to South Africa and a refusal to grant accreditation to military attachés from South Africa; the freezing of official contacts and agreements in sporting and security matters; the prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector; and the discouragement of scientific and cultural agreements, except where they might contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no role in supporting it.

Coupled with these restrictive measures a series of concerted programmes have been undertaken both individually and collectively by the European Community and its member States to help the victims of apartheid. Special emphasis is put on helping those arrested under the state of emergency and, in particular, on training and education programmes for black South Africans. The European Community provided

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

30 million ECU, equivalent to \$39 million in 1986 and 1987. For 1988 alone the Community has allocated 25.5 million ECU, equivalent to \$28 million for the victims of apartheid. Since 1986, 178 projects in the fields of education, training, social and humanitarian aid and legal assistance have been channelled through organizations committed to peaceful change.

Since 1977, the Twelve have implemented a Code of Conduct for European Community companies with branches or subsidiaries in South Africa. This code has been strengthened and updated over the years with the adoption of new guidelines. Its aim is to contribute to the abolition of apartheid, not least by substantially improving the standard of living and working conditions of the largest possible number of African workers. Greater emphasis is now being given to the role of independent trade unions representing black African workers. This code requires companies to pay greater attention to education, training, black career development and wider community projects.

The problems created by the system of apartheid in South Africa and the inability of its Government to resolve them affect the neighbouring countries and increase the political, military and economic difficulties of southern Africa. The Twelve view the situation with great concern, and together with the European Community provide substantial assistance to those countries. A major priority is given to the reduction of their dependence on South Africa, in particular in the fields of transport, communications, agriculture, food and training. Since the inception of the Lomé Convention in 1975 the European Community and its member States have consistently and substantially increased their assistance to the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The total Community contribution for the period 1975-1990 will reach 3.2 billion ECU, equivalent to \$3.8 billion, to which should be added the direct contribution of its member States to the SADCC.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

The Twelve will continue to monitor closely every aspect of the effects of apartheid, including human rights violations and other abuses. We will continue to use pressure to bring about peaceful change. In the absence of significant progress towards the abolition of apartheid, the attitude of the Twelve towards South Africa remains under constant review.

The Twelve have made clear on many occasions their abhorrence of apartheid. That evil system cannot endure, and the sooner the South African Government comes to terms with this the better. Our goal - which is shared by the entire community of nations - is to secure an end to that intolerable system and a South African society with freedom and justice for all.

Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): Against the background of a world in which war and violence are increasingly denounced as unsuitable means of action and common sense and peaceful co-operation are coming to the fore, apartheid stands out in sharp contrast. That system of institutionalized racism is diametrically opposed to the healthy development of international relations. It is only logical - and this has been shown in the course of our debate so far - that the peoples are united in their judgement of the apartheid policy pursued by the Government of South Africa, which is that as long as apartheid, that crime against humanity, persists, there will be people who are brutally stripped of their rights and whose dignity is trampled underfoot, and there will be serious threats to international peace and security. This compels us to be relentless in our efforts to eradicate the outdated and much hated system of apartheid. The most effective way of doing this is undoubtedly by giving all-embracing support to the oppressed people of South Africa waging a heroic and self-sacrificing struggle for its legitimate rights.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

The annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) is before us. It contains a wealth of facts about the repressive policies pursued by the Pretoria régime within South Africa and its acts of destabilization, aggression and State terrorism outside the country, including assassination of representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) abroad. The report also shows that resistance against apartheid has grown in South Africa itself and that this resistance is receiving more and more support from the international community. The way the anti-apartheid movement continues to rally its forces is impressive. At the same time, it is apparent that there are still imperialist circles that give the régime in Pretoria their direct or indirect backing and have not mustered the political will at long last to end collaboration with that régime. The annual report is a document that provides a conclusive and clear-cut summary of what has been achieved, while pointing to future ways of continuing the struggle against apartheid.

In this context, my delegation wishes to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid and, in particular, its Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for their dedicated and result-oriented work, and to express its high appreciation of their efforts. The Committee has made a major contribution in revealing the nature of the crime of apartheid, unmasking all forms of collaboration with the Pretoria régime and mobilizing world public opinion against apartheid. We also appreciate the efforts undertaken by the staff of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, under the leadership of the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

In its introductory remarks, the annual report states that "the South African régime has escalated its repression of activists and mass-based organizations which have been in the forefront of peaceful" - I repeat "peaceful" - "opposition to apartheid." (A/43/22, para. 5)

There are many examples to prove the truth of this statement. In each and every case, these examples are also evidence that the apartheid régime is unwilling to abandon the system of racial segregation. All the so-called reforms are attempts at disguising the true nature of the system, designed as they are to maintain and possibly consolidate the existing type of "order".

Let me just single out one measure taken by Pretoria. On 24 February 1988 severe restrictions were imposed on 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations, among them the United Democratic Front (UDF), and on 18 public figures. Restrictions were also put into effect in regard to the work of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Any failure to comply with these sanctions entails criminal prosecution. Is this not tantamount to criminalizing any form of protest against apartheid, including peaceful protest? Does this not provide all those who operate the repressive machinery with a licence to take any kind of ruthless action against the anti-apartheid movement? Such questions are all the more justified in the light of the fact that there has been a state of emergency in South Africa for years.

By pursuing its plans to crush the democratic movement in the country the régime is increasingly losing ground when it comes to achieving a peaceful solution by way of consultations with the genuine leaders of the oppressed black population. What adds to this trend is Pretoria's persistent refusal to release

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

the outstanding patriot and ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and all other political prisoners, to lift the ban on the liberation movements and generally to create all the conditions conducive to such consultations.

All such manoeuvres, however, as the pursuit of so-called reforms in an attempt to find collaborators and use them for the consolidation of the existing power machinery are, in our view, doomed to failure. This was evident when the so-called municipal elections met with a clear rebuff a few weeks ago.

From all that I have just said there is one specific conclusion for my country: as long as the Government of South Africa is unwilling to put an end to the policy of apartheid, the German Democratic Republic will continue to support the call for the adoption of comprehensive and binding sanctions by the United Nations Security Council. International pressure on the rulers in Pretoria must not be allowed to weaken; indeed, it must be redoubled, until the day when the unreformable apartheid is eliminated and apartheid is no longer on the agenda of a General Assembly session.

(Mr. Zachmann, German
Democratic Republic)

In this attitude we feel at one with the majority of States. The demand for comprehensive and binding sanctions was also made by the Nicosia Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. The fact that international pressure and concerted action can indeed be of help was confirmed when the Government in Pretoria was forced to commute the death sentence against the Sharpeville Six. So, how much more effective would be a united move by the Security Council on the basis of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter? This would not only benefit the just cause of the oppressed black population in South Africa itself but also promote the independence of Namibia and ensure a development in the States of the region such as is desired by their peoples. In a word, such a move would help to remove by peaceful means the root cause of all conflicts in southern Africa.

The German Democratic Republic's consistent stand against apartheid is reflected in our daily political practice and in the responsive action taken by the citizens of my country. Let me, in this context, recall that only a few days ago we were observing the tenth anniversary of the opening of the ANC mission in Berlin. The German Democratic Republic will also continue to support the ANC and all democratic forces in South Africa. Our undiminishing solidarity goes out to the peoples in the region who struggle for their liberation. Also in the United Nations, and particularly in the Special Committee against Apartheid, my delegation will continue to exert every effort so that colonialism, racism and apartheid may finally disappear from the political map of the world, and peace, security and stability, as well as normal co-operation between States, may prevail in southern Africa too.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): This year, in a few days' time, the international community will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We will do so with mixed feelings of joy and of frustration, for whereas since the solemn proclamation of that Declaration in 1948 a large majority of the peoples of the world have won back their rights to freedom and self-determination and have acceded to national independence, on the African continent, unfortunately, millions of our fellow men still live in humiliating subjugation to the inhuman, racist and segregationist apartheid régime of the Government of South Africa.

For the community of free men it will be a precious opportunity to manifest and reaffirm their solidarity with the peoples of that part of the world, whether in South Africa, in Namibia or in the Front-line States, who are unjustly the victims of that policy of racial discrimination and its destructive effects. We have observed with some concern that, as a result of the pursuit of that policy by the white minority of Pretoria, the situation in southern Africa has year by year become more explosive, thus seriously threatening international peace and security. Flagrant mass violations of human rights and acts of political and economic destabilization and widespread violence have constantly caused us concern.

In South Africa itself the systematic repression of those who oppose the apartheid régime has continued to grow worse. In view of the way in which the people's struggle has grown and spread, the Pretoria Government has not hesitated to utilize against those people the most repressive and brutal means to contain the struggle, means such as detentions without charge or trial, forced resettlement, bannings and restrictions, political trials, the harassment of trade unions and different organizations and individuals who have dared to raise their voices to

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

call for freedom and justice, and strict media censure - all this under the cover of the state of emergency imposed more than two years ago and extended for the second time in June this year.

What is more, groups of parallel forces falsely described as self-defence committees have been fostering and inciting division in the black community, with the encouragement and tacit assistance of officials of the régime, so as to neutralize that community and make it more easily amenable to their control.

What is more, the political trials I have just mentioned led during the first quarter of this year to the execution of 81 courageous anti-apartheid militants, who gave their lives for a common ideal of mankind. About 50 other political prisoners have been condemned to death and are awaiting the day of their execution. The Sharpeville Six were spared at the last moment, after the death sentence had been pronounced, because the Government in Pretoria had been subjected to great pressure from international public opinion, from many Governments throughout the world and from the Security Council. The international community has a duty to redouble its efforts to step up campaigns for the release of all political prisoners still held in South Africa, including Nelson Mandela, the respected leader of the African National Congress (ANC) and his closest companions in the struggle.

In Namibia it is the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa that is at the root of that Government's illegal occupation of the country, which became an international Territory after the termination of its mandate more than 20 years ago. That occupation is in flagrant violation of international law and of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and shows total contempt for the

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The oppression of the Namibian people, which is subjected to the same apartheid laws as the black population of South Africa, and the plunder of its natural and human resources, with the connivance of certain Western Powers are, in sum, a challenge to the authority of this Organization. The exploitation of those resources, which are part of the heritage of the Namibian people alone, by foreign economic interests under the protection of the colonial régime of South Africa is completely illegal and contravenes the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the protection of the natural resources of Namibia.

South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) militants and other Namibian patriots are each day thrown into prison, maltreated or tortured to death. They are victims of the military apparatus of the racist occupation régime, which has chosen to reinforce its armed forces in that country, thus transforming it into a kind of armed camp. By such actions Pretoria seeks to achieve a three-fold aim: to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory; to protect foreign economic interests therein; and to use the Territory as a springboard for acts of armed invasion, aggression and subversion against front-line States.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

What is more, in those countries, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, it maintains bands of traitors that it has armed and equipped with the goal of creating a permanent climate of terror, instability and insecurity there, thereby seriously jeopardizing all the economic development programmes undertaken in those States.

The commitment and constant efforts of our universal Organization in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination cannot but be highly praised. Indeed, apart from the adoption of the Charter itself in 1945, which clearly upholds the dignity and equality of all human beings whatever their race, the United Nations subsequently undertook various activities and adopted several instruments of great importance, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which I spoke earlier, the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in 1963, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in 1965, which, in 1970, that is, a year after its entry into force, led to the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Similar efforts and activities undertaken by other organizations and international institutions, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the Interparliamentary Union, to mention just a few, are also of great importance. Unfortunately, they have all met with the unco-operative and arrogant attitude of the Pretoria authorities.

If racist South Africa dares to display such arrogance and defiance of world opinion, it is because it is assured of the firm economic, political and even military support of certain Western Powers which share vast economic and strategic interests with it.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

My delegation considers that the only peaceful means for the international community to contribute effectively to the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and to the establishment in its place of a democratic society that is not based on prejudice regarding race, colour or creed, is to impose on South Africa the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We deeply regret the fact that certain permanent members of the Security Council have chosen to dissociate themselves from the international community whenever the question of imposing such sanctions comes up. However, despite the intransigent attitude of the Pretoria régime and the delaying tactics of certain Western Powers, we are still firmly convinced that, bolstered by the firm and constant support of the international community, the just struggle waged by the peoples of southern Africa to recover their human dignity and their independence will eventually be crowned with success.

Mr. OUYAHIA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): On 26 October this year the General Assembly on an emergency basis and in almost complete unanimity condemned and rejected the South African electoral farce. Furthermore, all the economic, social and political deliberations held at this session, like previous ones, have vigorously denounced the crimes of apartheid. Indeed, this new debate on the situation in South Africa is, as similar debates in the past, a culmination of the on-going trial of apartheid as a crime against mankind. It reflects our constant struggle against that racist, oppressive system in the face of which our action goes beyond an act of solidarity and becomes our own battle to defeat a common enemy and uphold the values that unite us here in the United Nations.

While the proponents of apartheid are constantly trying to make us believe in their desire to mend their ways, the current situation in South Africa and in the

(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

entire southern part of the African continent points to an increasingly violent policy aimed at consolidating the interests of a racist minority.

The state of emergency, which has been the normal state of affairs for several years in order to stifle South African national resistance, has become a constant reality. It is a cover for intensified repression of the South African patriotic movement and offers a legal arsenal for arbitrary arrests, racist detention, execution for no other reason than the specious offence of "common purpose" and banishment. The state of emergency is also used as a pretext to ban anti-apartheid political organizations, to forbid external assistance to them and to hide through the censorship of local and foreign media the damning evidence of the crimes of apartheid.

Apartheid, a system on the defensive, is tracking down South African nationalist militants even beyond its borders. In Europe and in the independent States of southern Africa, South African freedom fighters have been attacked this year just as others were attacked before in Harare, Maputo, Gaborone and elsewhere, throughout southern Africa, a region confronting the aggressive and oppressive delirium of Pretoria, which is trying in vain to find a way out of, and justification for, its domestic crisis. Thus Namibia's independence has been taken away in spite of unprecedented international commitment. Thus also Mozambique and Angola have long suffered overt aggression from Pretoria and are still confronting its destabilizing schemes conducted by mercenaries. Thus, finally, the other independent States of southern Africa must always be on the alert and ready for sacrifice.

The total repression of the South African people cannot, however, stem the heroic struggle to which it has committed itself fully in order to defeat the system of apartheid. Those suffering from privation, detention and torture in South Africa, those who were born there and grew up under a régime of denial, and

(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

those who are making the supreme sacrifice will be the ones who will inevitably triumph over apartheid. While the system feeds on injustice and oppression, such injustice and oppression are the seeds of its own destruction. That struggle has gained the admiration and respect of all. It rightly deserves the active solidarity of the entire international community because, in the final analysis, although the South African people is fighting for its own freedom, it is also fighting to eliminate a source of shame to all mankind.

(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

The present situation in South Africa has a twofold aspect, which we have never ceased to affirm. First, this situation highlights the fact that apartheid cannot reform itself and so must be combated. Secondly, the persistence of the situation proves that the international struggle against apartheid cannot be piecemeal but requires total, widespread commitment.

First, apartheid cannot be reformed, and the electoral sham of 26 October last showed this quite clearly. That event, about which some were optimistic, only demonstrated the extreme cynicism of the Pretoria régime, which today is proclaiming its clear plan to impose harsher repression and expand its exclusive advantages. Similarly, the torturer, Botha, no longer feels the need to prolong the grim suspense concerning the fate of the leader Nelson Mandela. He is now stating publicly that this hero will not be freed because his freedom would not suit Pretoria.

Secondly, the fight against apartheid cannot be truly effective without collective action. The commendable but limited result of isolated sanctions is clear proof of this. The economic and military co-operation which Pretoria still enjoys is in defiance of international condemnation and is sidestepping the arms embargo decreed by the Security Council.

Four decades of delay and hesitation have left no pretext for the postponement of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against apartheid. These four decades have amply illustrated the futility of dialogue with the South African régime, which has placed itself beyond the law and is threatening regional and international peace and security.

The imposition of the urgently needed sanctions against apartheid can no longer be made dependent on an impossible internal change; nor can it be avoided on

(Mr. Ouyahia, Algeria)

the grounds of the effect on the peoples of southern Africa. We must not forget that the South African people, which is demanding its dignity and freedom, is determined to regain these even at the price of martyrdom. Nor must we forget that the independent States of the region, which have seen the massacre of their populations and destruction of their economies, are also calling for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against Pretoria. The United Nations Charter provides in its Chapter VI the legal machinery for their implementation. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which is demanding the implementation of this provision, has also, since its Harare summit, established a channel for assistance to the peoples of southern Africa through the establishment of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund.

The irreversible nature of the system of apartheid and the patent failure of all attempts to bring the Pretoria régime to reason, the excessive sufferings of the South African people and their brothers and neighbours, and the existence of a framework for the provision of assistance remove any justification for delaying energetic collective action to bring to an end the era of racism, oppression and aggression in southern Africa. Any additional attempt to oppose this is clearly tantamount to complicity and ill-conceived self-interest.

It is now the duty of the Assembly, which has been too long defied by Pretoria, to show itself more decisively in favour of sanctions against apartheid. It is above all the duty of the Security Council, which has the international authority and which has begun to rebuild its decision-making power and its ability to take, for common action, to commit itself fully to the destruction of the apartheid system and to the restoration, at last, of justice, peace and security in the fullest sense in southern Africa.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): The world has been witnessing the development of a new climate in international relations. The impact of the agreements signed by the USSR and United States of America has made a great contribution to the world-wide resort to the principle of the peaceful settlement of conflicts. Indeed, in many parts of the world countries are engaged in strong diplomatic exercises aimed at bringing about a lasting peace in their respective regions through political means. Sparing no effort, the United Nations and its Secretary-General have also been increasingly playing a crucial role in many of these undertakings.

Racist South Africa, however, constitutes one of the exceptions. In that country the heinous apartheid régime behaves as if it were an island trying desperately to resist flooding by the waves of the surrounding ocean of freedom, justice and peace.

As I speak, at this very moment, somewhere in the nation of apartheid there are innocent children under the age of 15 whose freedom has been confined within the walls of secret prisons, where they are subjected to forced labour. Their only crime is their failure to understand the reasons behind the sharp difference in the treatment given to them and that given to white children. Their only crime is their opposition to apartheid. In contrast to children in many parts of the world, children in racist South Africa are not able to enjoy their youthful years free and carefree.

This is but one of the many examples of the abhorrent violation of human dignity that I could give to illustrate the dramatic point that the cruel system of apartheid has reached in its 40 years of existence.

Injustice still persists in South Africa. The white minority's supremacy and its ruthless domination of the majority still continue and remain unchanged. If

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

the apartheid system has changed at all, it has been only to reinforce its structure and adjust itself to the new climate created by the growing intensity of anti-apartheid campaigns and the resistance within and outside racist South Africa.

In that country, people still live under the horrors of repression, arbitrary detention, torture and killings. The state of emergency is now two years old. The racist régime contends that its institution was intended to prevent the increasing unrest and to bring about order. In the racist lexicon, unrest and disorder are understood to mean the anti-apartheid uprisings of the people against the régime. The régime fails to understand that the violence and resistance of the people emanate from the essence of apartheid itself. Therefore, it goes without saying that the state of emergency will not crush the people's upheaval so long as the apartheid system persists. Unless the racist régime realizes this, the state of emergency will be extended, resulting in the continuation of a state of terror and suffering in apartheid South Africa. The explanation for the continuation of the current scenario of escalating repression and terror against opponents of apartheid, the growing number of arbitrary detentions, bans, trials, killings and executions, including those of women and children, and the muzzling of the press can be understood only in this context.

The racist régime believed that by promoting false independence in the so-called bantustans it would gain the sympathy of the international community and the people of South Africa. But that was not the case.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It was clear that the policy of bantustanization was another face of the same coin. It was born out of the concept of the distribution of territories on the basis of race, whereby whites were entitled to the better lands and blacks to barren lands. Not only did the South African people and the international community not recognize those homelands but they were wise enough to understand the nature of the policy, which was in its essence apartheid. The racists themselves ended up by realizing that they had deceived themselves after all. Hence, for their survival it was imperative to seek a new strategy; they therefore introduced the so-called reforms.

Reform policies in South Africa came about as an obvious result of a gross failure of the attempt by the racist régime to deceive and mislead the international community in general and the people of South Africa in particular.

There are no signs so far indicating that the apartheid system is now undergoing metamorphosis. The racist régime's intransigence regarding the termination of its system of apartheid has increased every year. The results of the so-called municipal elections attest to that ever-growing intransigence of the racists, and are not and cannot be considered as a harbinger of still waters ahead. What we have been witnessing is the adoption of methods similar to the so-called stick and carrot policy.

On the one hand, the racist régime advocates the so-called reforms of apartheid, while, on the other, it declares a ruthless state of emergency. While it declares void the law of the pass, it simultaneously enacts bans against peaceful democratic mass organizations, church leaders, trade unionists and students, and condemns some opponents to house arrest.

It is evident that the so-called reforms, like the Bantustan policy, are doomed to fail. This is not surprising. It was understood from the very beginning that the so-called reforms of apartheid were nothing but manoeuvres designed to

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

weaken the resistance of the people against apartheid and to win support. It will not be long before the racists realize once again that this will meet the same fate as did the Bantustan policy. Everything points to the fact that they have already done so. Petty apartheid is making a come-back. The cosmetics applied to the ugly face of apartheid are peeling off.

The past teaches us that each time the racist régime fails to pursue its strategy the more violent and inhuman it becomes: witness the tribulations of the Sharpeville six and the treason trial of prominent and peaceful officials of the United Democratic Front.

The situation in South Africa is growing increasingly explosive as time goes by. If nothing is done to reverse that negative trend there will be a confrontation of unpredictable proportions. The international community is called upon to redouble its efforts in support of the oppressed but struggling people in South Africa, and to tighten the pressure on the racist régime to help accelerate the downfall of apartheid.

To that end, the world community should prevail upon South Africa's racist régime immediately to put an end to its abhorrent policy of apartheid and to heed the voice of the majority. In that connection, the South African régime should be cognizant of the imperative need to hold a dialogue with the true representative of the people with a view to bringing about a just and lasting solution to the conflict in South Africa. A successful dialogue requires as a prerequisite the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the bans on the African National Congress, other anti-apartheid movements and mass organizations, as well as the safe return of the exiled people.

That is why my delegation strongly believed, and continues to believe, that the apartheid system cannot be reformed but has to be totally eradicated, because what matters is not half apartheid or quarter apartheid but no apartheid at all.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Peace in South Africa will not see the light of day without the eradication of apartheid.

We believe in a future South Africa where the apartheid system will no longer exist, and where a just, non-racial and democratic society will be established. The apartheid system is an obstacle in the way of sound and fruitful co-operation among the States in the region. That immoral system is the root cause of violence and destruction in the region through its acts of aggression, occupation and destabilization against neighbouring countries. Thus, its eradication will benefit the whole region as well as contribute to international peace and security.

Racist South Africa's well-known policy is based upon the concept of exporting its internal conflicts to neighbouring countries with the premeditated intention of diverting the attention of the international community from the core of the problem. Thus it relentlessly pursues its policies of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring countries. All signs indicate that it continues to use both its armed terrorists and regular armed forces against my country. On 28 July 1988 an exchange of fire between our forces and those of racist South Africa occurred in the province of Maputo, resulting in one racist soldier being killed and the capture of equipment. Racist South Africa is demanding the return of both.

Given the complexity of the conflict, the negotiating efforts currently under way in southern Africa can easily lure people around the world into believing that the situation in the region is close to a solution. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although we are aware of the fact that those negotiations, if successful, could make a tremendous contribution to peace in the southern part of the continent, they will not bring a definite solution to the conflict that opposes the majority and the minority inside South Africa itself. The root cause of that

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

conflict lies solely in the continuation, reinforcement and deepening of the system of apartheid which has already been declared a crime against mankind.

Finally, let me conclude my remarks by paying tribute to the suffering but struggling people of South Africa, and by reaffirming my country's full support for the African National Congress and other democratic mass organizations in their struggle against apartheid. The struggle continues.

Mr. TEWARY (India): Conditions in South Africa have continued to deteriorate year after year. As the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid points out, with a sense of deep concern, last year was no exception. The racist Pretoria régime has, on the one hand, escalated its repression within the country in order to stifle any form of dissent and opposition while, on the other, it has stepped up its terrorist activities across the frontiers.

The catalogue of brutalities inflicted by the racist régime on the innocent people of South Africa is gruesome. A large number of people are arbitrarily detained, tortured and executed under the so-called laws of the régime, which itself is illegal. Many others are abducted and murdered in cold blood to be later disguised as suicides. Forced removals, segregation, press censorship, bans and restrictions, destruction of property, indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators - no aspect of life is spared the tyranny of State terrorism. Torture and savagery have attained a degree of refinement and cruelty that is frightening. And yet the brave and courageous people of South Africa carry on their struggle - a struggle for freedom and dignity.

The oppressive behaviour of the racist Pretoria régime towards its non-white population within South Africa is matched by its continued stranglehold over Namibia and its aggressive and intimidating attacks against the territorial integrity of neighbouring States. Commando attacks, air raids, bombings and economic sabotage - all are grist to its mill. The designs of the Pretoria régime are clear: to ruin the economies of the front-line States and to destabilize their régimes, thereby forcing them into economic dependence and submission. The cost of regional destabilization in terms of destruction of property and lost opportunities runs into billions of dollars every year. No cost estimates, of course, are possible for the human lives lost.

(Mr. Tewary, India)

The root cause of the problems in southern Africa is apartheid. It is repugnant both in concept and in practice. It seeks to perpetuate inequities and injustice which defy any rationale. It condemns those who made the mistake of being born with non-white skin to the humiliation of an inferior status and to a life of unending misery and deprivation. It prescribes separate living standards for non-whites and whites, the contrast between which is as stark as between black and white. It heaps unbearable indignities upon them. It sanctifies contempt and hatred. It inflicts brutal atrocities on the people causing them untold pain and suffering. It scorns poor helpless people who are denied freedom and liberty. It subjugates the majority to a minority, disenfranchising the former in their own homeland. In short, it is a crime against humanity.

We in India have always remained firm in our commitment to the total eradication of apartheid. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, first raised the banner of revolt against injustice and oppression, not in India, but in South Africa. That was nearly 100 years ago. Ghandhiji believed that apartheid did not just mean a loss of dignity for the victims but also for those who were perpetrating it and directly or indirectly encouraging it. Soon after attaining independence, we took unilateral action to sever all ties with South Africa. Our sympathy and support for the oppressed people of South Africa in their fight for political and human rights flow from a shared experience of domination and colonial exploitation.

Venting his outrage at South Africa's policy of apartheid, in a speech in Parliament 30 years ago, India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile,

(Mr. Tewary, India)

whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity."

The racist régime has been trying to camouflage apartheid through so-called reforms. And what are these "reforms", if I may ask? Participation of blacks in "homeland" and township councils and issues concerning their own affairs while national affairs would be conducted by the ruling white population, who would continue to exercise real power. The international community cannot be taken in by any such sham or facade. We must reject anything which falls short of total eradication of apartheid.

It is indeed ironic, and at the same time tragic, that apartheid exists even today. What is more tragic is that we - the international community - have allowed it to exist. It is like a malignant growth. Can we wait for it to threaten the well-being of the entire body? How long can we let the Pretoria régime trample upon the dignity of the people of South Africa? How long can we ignore the legitimate rights of the people of South Africa? How long can we let it continue with its illegal occupation of Namibia and wilful attacks against the neighbouring States? How long can we let it threaten the security of the region? How long can we let it mock us to our face with its open defiance?

Is it not our collective responsibility to rid ourselves - humanity - of this curse that is apartheid? Is it not ironic that some affluent industrialized countries which stand for the democratic tradition and proclaim their support of the cause of human rights, equality and justice in other parts of the world should continue to collaborate with the racist Pretoria régime in various fields?

The time has come when the international community must wake up to the gravity of the situation in southern Africa. No longer can we afford any ambiguity or prevarication over apartheid. The Pretoria régime must be made to see reason. All

(Mr. Tewary, India)

possible pressure must be exerted. The only peaceful means available is to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the obdurate system. There is ample evidence to show that sanctions have worked. There has never been any doubt on that score. What is needed is concerted collective action, a decisive repudiation of the racist doctrine, once and for all.

The Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund, established at the Harare summit meeting of non-aligned countries held in September 1986, is an instance of such collective resolve. The Fund, of course, is only a complement and in no way an alternative to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Tewary, India)

To date, 52 donors from East and West, North and South, representing almost one third of the international community, have pledged to the Fund contributions equivalent to some \$US 413 million. I should like to express our appreciation to the Governments concerned for their generous contributions and take this opportunity to extend an appeal to all Member States for support for the Fund.

The people of South Africa are enduring enormous pressure. The burden of apartheid that they are made to carry is too heavy and all of us must assist them in both moral and material terms in casting their burden aside. Apartheid is sustained only by brute force, but history is replete with instances of many a barbaric régime having crumbled to dust, brute force notwithstanding. A similar fate awaits Pretoria's racist régime. Who has been able to reverse the march of history? Nelson Mandela, whose heroism and indefatigable fight for freedom have made him a living legend except to those who have kept him in prison for over 25 years, once said:

"Only through hardship, sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

Nelson Mandela must be released unconditionally.

Nobody here - and I can say that since we are fortunate not to have representatives of the racist régime in our midst - could have the audacity to doubt that the glorious struggle of the people of South Africa will ultimately be crowned with success. The question is how long this agony and suffering will persist. We could shorten it.

Before concluding, I should like to remind the Assembly of the conclusion of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that the alternative to peaceful transition

(Mr. Tewary, India)

in South Africa would be a terrible blood-bath. We must avert that tragedy. All of us must promote the peaceful transition in South Africa, which will be possible only with the complete dismantling of the pernicious system of apartheid and the ushering in of democracy, to a society in which one man would enjoy the same rights as another and a multiplicity of races would coexist in harmony, in dignity and in peace. Let us all work to transform that dream into reality.

Mr. AMORIN (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): In speaking before the Assembly at the forty-second session my delegation recalled that the issue of the apartheid régime of the Government of South Africa had been the subject of international concern, as expressed through the United Nations, virtually since the founding of our Organization. The United Nations, born of the vast cataclysm of the Second World War in the belief that that war had put an end to the notion that the world should be ruled by members of a supposedly superior race, found itself faced with the continuing existence of a society founded on the basis of the domination by one racial group of others. This situation is still more to be deplored today, 40 years later, since, despite the fact that the principle of the equality of all human beings has received unprecedented recognition and force, and despite the efforts exerted by our Organization to uproot apartheid, it has not been possible to eliminate that system and those that sustain it are seeking to perpetuate it.

The continuing existence of the apartheid régime in South Africa is not only a violation of the principles on which human co-existence is based but also a danger to international peace and security and one that threatens in particular the whole region of southern Africa, for there it is compounded by the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and by the attacks that country makes on its African neighbours. It also extends, however, to the whole region of the South Atlantic.

(Mr. Amorin, Uruguay)

This problem is clearly set forth in the Final Document issued by the Latin American and African countries of the South Atlantic at the conclusion of their meeting in Rio de Janeiro in July. At that meeting they reiterated the need to impose broad, mandatory sanctions against the South African régime.

Under this item our task is to try to pinpoint some of the reasons why the pressure exerted on the South African Government by the community of States has not been effective in eliminating apartheid. In this regard we believe that the basic shortcoming in the international community's efforts is the lack of co-ordination in the implementation of sanctions. Even when, recently, various States Members, acting individually or in groups, have endeavoured to implement already agreed sanctions, those sanctions have not achieved the desired effect precisely because of the lack of co-ordination. Even in those cases where the United Nations has established mandatory measures, as in the area of military assistance to South Africa, that country has managed to outwit the embargo and subsequently has created its own military industry.

Another problem concerns the assessment of the effects of those sanctions on the interests of the front-line countries and of the black, Indian and Coloured peoples of South Africa.

To solve these problems we must use our imaginations and come up with a whole set of measures to be implemented by the international community as a whole, measures that cannot be evaded by South Africa and that will finally force that country to dismantle the apartheid régime. Whatever measures the international community may agree upon, however, it will be necessary to set up co-ordination machinery in order to achieve the maximum impact from their implementation. We feel that such co-ordination should already exist for the various measures adopted by different States and that these actions should be viewed as a matter of urgency

(Mr. Amorin, Uruguay)

by the United Nations even if there is not yet agreement on imposing sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Secretary-General, in his report on the implementation of national measures adopted against South Africa (A/43/786), wisely points out these problems, particularly in its chapters III and IV, as does the Special Committee against Apartheid in chapter V, on conclusions and recommendations, of its report (A/43/22), paragraphs 191 and 192 of which are, we feel, particularly important.

There is no reason to believe that the South African Government will be ready to dismantle the ominous, anachronistic system of apartheid unless there is concerted implementation of all these measures. That régime is a daily affront to the feelings of human beings. My country most energetically rejects it, for since our emergence as an independent State the principle of the equality of all our citizens has been an essential feature of our society.

Recent events lead us to reaffirm our conviction of the need for international pressure to put an end to the apartheid system. We believe that if death penalties have been commuted, if South African political leaders have been released, and if there is a possibility of the release of Nelson Mandela, that is a result of international pressure co-ordinated towards a single end.

(Mr. Amorin, Uruguay)

At the international level, the improvement in the relations between the great Powers has had a positive effect in facilitating the negotiations on, and the solution of, various regional conflicts. In the case of the apartheid régime, we believe that this general improvement in the international situation may be a positive factor enabling the international community to adopt co-ordinated measures to exert pressure on South Africa, and to ensure that these measures cannot be weakened by factors connected with confrontation among the great Powers.

I have said that this issue has been under consideration by the United Nations since the inception of the Organization. Another matter of which this is true is the independence of Namibia. As a result of the new international climate and the constant pressure exerted by the international community, we seem now to be very close to an agreement which would enable the Namibian people to enjoy its independence. Let us hope that soon, as a result of the influence of these same factors, the South African people, too, without distinction as to race or ethnic origin, will be able to enjoy all its civil and political rights and decide democratically the fate of its country, in accordance with the principle of one man, one vote.

Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): Since the General Assembly met to discuss apartheid a year ago the situation in South Africa has further deteriorated. The black majority are no longer willing to tolerate South Africa's system of segregation and racial oppression. They demand to be treated as equal citizens, with full political rights. Instead of addressing these legitimate demands, the South African Government has twice extended the nation-wide state of emergency. During the last year several hundred people have been killed and thousands of

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

opponents of apartheid have been detained. In this context, it is particularly repugnant to note that even children have been subjected to detention and torture by the South African authorities. The Norwegian Government strongly condemns these illegal acts of subjugation. This policy of oppression will lead only to escalating violence, increased bloodshed and prolonged suffering for the people of South Africa. Attempts to hide these facts by means of harsher censorship measures and a tightening of the emergency and security regulations will not fool the world.

South Africa is the only country that has made race the basis of political rights. Apartheid betrays the most fundamental concepts of human liberty and equality. We reject any notion that apartheid can be reformed. It must be abolished.

At the same time, South Africa's destabilizing policy in the region has for many years been a cause of deep concern. Norway has repeatedly condemned South Africa's aggression against its neighbouring States. Although we welcome the diplomatic progress towards independence for Namibia, the apartheid system, as a constant source of tension in the region, remains. This is yet another reason why something needs to be done urgently in order to eradicate this inhuman system. We express our solidarity with all front-line States and assure them of our continued support to counter South Africa's policy of destabilization.

Despite universal condemnation, the South African Government has so far refused to take meaningful or definite steps towards ending its racist policy. The Government of South Africa has to recognize that the present agony of that country signals the end of apartheid once and for all. Pretoria has to make the choice either to let the situation develop into a catastrophic race war or to address the fundamental problems of this divided nation.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

It is not for my Government to present a blueprint for a post-apartheid South Africa. The essential requirement is that apartheid in all its forms is abolished. It must be replaced by a democratic non-racial society, with equal rights for all people. A first step in this direction would be for the South African Government to show genuine willingness to enter into negotiations with the true leaders of the black majority. We therefore appeal to the South African Government to lift the state of emergency, to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, to lift the ban on all political organizations and to allow all exiles to return to South Africa. Only if these conditions are met may we have reason to hope for negotiations on the peaceful abolition of apartheid in South Africa.

The release last Saturday of Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala is encouraging news. We also welcome the commutation of the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, the stay of execution of Mr. Paul Tefo Setlaba and the decision not to return Nelson Mandela to jail. But this is far from enough. The recent conviction for treason of four prominent leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and last week's execution of five black South Africans serve as reminders that the pressure must be kept up and further strengthened. The policy of trying to bring about the abolition of apartheid through a dialogue with the South African authorities has been tried repeatedly, without success. The Norwegian Government has arrived at the conclusion that the South African régime continues to reject a genuine dialogue. In this situation, outside pressure is essential to any prospect of peaceful change.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Increased international pressure is the only avenue left for the eradication of apartheid by peaceful means. The Norwegian Government therefore urges the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. I take this opportunity to call upon those countries that still oppose sanctions to reassess their attitude.

The absence of mandatory sanctions should not be used as a pretext for failing to act against apartheid. Even limited measures may be important in signalling disapproval of apartheid and expressing solidarity with those who work for changes in South Africa. Pending the adoption of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, the Council should consider additional voluntary measures.

An effective oil embargo would be of particular importance inasmuch as oil is virtually the sole strategic raw material in which South Africa is not self-sufficient. The work of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa represents the first concerted effort by the international community to provide a basis for an effective oil embargo against South Africa. The Norwegian Government attaches particular importance to the activities of that Group and we will continue to participate actively in its work. Whereas the Security Council has failed to reach agreement on comprehensive mandatory sanctions, this should not really preclude the Council's considering mandatory sanctions in clearly defined fields. This could be a ban on the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa as well as on the supply of equipment, technology and financing to its oil industry. Since all members of the Security Council are in agreement that no oil from their territories should go to South Africa, such a step would be both natural and logical. Our own experience with national measures of this nature is highly encouraging and proves that it is indeed possible to make sanctions in this field work effectively.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Sanctions are intended to tell South Africa where the world stands on a question of good and evil. Without sanctions, or with only a limited degree of pressure applied, the signals will remain mixed. That is precisely why sanctions must be carried out and why they must be further strengthened.

For some there has been promising ferment among South Africa's whites, reflecting the message of outrage and frustration sent by individual Governments. Getting that message across - that is what the sanctions argument is really all about.

Furthermore, recent developments in South Africa's economy have demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that the toll of sanctions is in fact increasing. Although sanctions have not yet sent South Africa's economy into deep recession, they have forced Pretoria to pay a high price for apartheid. Since 1985 South Africa has seen a net capital outflow of billions of dollars. Foreign currency reserves are down dangerously. South African exports have dropped significantly over the last year. This is, to say the least, a most unambiguous message. The consequences of not heeding it will be dire.

Time and again it has been suggested that sanctions work only too well and will hurt the black majority population rather than affect the echelons of power. According to this argument, sanctions will create increased suffering for the black majority and cause economic difficulties for the neighbouring countries of South Africa. We do not underestimate these difficulties. But even though sanctions may cause hardships in the short run, representative black leaders argue that this is preferable to the prolonged suffering that apartheid implies, and in our view the international society is obliged to listen to these leaders.

As repeated calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council have met with vetoes, my country, Norway, has for several years actively sought to implement measures against South Africa in order to combat apartheid. In

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

addition to the revised 1988 Nordic Programme of Action against apartheid, Norway has introduced sweeping national measures to combat apartheid. The Act on Economic Boycott against South Africa and Namibia entered into force on 20 March 1987 and the provisions of the Act took effect on 20 July last year. The Act bans practically all economic relations with South Africa and Namibia. It includes a general ban on imports and exports, a ban on the carriage of crude oil by our vessels to or from South Africa and Namibia, and a ban on the granting of loans and investments as well as other measures. In this way we hope to make a meaningful contribution to bringing about a South Africa with equal rights and opportunities for all. We hope also to inspire other countries to follow suit, to increase the combined international pressure against the apartheid system.

The immediate effect of the Act on Economic Boycott is a case in point. The introduction of a clearly defined statutory ban defining the carriage of crude oil by Norwegian vessels to or from South Africa and Namibia as a criminal offense has reduced the Norwegian role in this trade to nil.

In addition to these restrictive measures, my Government would like to stress the need for positive support for those who suffer the effects of apartheid. South Africa's neighbours find themselves in a particularly precarious situation, both because of their economic dependence on South Africa and as a result of South Africa's policy of destabilization in the region. To ensure sustained development independent of South Africa's economic might, Norway has for several years offered assistance to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the SADCC countries. The Norwegian Government has also made it clear that we are prepared to increase our assistance to the SADCC countries in the event of further South African reprisals against these countries.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Norway, furthermore, provides humanitarian assistance to liberation movements, refugees and other victims of apartheid. This year we had the honour and privilege of hosting the International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa and we hope that the Programme of Action adopted at that Conference will contribute to alleviating the human tragedy of the uprooting and displacement of some 5.4 million persons in the southern African region. Our support for victims of apartheid has increased considerably during recent years and Norway will continue its assistance to this group, as well as to the front-line States and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries, and its co-operation with that body.

Time is running out for the peaceful solution of the problems of South Africa. If apartheid is not abolished soon the whole region of southern Africa may explode in a violent upheaval; for freedom is indivisible and human dignity cannot for ever be impaired, but will in the end prevail. Let us therefore all join in taking effective action against apartheid, and let us do it now.

Mr. NIYUNGEKO (Burundi) (interpretation from French): Whereas the United Nations, since its creation in 1945, has attempted to build an ever more peaceful and unified international community, what we have experienced and observed in certain parts of the world shows, unfortunately, that the world remains prey to violence and barbarism.

As the President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly, Mr. Peter Florin, said on 21 March 1988, at the Solemn Meeting in Observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:

"History teaches us that a régime whose existence is based on the social oppression of peoples through the application of racial theories constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Therefore, the General

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

Assembly for decades has rightly been dealing with the situation in South Africa as a matter of high priority." (A/AC.115/PV.614, p. 6)

In this connection, the blot on civilization commonly known as apartheid quite obviously constitutes the most alarming example of all the forms of evil that nourish a spirit of social division and hatred. The racist régime of South Africa, in form and in spirit, can be interpreted and understood only as the final citadel of slavery and colonialism. There is no need to emphasize here that the object of those two practices, which have been condemned by human history, was to profess and assert an odiously hierarchical doctrine of differentiation and categorization of individuals by means of the promulgation and codification of laws.

The Botha régime continues to make a mockery of the urgent appeals of all nations of the world and the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions declaring that the complete dismantling of the policy of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a free, non-fragmented and democratic society on the basis of effective universal suffrage is the only way to achieve a proper solution.

Apart from the state of emergency imposed in 1987, the banning in February of this year of 17 organizations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and several black leaders is recent deplorable evidence of the tyrannical measures adopted by Pretoria to stifle and reduce to resignation a population whose only crime is to demand recognition of its natural right to life, dignity, freedom and racial equality and to manage its own country.

My delegation questions - as the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Joseph Garba, so ably put it when he submitted the report of the Committee to the Assembly this morning - the good faith and real intentions of

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

South Africa concerning putting an end to regional conflict in that part of the world when it remains on a war footing with its own people by refusing to dismantle apartheid.

The tragedies for which the apartheid régime is responsible are not confined within the borders of South Africa. With overwhelming cynicism and hostility to the socio-political changes which have taken place in neighbouring countries since their accession to national independence - changes which it only accepted because it had to - South Africa has carried out destabilizing manoeuvres and exerted violence against the front-line countries. Virtually since the memorable date of their entry into the community of free and sovereign nations the brother peoples of Mozambique and Angola have been constantly harassed by subversive and criminal groups operating on their territory with the advice and logistic support, among other things, of South Africa.

The colonial occupation of the Territory of Namibia, the policy of bantustanization of Namibia carried out by South Africa since 1969, the establishment of tribal armies in Namibia, the imposition of a puppet administration and the exploitation and repression of the Namibian people are all excesses committed by the apartheid régime in defiance of the international community. Pretoria continues to militarize the Territory of Namibia to the hilt and to muzzle hundreds of villages and schools throughout that Territory wherever the voice of freedom fighters is heard.

Nevertheless, it is important to recognize also that the difficulties currently experienced by the apartheid régime in the political, economic and military spheres give ample proof that the violence perpetrated by South Africa, however harmful it may be to the victim populations, is becoming ever more suicidal for the pale and perfidious power of P. W. Botha.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

We remain convinced that the defence and safeguarding of the dignity and fundamental human rights is the common responsibility of all the nations of the world. We appeal to all States Members of our Organization to renew their commitment and redouble their efforts, collectively and individually, to combat the racist apartheid régime. We unanimously demand the unconditional liberation of the patriot Nelson Mandela and all his disciples imprisoned in South Africa.

We take this opportunity to reaffirm the unfailing commitment of the Republic of Burundi to the liberation movements in South Africa, which represent the authentic aspirations of the black population of that country, in particular the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), as well as the front-line countries and the Namibian people, under its vanguard movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). They have our political, diplomatic, material and moral support - modest though it may be because of our limited means - until final victory.

It is in this spirit that my country cannot agree to any measure which, within the framework of the process of reform under way in the Organization, might endanger the implementation of the United Nations programme for the dissemination of information and the mobilization of public opinion on southern Africa.

My country remains convinced that there can be no peace and security in southern Africa without the dismantling and destruction of the apartheid system. That is why we call upon all members of the Security Council to recognize the urgent need for the implementation, in particular, of resolution 42/23 C, whereby the General Assembly urges the Council not only to take the measures authorized under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to applying comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, but also to strengthen the mandatory arms embargo.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

We know that in the face of this battle against the apartheid régime, South Africa will not stand idly by, and that, unfortunately, it is not alone. It has powerful allies which provide it with the means of resistance in defence of its political system. That is why we sometimes hear specious arguments to the effect that economic sanctions against Pretoria would harm the black population in South Africa and the economies of the States of the subregion.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

Even more deviously, South Africa is trying, through its friends and its proxy defenders, to intimidate and cast blame on the enemies of apartheid, particularly the African countries, by presenting them as régimes that are worse than apartheid.

In those machinations of Pretoria, the press is the weapon most often used, and it is truly regrettable that even some journalists in the African continent have been deceived. Nevertheless, we are pleased to note that the international community has exposed that subterfuge and that there are ever-greater demands for the effective isolation of South Africa until it has agreed to abolish apartheid.

Mr. AL-ZAABI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): One of the basic objectives of the United Nations has been to promote the human rights of peoples and foster harmonious relations, especially on the racial level, through international covenants and instruments and the collective rejection of all that may debase the worth and dignity of the individual. The continuance of such a process, requires, in the first place, a sincere commitment on the part of Member States and Governments to the principles and aims enshrined in the Charter of the Organization.

However, certain Governments lack that commitment. South Africa and Israel in particular have continuously transgressed the dictates of the human conscience, defiled all that is respected and enlightened, thereby sacrificing the noble qualities that distinguish human beings from other creatures.

Over the past few years, the brutal repression practised by South Africa against the black majority has reached colossal proportions. The situation was further aggravated by the collective internment of African political leaders, who were charged with treason because they dared to reject apartheid. Yet further aggravating the situation were the so-called reforms and racist proposals whose

(Mr. Al-Zaabi, United Arab
Emirates)

only purpose was to sow dissent in the ranks of black Africans and weaken their ability to defend themselves.

The recent municipal elections which were condemned by the General Assembly on 27 October, were but another manoeuvre to consolidate the rule of the white minority and entrench the abhorrent racist régime in that part of the world. Bishop Desmond Tutu has described the outcome of those elections as a coat of whitewash to hide the real face of apartheid. He said that it exposed the myth of white liberalism.

Throughout history, many régimes have fallen, and among the principal causes of their collapse was the fact that they were based on social oppression of the subject peoples under the influence of racialist theories and doctrines that have always given birth to some of the most ferocious forms of racial discrimination. It is indeed regrettable that, despite four decades of efforts by the United Nations to put an end to apartheid in South Africa, it is still in force and the situation continues to deteriorate with a heavy toll in human life and untold suffering.

While my country values the efforts of the United Nations in that respect, we firmly believe that there is a real and urgent need to resort to more stringent and concerted international measures to uproot those inhuman policies.

The full and effective enforcement of the measures enshrined in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is vital to ensure peace, security and justice to southern Africa. Forty years of apartheid are more than enough embarrassment to civilization on the threshold of the twenty-first century and a strange paradox of our day and age.

The Security Council, which is the body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, has so far failed, despite its recognition of the

(Mr. Al-Zaabi, United Arab Emirates)

enormity of the problem in its numerous resolutions, to take another positive step forward by applying mandatory and comprehensive sanctions as recommended by the General Assembly. This is due to the stance of some Western members, which are bound by economic and political interests to the Government of racist South Africa. These States in particular are called upon to live up to their responsibilities under the Charter. They must forgo their narrow and egoistic perspectives and co-operate with the rest of the international community to put an end to apartheid. Past experience and endeavours have shown that racism can never be amended or reformed because it is incompatible with logic and reason. Therefore racism has to be eradicated, as was the case with Nazism. Such should be the fate of all such doctrines.

All three aspects of the situation in southern Africa, namely, apartheid, the occupation of Namibia, and aggression against the front-line States, continue to be sources of grave concern to us all. The core of the problem lies in the very existence of apartheid, which deprives the overwhelming majority of black South Africans of the right to exercise their natural right to participate in the running of the affairs of their country.

The continued state of emergency and the arbitrary measures through which Pretoria prohibits all forms of protest - the last of which was taken on 24 February this year - are but manifestations of the tension prevailing in the region.

Peace and security cannot be maintained in the presence of injustice or inequality, nor can they be achieved if human rights are trampled under foot. We will soon be celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Political and civil rights are closely linked to economic, social and cultural rights. The contempt and arrogance shown by the

(Mr. Al-Zaabi, United Arab Emirates)

apartheid régime in dealing with international resolutions and covenants reflect its intent to ignore all international norms and principles.

Peace can be attained in South Africa only through the establishment of a non-discriminatory society upholding equality and justice as a way of life for all its members irrespective of race or ethnic origin. Until this takes place, the entire international community must continue to monitor the situation closely and adopt all the measures and resolutions necessary to make the racists feel that they no longer have a place among civilized nations at the threshold of the twenty-first century.

Mr. BARNETT (Jamaica): In 1980 former Supreme Court Judge of Sri Lanka, Justice C. G. Weeramantry, referring to South Africa, wrote:

"Those who enjoy disproportionately the wealth of this disproportionately wealthy country know they cannot retain this position of privilege indefinitely. They know that in order to extend the terms of their privilege, they will need to compromise with their conscience - to imprison and to deny basic rights and to kill if need be on a massive scale. ... In short, the sorrow of the ruling classes is not merely fear but what is even more corrosive of human personality - a compromise with conscience on a massive scale."

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

Today that compromise with conscience is no less. As we commence yet another debate on the consequences and implications of Pretoria's stubborn refusal to dismantle the apartheid system, we observe with alarm the continuing deterioration of internal conditions in South Africa.

The outcome of the so-called municipal elections in South Africa has been the resurgence of South Africa's far right conservative party. An immediate consequence has been more concerted and sustained actions by that Party to enforce more rigidly segregationist measures in areas under its control, including a more stringent application of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

Such enforcement measures will make transparent the mockery of the so-called reform measures which the Botha régime has prided itself on having instituted without in any way undermining the main pillars of the apartheid system. The futility of the much-vaunted constitutional reforms of 1983, to which some pretend to attach so much importance, stands revealed. The objective and reality of total white domination remain. No amount of subterfuge, through so-called reforms and other subtle efforts to modernize the apartheid system, can conceal the brutal features of Pretoria's policies.

Jamaica was outraged and appalled at the action taken to institute judicial and legislative measures aimed at making treasonable and capital offences of the peaceful political actions undertaken by the leaders of the anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa, including the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and others. On 8 November last four members of the United Democratic Front, and three days later two members of the ANC, were convicted on treason charges. Intense international pressure and condemnation forced the commutation of the death sentences imposed on the Sharpeville Six. Those individuals, however, continue to face the grim prospect of life imprisonment.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

But while the Pretoria régime has sought to appear more conciliatory in respect of the more internationally known cases, other unfortunate individuals have not been spared. The most recent reports are that on 24 November, five black South Africans who were convicted of capital crimes were executed in Pretoria. That brought to 115 the number of people hanged in South Africa this year. It is further reported that of a total of 274 people who are awaiting execution, about 30 per cent have been convicted of politically motivated crimes. The motive of the apartheid régime continues to be to intimidate and break the anti-apartheid opposition groups by instituting treason charges for peacefully organized political actions, which are quite distinct and separate from proven acts of violence designed to overthrow the apartheid system.

The overall strategy of the repressive State apparatus is to use violence to disrupt the activities of groups and organizations which are in the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle and to eliminate physically the organizations' members and leaders.

As with the case of the Sharpeville Six, we note the recent announcement by the South African authorities that celebrated Nelson Mandela, who has languished for over 24 years in incarceration, will not be returned to prison following his release from the State-run hospital where he has been suffering from tuberculosis. That announcement, which is merely intended to appease Pretoria's external allies and buy time for the régime, falls far short of the demands of the international community for Mr. Mandela's unconditional release. We have also noted the release of Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala.

A statement issued by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa at the conclusion of their second meeting in Toronto, Canada, in August this year noted that a critical aspect of the most recent deterioration of the situation in South Africa was the clear message from Pretoria that it would not tolerate even

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

peaceful opposition to apartheid from any quarter within South Africa. Given the ever-increasing scale of repression under the state of emergency in South Africa and the persistence of South African aggression against neighbouring countries, the Committee further recognized that it was essential for the international community as a whole to pursue the most urgent action by way of effective international sanctions and all other appropriate measures to bring the apartheid régime to an end and to secure the establishment of a free, non-racial society in South Africa. As indicated in the annual report published by the Special Committee against Apartheid, it has been estimated that since the state of emergency was imposed in 1986, over 30,000 persons have been detained for varying periods of time and at present there are between 2,000 and 2,500 persons still being held in detention without trial, some 250 of whom are children up to age 17 and some as young as 14.*

Speaking here at the commemorative meeting to observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid this year, the Reverend Allan Boesak said:

"Apartheid is so wrong, so indefensible, so intrinsically evil, that it cannot be modernized, streamlined or reformed, it can only be irrevocably eradicated. The world knows that now, and even those in the Western world who like to look for excuses for the continuation of their support to this Government will have to reckon with that fact. They will know that the people of South Africa have made the 'reform policies' of the South African Government, an expensive but none the less sick joke."

And yet we continue to note that among South Africa's influential Western allies, hypocrisy and evasion have been opted for as the easiest roads to follow:

*Mr. Van Lierop (Vanuatu), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

they maintain a stubborn and adamant refusal to endorse the idea of effective mandatory sanctions to force the South African régime to dismantle the system of apartheid.

Jamaica has never accepted their arguments or rationalizations. There is now clear evidence suggesting that Pretoria's economy has grown more and more susceptible to external pressures and sanctions.

We have never doubted the efficacy of properly directed sanctions against South Africa. Again, a study by the Intergovernmental Group of Experts, set up by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa, has indicated the extent to which the South African economy has been affected by the partial and limited financial and economic measures applied by the international community so far. In particular, as regards financial sanctions, the study has confirmed first that the refusal of banks to lend to South Africa has been the most significant sanction in restricting economic growth through forcing large capital account deficits to repay maturing loans, and requiring current account surpluses.

Secondly, trade sanctions and disinvestment pressures have played a supporting role, making it more difficult for South Africa to maintain the required current account surplus and discouraging potential new foreign investment.

Thirdly, an important consequence of disinvestment has been its contribution to the poor outlook for new direct investment in South Africa.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

Fourthly, South Africa cannot gain any external account relief from its relations with the Bank for International Settlements or the International Monetary Fund (IMF), because the Fund's Board is unlikely to approve a programme for South Africa and the Bank for International Settlements would only lend to bridge an IMF programme.

Fifthly, the maintenance and extension of financial sanctions would hobble South Africa's economic growth and maintain the economic pressure on the South African Government to abandon apartheid.

Thus South Africa's apartheid economy has now become trapped in a situation in which it cannot sustain a satisfactory rate of growth without sufficient new sources of foreign exchange, which are no longer in prospect.

It is estimated that economic growth in 1988 will be approximately 2.7 per cent, and inflation is running at 13.5 per cent. Economists expect the rate to increase next year to between 15 per cent and 20 per cent. In addition, the Governor of South Africa's Reserve Bank, speaking at a conference of the Financial Mail business magazine about sanctions and disinvestment, was quoted in a New York Times report of 13 November of this year as stating that:

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

Also, in a television interview, the Governor of the Bank further warned that the economy would get worse before it could get any better.

From the information provided by the Commonwealth Intergovernmental Group, as well as from the statement quoted from the Governor of the Central Bank himself, it is clear that the sanctions applied thus far have had a visible effect on the South

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

African economy. We therefore wish to reiterate the position of the Government of Jamaica that financial and investment sanctions against South Africa must be intensified. We support the decisions of the Commonwealth Intergovernmental Group on the need for increased restrictions on new lending and new investment in South Africa, for tightening the ban on official export credit insurance and for other measures to ensure the non-rescheduling of old loans.

In the present circumstances it remains clear that there needs to be a more forceful, concerted and effective action by the international community to bring the requisite pressure to bear on South Africa to abandon apartheid and to bring about majority rule in South Africa.

Jamaica therefore supports the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid concerning the convening in 1989 of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to South Africa and the destructive tendencies of apartheid in South Africa. We believe that such a special session should adopt a set of clear measures, including those agreed by the Commonwealth Group of Experts, so as to enforce internationally the restriction of new lending to South Africa so as to tighten the pressure on the South African régime.

Jamaica is increasingly concerned that the persistence of apartheid in South Africa and the continuation of support for the Pretoria régime have lent credence to and provided justification for the perpetuation of attitudes of racial superiority and racial discrimination in other parts of the world. We are particularly struck by the glaring contrast in the attitudes of some of Pretoria's allies, which rigorously pursue, monitor and condemn human rights abuses in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, while appearing to turn a blind eye to the most vicious and repressive assaults on human rights, equality and justice in South Africa.

(Mr. Barnett, Jamaica)

The pillars of apartheid may still remain in place, but their slow erosion is under way. We anxiously await the day when the entire edifice and structure of the apartheid system will come tumbling down.

Mr. GHAZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): Ever since its establishment the United Nations had to face up to the practices of the obnoxious racist régime in South Africa. For decades the General Assembly has systematically included in its agenda an item on apartheid. Nevertheless, the system of apartheid continues to be the nightmare that is the lot of the black majority in southern Africa. It is a chronic ailment which to this very day the international community has been unable to uproot. It is a system based on the myth of the supremacy of white men over those with coloured skins. It presupposes as part of the order of things the dominance of whites over non-whites. In order to perpetuate that dominance, the proponents of apartheid take care to prohibit mixing and participation among races.

As a result of this mindless doctrine, which depends on force alone, has no logic but violence and renounces all moral values, the history of apartheid has been a series of acts of tyranny, oppression, humiliation and injustice against the black African majority in southern Africa and acts of aggression, sabotage, colonisation and exploitation against the peoples and States of the region.

The logic of the racist Pretoria régime is that a white minority that accounts for no more than 15 per cent of the total population should subjugate and rule the African majority - that is, the remaining 85 per cent. In the context of that logic, this white minority owns more than 86 per cent of the land and plunders its riches. Further, under this rationale the racist régime has forced its colonialism on Namibia, looted its riches and greedily plundered its natural resources and wealth. It is waging an outrageous war against Angola and making repeated

(Mr. Ghazal, Tunisia)

incursions into its territory. Its repeated brutal incursions into the territories of the other countries in the region are acts of blatant terrorism, devastation and murder.

The victims of the racist régime in South Africa are countless and the suffering of the African peoples is indescribable. The information included in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) gives a telling picture of the atrocities perpetrated by the South African racist régime. That régime has not stopped at any crime or act of oppression or terrorism in its onslaught of the African people. It has resorted to mass evacuation, assassination, abduction and murder, detention and torture. It has spared no one. Young and old, male and female, school children and workers, blameless though they may be, have been subjected to this form of mass intimidation, without trial even in a kangaroo court.

Nelson Mandela, regardless of his advanced age, his ailments and his 24-year-long imprisonment, continues to languish in the hands of the racist apartheid régime. The sons of South Africa are fair game. Daily, they face trumped-up charges and the threat of the gallows. The muzzling of the world media is quite rigorous.

(Mr. Ghazal, Tunisia)

All opposition movements have been banned and surveillance, detention and imprisonment of clergymen continue. Among those subjected to such treatment was Archbishop Tutu. Yet the people of South Africa have not knuckled under. They have not given in. They continue to resist, struggle and make sacrifices, under the leadership of their twin liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

The régime employing such practices is one of the most odious blots on our era. The General Assembly, in all its resolutions on the subject, has quite rightly condemned the practices of the apartheid régime and branded them a crime against humanity. These are practices that cannot be described in any other way. They debase man, trample his dignity, diminish his humanity, deny him the most basic human rights and plunder all his possessions. Consequently there is no other description for a racist régime's practices of crime and tyranny than a crime against humanity. In so branding them the General Assembly upheld the dignity of man in keeping with the tenets of the United Nations Charter and the International Declaration of Human Rights.

The United Nations was established for the express purpose of building a world in which peace and security prevail among nations. Thus the United Nations is a moral force, the champion of the oppressed and the weak against their oppressors. Yet to this day the racist régime in South Africa has not complied with the resolutions of the United Nations and has turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the international community. It has ignored the condemnation and denunciation of its practices.

Unfortunately, certain members of this Organization have tried to make excuses for that régime. Israel and other countries have established close ties of military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa, while others have continued to trade with it, ignoring the many relevant United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Ghazal, Tunisia)

However, the Pretoria régime's persistence in its course has left its apologists without a leg to stand on. The passage of time has shown that no amount of patience will ever induce the Pretoria régime to change of its own free will and no amount of persuasion will persuade it to desist from its policies and practices of racial discrimination and abandon its belief that it can go on hoodwinking world public opinion.

We must state, however, that many countries have reduced their dealings with South Africa and that many laws have been promulgated in various countries banning dealings with that racist régime. Many other Governments have called upon their enterprises to sever their relations with South Africa. All this has been in response to the wishes of the international community and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

It is now imperative to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It has become abundantly clear, from the statements by those that manage the South African economy and reports by international experts that the imposition of mandatory sanctions will have a far-reaching effect on South Africa and will be the means of persuading the Pretoria régime that it should put an end to its racist policies, renounce its belief in its outdated myths and return to the human fold.

To that end, the international community, the United Nations in particular, must spare no effort towards alleviating the plight of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and speeding up their hour of deliverance. Like any other people, they should be enabled to regain their right to self-determination, security and their plundered possessions.

The Pretoria régime must lift the state of emergency and unconditionally release the African leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and

(Mr. Ghazal, Tunisia)

detainees. It should lift the ban it has imposed on anti-apartheid movements, permit the return of political exiles, withdraw its military forces from the townships, lift its media censorship, renounce the policy of division and bantustanization, refrain from acts of aggression against the countries in the region, leave Namibia and stop plundering the wealth and resources of its people, allow the peoples of southern Africa to express their wishes freely, and enter into negotiations to achieve a permanent and lasting solution to the conflict.

In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm Tunisia's firm solidarity with our brethren in South Africa and their twin liberation movements, the Pan African Congress of Azania and the African National Congress, for whom we express our continued support in their just and heroic struggle.

Mr. ARNOUES (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): Once again the General Assembly is studying the problem of apartheid which is still pursued by the Pretoria régime against the people of South Africa, thus defying the principles of the United Nations Charter, and of international law, the resolutions of the United Nations and all ethical and human values.

The General Assembly has declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity and has called upon the international community to isolate the Pretoria régime until it is banished from the face of the Earth and Pretoria finally stops its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States and ends its illegal occupation of Namibia. In spite of this the South African racist régime persists in committing aggression against African States and is still illegally occupying Namibia.

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab
Republic)

None the less, the apartheid régime is still in power, aggression against the African States and the occupation of Namibia are continuing, and we are still waiting for the day when the United Nations will be able to put into effect Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

The situation in South Africa shows that the racist régime has escalated its repression of the activists and mass organizations struggling against apartheid, reflecting its determination to break their peaceful resistance. This is noted in paragraph 5 of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22), which goes on to say that:

"Parallel with the internal suppression, Pretoria has stepped up its terrorist activities abroad. Assassination and maiming of important members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), carried out even in Western capitals, aim at weakening the national liberation movements and undermining their standing within the international community." (A/43/22, para. 6).

Pretoria continues to pursue oppressive strategies with deceptive looks. The strategy of so-called reform is in fact a cosmetic operation on the part of the Pretoria régime, which has been rejected by the international community. The stubbornness of the South African régime is reflected in the strengthening of apartheid and what South Africa has done recently in the Bantustans by forcefully evacuating blacks from their homes in areas reserved exclusively for whites and inflicting very harsh punishment on offenders. This indeed points to the régime's determination to perpetuate apartheid.

Pretoria's other strategy is aimed at deliberately oppressing all forms of opposition to the apartheid régime, at frustrating the activities of the

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

anti-apartheid organizations, and at physically eliminating the leaders and supporters of those organizations in an attempt to strengthen its grip over the country. But in spite of all that, it will not succeed in imposing its domination because of the heroic struggle waged by the people and their organizations which are fighting apartheid, together with the two national liberation movements, the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

The apartheid policy of the South African régime is a source of tension, instability and permanent conflict, posing a constant threat to international peace and security. Indeed that régime has tried to eliminate opposition by imposing a state of emergency, by creating an atmosphere of terror, fear and oppression, by carrying out arrests and murders, by muzzling the media and restricting the activities of the mass organizations. But in spite of all that, none of those attempts will ever be successful.

The present situation, atrocious and painful as it is, calls for urgent action on our part. Indeed the international community must not be deceived; the racist régime cannot be reformed and must therefore be eliminated. The oppressed majority's continuing struggle against subjection, exploitation and the denial of its full right to self-determination is being met with arrests, imprisonment without trial, torture and inhuman treatment on the part of the régime - a process in which many have lost their lives, including Ms. Bani, who was the first woman to die in police custody, not to mention the recent increase in the number of death penalties imposed on those fighting for freedom.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid points to an unprecedented increase in the number of death sentences handed down against political offenders. Eighty-one persons are known to have been murdered between

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

1 January and 14 July 1988. By May this year, 264 persons had been sentenced to death, at least 70 of whom were political prisoners.

The Security Council has studied those practices and demanded that Pretoria call a halt to such executions in Security Council resolution 623 (1988). In spite of the repeated appeals of the United Nations to isolate the South African régime, certain States have maintained political, diplomatic and cultural relations with it. There are even transnational corporations that continue to invest in the South African economy, exploiting the country's human and natural resources and thereby making incredible profits.

The collaboration of certain Western States and Israel with South Africa has enabled that régime to build up a military and security machine with nuclear capability. The collusion between those Powers and the racist Pretoria régime is similar to its collusion with Israel in the Arab region. The continuation of comprehensive co-operation between Tel Aviv and the Pretoria régime in the economic, political, military and nuclear spheres shows that their collaboration stems from common belief in a racist doctrine based on oppression, murder, and the exploitation and deportation of the indigenous population, and its replacement by foreigners.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid in document A/43/22, states that:

"Israel is believed to be South Africa's largest arms supplier with annual two-way sales worth more than R 1,000 million. Strategically more important, however, is the secret technical, intelligence and research co-operation between the two countries' arms industries. Their weapons systems are virtually identical. For example, the Scorpion ship-to-ship missile is derived from the Israeli Gabriel missile, while the Chestah, South Africa's

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab
Republic)

upgraded version of the Mirage III jet fighter, incorporates electronics developed when Israel upgraded its Mirages to produce the Kfir fighter".

Annex I of the report of the Special Committee (A/43/22) shows that Israel's arms sales to South Africa have been evaluated at between R 1.26 and R 1.58 billion a year, and that the data available is limited because of the secrecy of relations between the two countries. Furthermore, as regards their collaboration in other areas, paragraph 8 of annex I to the report states that:

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

"Moreover, Israeli military advisers were reported to have assisted the South African airforce in its war on Angola. They were said to have jammed the Angolan radar and enabled the South African airforce to make the raid on Lubango in February 1988. The Observer was reported to have said that about 600 Israeli technicians were involved in that aggressive action. It is believed that this great number of Israeli advisers have been in Namibia since 1976 and that in 1981 the then Israeli Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon, visited troops in northern Namibia as well as southern Angola. According to Angolan sources, there has been Israeli involvement in the training of UNITA soldiers at a base in a neighbouring country, and Israeli military personnel were engaged with the South African military in Namibia." (A/43/22, annex I, para. 8)

Paragraph 10 of the same report shows that Danish freighters were under contract to the Israeli firm Mano Seaways, last year and again this year, to transport weapons to South Africa, and that arms were flown to South Africa by the Israeli airline El Al. This shows that Israel's restrictive restrictive measures have in no way changed its relations with South Africa, a fact that has been confirmed by the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, who pointed out that the measures taken in 1987 were just symbolic measures that could not possibly damage trade relations between the two countries which are put at \$240 million a year, according to the report on relations between the two régimes.

In order to put an end to this situation, my delegation believes that mandatory sanctions should be imposed and that the international community must take speedy action accordingly. Meanwhile the people must - as is their right under the Charter - continue their struggle to free their territory.

(Mr. Arnouss, Syrian Arab Republic)

Syria condemns the collaboration between the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes, as well as collaboration by any other country with South Africa. It supports the struggle of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of their national liberation movements, to achieve independence, exercise their right to self-determination and put an end to the apartheid régime.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, held on 23 September 1988, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a singular honour and privilege for me to address the Assembly on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and in the name of the struggling people of my embattled country, South Africa. Indeed we are most grateful for this opportunity to add the voice of the oppressed people of South Africa to this important debate in which the peoples of the world represented here seek to define their contribution in the arduous struggle to eliminate one of the worst crimes against humanity - apartheid.

Once again the General Assembly is seized of the question of apartheid. Representatives of the world community are gathered here to execute their collective responsibility of ridding the world of the most venal crime against humanity, committed by a régime whose brutality can perhaps only equal that of Nazi Germany. It is a régime that has reduced the entire subregion to a virtual war zone, committing horrendous crimes in its wake. For the peoples of southern Africa, therefore, this debate is not just an exercise in an annual ritual. Indeed, the oppressed people of South Africa and the peoples of the entire region are anxiously focusing on these deliberations with high expectations, for the

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

outcome of these discussions will in large measure determine whether the world community's outrage against apartheid will be matched by resolute, concerted action that will greatly contribute towards peace in our region.

It is not our intention to trouble the Assembly with a catalogue of the crimes perpetrated by the apartheid régime. In our view, the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid has, as expected, dealt exhaustively with the subject, giving an insight into the political developments in our region during the period under review.

We do, however, wish to share with the Assembly the concerns of the African National Congress and of the oppressed but struggling people of our country in order to emphasize the sense of urgency with which we feel the question of apartheid should be addressed.

This eminent Assembly will recall that a few years ago the Pretoria régime, reeling under the impact of growing international isolation and increasing resistance from inside South Africa, embarked on a policy that sought to portray apartheid as either dead or dying. To that end the régime cast itself in the mould of a reformer willing to resolve the problems of the region through reason, rather than brute force. Through that campaign the régime hoped in the first instance to dampen the militancy of the African countries in their opposition to apartheid and to utilize its acceptability by Africa as a Trojan horse with which to break out of its international isolation.

That these insidious mechanisms were rejected in this and in other international forums is a matter of proud historical record. Such a rejection was based on a sober analysis of the situation inside South Africa and a realization that the Pretoria régime had no intention of ending apartheid; that the so-called reforms that the régime so proudly trumpeted - and which were enthusiastically

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

lauded in certain Western capitals - amounted to no more than tinkering with apartheid, while leaving its essentials firmly in place.

We have been constrained to recall this recent history precisely because the political turn of events in southern Africa threatens to take us full circle back to the period to which we have alluded. We are beginning to hear some dangerous murmurs, however muted, emanating from certain circles that Pieter Botha is doing his utmost to bring about real change. And what is the evidence for this assessment? We are told that Botha is held hostage by the far-right political parties amongst whites and that in the implementation of his reform programme he is compelled to look over his shoulder. Incidentally, the results of the segregated so-called local elections held on 26 October in which the ultra-right conservative party swept the numerous town councils are cited as supportive evidence.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Further evidence of this so-called change of heart on the part of the régime relates to a series of acts, including the stay of execution of the Sharpeville Six, the release of long-term political prisoners and the rumour, which Pretoria obviously encourages, of the impending release of Nelson Mandela. Furthermore, the negotiations involving the Pretoria régime, Angola and Cuba, with the mediation of the United States, are presented as proof positive of Pretoria's good intentions.

For the people of South Africa this argument would be highly amusing if it were not fraught with such devastating consequences. Indeed, the peoples of the entire region of southern Africa cannot afford the luxury of dabbling in political fantasies. For them, the results of apartheid, whether the kind practised by Botha or its more crude variety as envisaged by the conservative party, are the same: massacres of men, women, and children; callous population removals; arbitrary arrests and detention of political opponents; assassination of political activists; a staggering infant mortality rate among black people; and incessant military incursions into the neighbouring States, with a colossal cost in human life and property. What this line of reasoning amounts to is the somewhat strange logic that the people of South Africa must count their blessings on the grounds that the extreme right wing party has so far been unable to dislodge Botha from power and the international community has the responsibility for preventing such an eventuality by encouraging Botha instead of imposing stricter sanctions on apartheid South Africa.

It is precisely this kind of reasoning that has encouraged Botha to undertake his "African safari" and thus attempt to break the ranks within the Organization of African Unity. In fact, if we step aside from the nauseating rhetoric of the apologists of apartheid and examine Botha's track-record during the period under review, the startling facts stare us in the face.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The apartheid régime, in the true nature of a fascist State, with its concomitant Draconian repressive measures, has been operating under virtual martial law for years. That fact notwithstanding, in February the régime literally banged the door on peaceful opposition to apartheid by declaring popular anti-apartheid organizations illegal, and sought to dampen the militancy of the black workers by severely circumscribing the activities of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). In order to hide its nefarious deeds from international scrutiny, the régime imposed severe restrictions on the media and has, since then, threatened to tighten them, thereby dispelling for-ever the fiction of a free press in South Africa.

In a vain attempt to achieve its declared aim of crushing the ANC, the régime set up hit squads to assassinate leaders and activists of the ANC inside and outside South Africa. The assassination of the ANC chief representative in Paris, Dulcie September, and the two attempts on the ANC chief representative in Brussels are cases in point. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in the region have been constantly violated as agents of the régime continue to carry out acts of abduction of ANC members. Thousands of South Africans languish in the dungeons of the régime, including hundreds of children, because they are perceived as a grave threat to State security. Hundreds of people are awaiting execution in the Pretoria central prison, as the régime is determined to defend its dubious distinction of being the leading country in the world in the implementation of capital punishment against its opponents. Even more sinister is the new strategy employed by Pretoria to stave off international opprobrium by executing political prisoners secretly. This the régime does by executing at least one person condemned to death for his opposition to apartheid along with a group of so-called common criminals. In this manner it attempts to deceive the international

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

community that the judicial murders that it carries out are confined to non-political offences. This was attempted in the case of Paul Setlaba, with regard to whom, only a few days ago, the Security Council passed a resolution calling for a stay of execution.

The recent segregated local elections in South Africa, if anything, point in the direction of Pretoria's determination to reinforce the edifice of apartheid, since those very elections were based on a constitution that was universally condemned and correctly declared null and void by the United Nations. It is no wonder that the régime failed dismally in its effort to convince the black people in South Africa that the elections represented the end of apartheid; they demonstrated their rejection through a massive boycott of those fraudulent elections.

Quite clearly, therefore, for the oppressed people of South Africa the political landscape has changed markedly for the worse. This circumstance, in our view, cries out for greater sacrifices on our part as fighters for freedom and decidedly stronger action, rather than less action, on the part of the international community.

I turn briefly to other significant political developments in our region. There is no doubt that the ongoing tripartite talks between the régime, Angola and Cuba, with the mediation of the United States of America, will, if successfully concluded, result in well-deserved peace for Angola, which ever since its independence has been subjected to Pretoria's terrorism. Likewise, the successful conclusion of the negotiations would pave the way for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), leading to Namibia's independence. The ANC appreciates the positions of principle of Angola and socialist Cuba and hopes that the round of talks on south-western Africa will be crowned with success, thus

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

enabling the people of Angola to redirect their resources to the development of their country, and the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to take its rightful place in the community of nations, free of apartheid tyranny and colonialism.

Having said this, I hasten to add that the international community should exercise maximum vigilance when it comes to dealing with the racist South African régime. The history of our region abounds with evidence that this régime is highly adept at raising false hopes and is completely unscrupulous in its international relations, when it deems fit, to buy time. Moreover, it is our well-founded view that the régime did not consent to negotiate as a result of a change of heart on its part; rather, Pretoria was forced to negotiate by a combination of factors, both internal and external.

Inside South Africa the oppressed people's yearning for freedom has led to the intensification of their resistance to apartheid. In spite of the wave of repression, a number of important victories have been registered. The workers' struggle has continued to escalate, reaching soaring heights this year. Despite the imprisonment of popular leaders and activists, our people in their various formations have given battle against the régime. The armed struggle has grown in intensity. All these factors have had a devastating effect on the already ailing South African economy, which is being hard hit by the growing sanctions imposed by the international community. In Namibia, Pretoria's military bill runs into millions of United States dollars a day as it seeks to consolidate its hegemony in the region.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The resounding defeat of the régime's fascist troops in Angola, in particular at Cuito-Cunavale, and the encirclement sent shock waves deep into the régime's constituency, which for generations had been steeped in the ideology of racism and had begun to believe in the invincibility of its army. Under these circumstances the régime had no option but to talk. It is therefore not unreasonable to postulate that if circumstances were to change the régime would have no qualms about reneging on its international commitments, as it has done in the past.

The conclusion is therefore inescapable: more pressure must be exerted on the régime. We therefore call upon the General Assembly to do its utmost in ensuring that the Security Council imposes comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. We deplore the positions of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, which continue to abuse their veto power and thereby extend the lease of life of the apartheid régime.

We commend all the Governments that have instituted measures against Pretoria and call upon them to strengthen such measures. In this regard we call upon the new Administration of the United States of America to make common cause with the international community in the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid régime and also make common cause with the American people by co-operating with the United States Congress to pass the legislation aimed at strengthening sanctions.

We cannot but strongly condemn those countries such as Israel which continue to collaborate with the apartheid régime, particularly in the military sphere, by deliberately violating the arms embargo adopted by the United Nations. We appeal to the people of the world to force the oil companies to desist from fueling apartheid.

In the same way as the Pretoria régime has been forced into joining the negotiation process which will hopefully lead to a settlement and to the decolonization of Namibia, sufficient pressure can, and must, force Pretoria to

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

come to terms with the majority of the people of South Africa. However, before such talks can be contemplated the racist régime must undertake some specific prerequisite steps. These include the following: the immediate repeal of the State of Emergency; the withdrawal of troops from the townships; the unconditional release of all detainees; the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; the unconditional return of all political exiles; the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other political organizations; and the repeal of apartheid legislation.

Failure to respond positively to these demands by the régime will leave us with no option but to continue with our struggle until victory. In this regard we fully support the call made by the recent Ministerial Council of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to address the catalogue of crimes perpetrated by the régime in our region and to adopt a comprehensive resolution on the question of apartheid. While we know that in the final analysis we will be our own liberators, we consider, that the international community will greatly facilitate the end of the miserable plight of the people of our region.

I would like to seize this opportunity to register our profound appreciation to all those who continue to give us support in our relentless struggle. We pay tribute to the front-line States, which are making tremendous sacrifices in support of our struggle. The OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement also deserve to be mentioned. Our deep gratitude must go also to the socialist States, the Nordic countries and other countries that have stood with us in our hour of need.

Special mention must be made of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, and in particular its Chairman, Major-General Joe Garba, for the

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

invaluable assistance accorded the people of South Africa in their just struggle for self-determination.

In conclusion allow me to express our solidarity with all people fighting for their freedom. We stand rock-solid behind the people of Namibia under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization; the people of Sahraoui, led by POLISARIO; the heroic people of Palestine, under their sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); the people of El Salvador, led by the FDR/FMLN; the struggle of the people of Nicaragua to defend their revolutionary gains; and all those fighting for the right to shape their destinies.

For our part, the ANC solemnly pledges that it will spare no effort to ensure that this world is finally rid of the scourge of apartheid.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.