



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/43/PV.62
1 December 1988

ENGLISH

Forty-third session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

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

President:
later:

Mr. HUERTA-MONTALVO (Vice-President)
Mr. CAPUTO

(Ecuador)
(Argentina)

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

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.

- Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations: Note by the Secretary-General [7] (continued)
- Report of the Security Council [11]
- Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other elections [16] (continued)
 - (e) Election of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Note by the Secretary-General
- Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments [17] (continued)
 - (k) Confirmation of the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: Note by the Secretary-General
- Programme of work

In the absence of the President, Mr. Huerta Montalvo (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

Mr. ANKA (Nigeria): Permit me to join those who have spoken before me in saying that we are indeed glad to see Mr. Caputo of Argentina presiding over the affairs of the General Assembly at its forty-third session. We have no doubt that his tenure as President will go down in the annals of the United Nations as a momentous one.

The issue we are now discussing under agenda item 36 is not a new one. The agenda item on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa has consistently been featured on the programme of work of this body since 1946. That we are again discussing it this year tends to suggest one thing: the intractable character of the question of apartheid. Candidly, while my delegation is most willing to participate in the discussion of this question, we do not believe that it is an intractable issue. Neither do we believe that it is a problem beyond this body's resolving.

Apartheid exists because some of us tolerate its existence. Apartheid thrives because it gets support and is given succour by certain countries and peoples. Indeed, apartheid has survived thus far because certain States Members of the

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

United Nations have lacked the civil courage and moral uprightness to challenge it the way they challenged the scourge of nazism.

Over the years all that needs to be said about the evil nature of apartheid has been said in this great Hall. All resolutions that would bring an end to apartheid have been contemplated, drafted and voted on within the United Nations. Why then does apartheid persist? Why does this scourge of our time, this shameful crime against our civilization and humanity, continue to thrive? These questions are questions we must ask ourselves as we once again deliberate this issue.

Since this body last considered the question of apartheid, in November 1987, a lot has happened in South Africa. In spite of the resolutions we adopted a year ago the racist Pretoria régime has continued to wreak endless havoc on the people of South Africa and its neighbouring States. These activities have been fully documented in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid to this forty-third session (A/43/22). As usual the Special Committee has in the most painstaking manner detailed the continuing criminal and evil activities of the racist régime. The report has not only given a thorough analysis of global developments related to the campaign against apartheid, but also presented us with unquestionable facts and figures pointing to States, events and people that sustain apartheid.

The Special Committee in presenting its report has acquitted itself most creditably. The report is not only succinct, but characteristically unemotional and devoid of sentiment. The Special Committee deserves our utmost commendation, but most of all an exhibition of courage by us to study the report and act accordingly on its recommendations. The only way we can enhance the credibility of this wholesome report is not to treat its contents with levity, as has hitherto been the practice, but to implement its recommendations and conclusions.

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

The enormity of the grave situation in South Africa is one that can never be over-emphasized. The moral challenge the question of apartheid poses for us all is one that can never be wished away, as some States tend to do. We have spoken of the moral burden apartheid imposes on us all, but most of all on the incumbent responsibility that devolves on the States members of this body to bring an end to apartheid.

That apartheid, a system defined as a crime against humanity, survives today in South Africa can be attributed primarily to one reason: our collective failure to acknowledge the racist régime's area of greatest vulnerability and to apply the necessary sanctions against that area. Implicit in this failure to apply the appropriate sanctions against South Africa is the fallacious belief held by some States that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would hurt black South Africans the most. But then there is a tangential rationale to this argument which its proponents never bother to articulate, even though it serves their greatest interest.

The supporters of apartheid fail to tell us, as they should if they were candid, that they make so much profit from South Africa's slave system of apartheid and that so many jobs in their respective countries have become dependent on apartheid that it makes it difficult, if not impossible, for their respective Governments to disassociate themselves from apartheid. Further, they fail to tell us that their Governments regard the apartheid régime as a dependable ally, and such being the case they do not want to take chances with an alternative Government, not even a democratic Government that may emerge when apartheid has been destroyed.

There is a lot we are not told as to why apartheid is so religiously supported by a few. But that we are not told does not mean that we are not aware or fail to understand. Just as the irony and contradictions of certain arguments and actions

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

do not escape us, we are aware that it is the executive arms of some Governments, and not the people or their elected legislators, which continue to support apartheid. We are cognizant that, while one school of thought in a particular country has called South Africa a reliable ally, another school, which belongs to the mainstream of that country and is progressive and responsive, has called the same South Africa a "terrorist State". This paradox does not escape us.

We are equally aware that, while we call for mandatory sanctions as the only peaceful way of dismantling apartheid, certain States oppose it as a means of protecting the phenomenal growth in trade between them and South Africa. Such growth, which extends to military, technological and strategic fields, is nevertheless shocking testimony of the lack of concern by these States for the plight of the oppressed people of South Africa and gross indifference to the loss of their inalienable rights. More important, such double standards have become the parameter by which we can measure any State's moral commitment, as opposed to their material and profit-motivated policies, as far as the apartheid question is concerned.

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

In cataloguing this paradox of the global response to apartheid, I cannot fail to repeat that my delegation is appalled at that response, and even more at the failure of the United Nations Security Council to impose the requisite sanctions on South Africa. We have long been convinced that the international community lacks neither the authority nor the wherewithal to compel racist South Africa to conform to acceptable international norms. What has been lacking is the will to act and the adoption of measures that are equitable reprisals befitting the depraved character of apartheid.

Consequently the international community has, through the action of some States, unwittingly placed itself in a tragic impasse as far as the question of South Africa is concerned. There seems to be no way forward and no way backward. While the architects of the failed and rejected policy of constructive engagement make every effort to forestall majority rule in South Africa, black South Africans continue to suffer and perish, their sufferings being far worse than anything mandatory sanctions could bring. Also, we are now at a juncture where efforts by some white members of South Africa's community to effect genuine change are often scuttled by the mere pronouncement by some States that South Africa will always find ready support from its Western allies. How long, then, can we allow this state of political quagmire to continue? For how long are we going to abdicate our responsibilities under the United Nations Charter in respect of apartheid in South Africa?

It is axiomatic that in a struggle such as the one we wage against apartheid our emotions are allowed to get the better of us, but our exhibition of emotion about this issue only reflects our worries and frustrations. We nevertheless do not allow them to overshadow our judgement. For this reason my delegation wishes

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

to state in clear and very certain terms that we totally disapprove of contacts between the racist President P. W. Botha and some African leaders. We oppose such contacts since they can do no more than enable the Botha régime to break out of its present isolation in Africa. There is no incentive for such contacts, since South Africa offers nothing tangible in return.

Similarly, we view with indignation the growth in trade relations between certain States and South Africa at a time when many other States are disinvesting and, indeed, cutting their trade links. Their collective role is indeed worrying to us, given that they enjoy enormous trade relations with the rest of free Africa. Equally, we are gravely disturbed that arms and oil continue to reach South Africa in abundance. The report of the Special Committee has clearly pointed out the role of Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany on the question of arms. The report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa also documents some violations. We can only ask that the States involved be faithful to this body by complying with United Nations resolutions on apartheid. While action in sport and other areas taken by the State of Israel is a step in the right direction, it must do more to convince this body that its collaboration with the racist régime has indeed declined.

My delegation has often expressed without equivocation our anxiety over the credence which certain States want to accord to South Africa. We have as a nation been very active on the question of apartheid and are therefore well placed to judge South Africa's lack of good faith in negotiations of any sort. The failure to implement resolution 435 (1978), on Namibia, is a glaring example. That resolution has not been implemented after 10 years, and the many false starts and deceitful moves by South Africa are clear testimony that the racist régime can never be counted upon. Consequently, my delegation finds it odd, to say the least,

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

that there are still certain States that call for reform of apartheid and a negotiated settlement of that country's problems. We for our part stand firm in our belief that apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be dismantled, and this can come about only through the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

My delegation has also reflected on what action the apartheid régime has undertaken lately that may warrant a reassessment of our stand against it. We see none; none that in any shape or form suggests that the racist régime has undertaken one act with an iota of redeeming value - none at all. Nelson Mandela remains in prison, even on his sick bed. Countless detainees and other political prisoners have not been released. Banned organizations, restricted groups and peoples have not regained their freedom. The state of emergency persists as before. Apartheid remains. It remains, with its characteristic evil nature, ever indefensible, ever morally wrong and ever intransigent.

How can we even contemplate the thought that the apartheid régime is geared towards change when only last month, on 26 October, it conducted a sham that it called "municipal elections". We were gratified that, except for two Member States that abstained, this body voted favourably and unanimously on the resolution condemning that election. We must all show the same courage when we vote for the rest of the draft resolutions on apartheid after this debate.

It is the belief of my delegation that constructive dialogue leads to the peaceful resolution of crises. That is why we participate in this debate. We expect the South African régime to do no less in debates relating to its apartheid policies. This also applies to its supporters. If South Africa is committed to constructive dialogue, it must first release all political prisoners, lift the ban on all banned organizations and enter into negotiations with the genuine leaders of black South Africa. Constructive dialogue can no longer be misused by its supporters for self-serving and tunnel-visioned policies and negotiations aimed

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

only at protecting the racist régime's interests and the economic and strategic interests of a few. Constructive dialogue must come in the form of open discussions on how to terminate minority rule in South Africa and end destabilization of the front-line States and the spate of violence that has been apartheid's trade mark. It must also focus on how to prevent the imminent blood-bath in that country.

My delegation is resolute in its belief that the recent trend towards global peace must be extended and brought to bear in the southern African subregion. It was in this belief that my Foreign Minister, Mr. Ike Nwachukwu, when he addressed this body on 29 September, called on the Assembly to convene in 1989 a special session on apartheid and its destructive tendencies in southern Africa. It is our fervent hope that the Assembly will see merit in holding such a special session and vote favourably for it.

Suffice it to say that we also believe that such a session would afford each and every State Member of this Organization the opportunity to restate its national position on this urgent question. We are cognizant of the dynamics of the international system and the changes that occur in policies with a change of administration. We want to believe that these changes will extend to the question of apartheid. We also want to believe that such a session would persuade those States which have made it a traditional practice not to speak on this issue during the debate to rethink their stance. It will no longer suffice for them to sit and listen to the debate, vote against or abstain on the draft resolutions and then make their explanations after the voting. It behoves all of us, as States Members of this Organization, to be involved in the process of finding solutions to conflicts around the world.

(Mr. Anka, Nigeria)

In closing, I wish to recall the words of an illustrious son of South Africa, Reverend Allan Boesak. He said of those who ask questions about our attitude towards South Africa:

"Whoever wants to ask of us what have you achieved should rather say what has the South African Government achieved over these years? ... people have learned to say as loudly and as clearly as they can that apartheid is a cancer in the body politic of the world, a crime against humanity and a shame upon our land, and that we shall continue to resist ..."

We agree that apartheid is a cancer in our world; it must be excised by any and all means.

Mr. POSTOWICZ (Poland): We meet once again in the General Assembly to consider one of the most controversial questions and one of the oldest agenda items: apartheid. That evil system continues to be the source of tensions in South Africa and the southern African region.

May I pay a very special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for the crucial role it has played in sensitizing international public opinion concerning the plight of the oppressed people in South Africa and in building a world-wide alliance against apartheid. The report of the Special Committee to the forty-third session of the General Assembly (A/43/22) provides unchallenged testimony to escalating oppression and the deteriorating situation in South Africa and the region in the past year.

The state of emergency seems to have become permanent. Under its legal cover, brutal repression, detention, police violence and even torture have been continued. The Government took the decision to ban 17 non-governmental democratic organizations and to restrict the activities of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Those organizations were operating legally and openly and were committed to non-violence. Their only crime was that they were opposed to apartheid.

The media have been subjected to Draconian censorship measures and severely restricted in what they can report. Newspapers have been shut down, the campaign to muzzle them reaching its peak in October 1988, when the authorities served a "28-day suspension order" on the Weekly Mail.

Another wave of repression was an attempt by the Government to stifle opposition to the sham municipal elections held last October. The elections were rejected by the large majority of the black population and overwhelmingly condemned by the General Assembly in resolution 43/13.

(Mr. Postowicz, Poland)

The picture in that troubled country is gloomy, and the racist régime remains obstinate its attitude to calls by the international community to engage in a meaningful dialogue with genuine representatives of the majority in order to bring about peaceful change.

Although there are indications that international pressure is beginning to be felt and that selective economic sanctions applied to South Africa by some of its major trading partners are increasing the cost of maintaining apartheid, we are still deeply concerned that, apart from a few superficial adjustments, Pretoria has done nothing to dismantle the apartheid structure. The sad reality is that after decades of international protest the underlying policies of the racist régime remain unchanged.

There are times in history when political wisdom and foresight demand that foreseeable catastrophes be forestalled by peaceful preventive action. There is no doubt that we are at such a juncture now. Let us, therefore, act with conviction. Let us give encouragement to the opponents of apartheid that their cause is shared by the international community. Let us demonstrate clearly that the apartheid system is intolerable, that people everywhere feel repugnance towards it, and that without fundamental change Pretoria cannot expect to have normal relations with the rest of the world.

On no issue do the States Members of the United Nations stand more united than in their condemnation of apartheid. The oppressed people of South Africa have a right to demand that the international community take effective measures to bring pressure to bear on the racist Government in order to bring an end to the obnoxious system of apartheid.

(Mr. Postowicz, Poland)

We continue to believe that the only peaceful, effective measure that would bring apartheid to its knees is a co-ordinated international effort aimed at isolating South Africa politically, economically and socially. Economic sanctions have now become a symbol. There also seems to be a growing realization in the Western alliance that it is politically necessary to build them up. The economic effects would be considerably enhanced if the United States, the 12 Member States of the European Community and Japan could agree on a concerted and strong programme of sanctions. Their psychological effect and impact would be strengthened too.

Poland shares the universal hope for peaceful change in South Africa, an end to oppression, violence and brutality, and the restoration of human rights, equality and fundamental freedoms. Therefore we appeal for a redoubling of international efforts in the search and support for a political solution that would replace apartheid by a system based on racial equality and justice.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): If there is one agenda item on which there is unanimity among the Members of this Organization it is item 36 - "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

All Member States, with the exception of South Africa, agree in condemning the policy of apartheid in all its forms at this the end of the twentieth century, and no one except the racist South Africans themselves can understand how a minority of 4.5 million people can impose on almost 29 million black people discriminatory segregation based purely on the colour of their skin, as though each human being were free to choose the colour of his skin before birth.

To maintain the supremacy and economic privileges of the racist white minority is to take world history back to the times of slavery and the slave trade and is the ultimate objective of apartheid.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

At this time, when the records of the United Nations show that only a few Territories - 14, ranging from New Caledonia to St. Helena and including Tokelau and Bermuda - are still under colonial domination, as can be seen from the Fourth Committee's report approved on 22 November last by the General Assembly, almost all States and countries of the world have become free in accordance with the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the fortieth anniversary of which we shall soon be celebrating.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes that every human being has the same rights regardless of the colour of his skin, his race or his religion.

The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV), supplements the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by affirming the right to self-determination of all peoples under domination in any form.

Slavery was abolished in 1833 in England, 1848 in France and 1865 in the United States of America, and the first colonized territories to become independent were India and Pakistan in 1947, followed in 1958 and 1960 by a second group of African and other States. This emancipation of the peoples of the world must continue so as to do away with the entire category of Territories under colonial domination. This would be in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 22 November declaiming the decade from 1990 to the year 2000 the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism.

When the medium-term objective has been achieved with the independence of Namibia and the other Territories that I mentioned, South Africa will be the sole remaining bastion of colonialism and slavery, for apartheid is just a synonym for slavery, as a social system based on the exploitation of black labour to enrich the white minority. Apartheid as a system of government is but a symbol of a strategy

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

whose structures are in no way different from the past colonialist system or from slavery.

In systematically limiting the black people's choice of where to live and work, the schools they can go to, their opportunity to bring children into the world and their choice of a burial place, the white South African minority is perpetuating colonialism in South Africa, where 87 per cent of the territory is reserved for the white population, representing only 13.7 per cent of the population, while only 13 per cent of the land is allotted to the Africans, representing 75.3 per cent of the population. This complete reversal of the proportions which illustrates very clearly the racist ethic of apartheid. There is little need to mention that the 13 per cent of the land given to the Africans is the least fertile and is divided into 10 geographical regions, which are not bordering on one another and are known as bantustans, homelands or national States. Africans who are made citizens of bantustans lose their South African citizenship even if they live outside the bantustans.

All these mechanisms conceal a single fact: the will of the racist white minority to continue to pursue with impunity its wretched policy of superiority in order to deny the blacks their right to vote, their political rights and in short, their right to participate on a footing of equality in the management of public affairs.

The 18 members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the dynamic leadership of our colleague the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Mr. Garba - whom I most sincerely congratulate on the competence and dedication he demonstrates at the head of the Committee - have followed the situation in South Africa closely and have submitted to us a very eloquent report showing clearly that the apartheid régime is gaining strength and stepping up its repression of the black people.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

The South African racist minority régime, facing three crises simultaneously - political, economic and military - is seeking new ways of establishing itself, flouting United Nations resolutions and recommendations calling on it to eradicate apartheid in order to establish a democratic, non-racial society based on justice, freedom and equality.

In 1974 the General Assembly has excluded the South African delegation from participation in its work for as long as it continued to practise apartheid.

On the political level the illegal, sham elections organized by the racist régime of South Africa enabled the extreme right conservative party to take control of almost 92 town councils, thus extending its political control to almost all the rural areas.

On the other hand, liberals who oppose apartheid lost electoral seats to the conservatives, and the Nationalist Party itself, headed by Pieter Botha, barely survived the elections.

This political crisis between the three major parties, which should have weakened apartheid, instead strengthened it, because the victory of the conservatives has led to a hardening of segregationism and to separate seats for blacks and whites in parks, cinemas, restaurants, buses, and so on.

Once again the régime has beaten the record for carrying out death sentences by hanging. In 1987 there were 168 hangings, while in 1988 there have already been 115 cases of hanging, and there are still 274 prisoners awaiting the same fate.

The political attempts to attract some blacks to the municipal elections led to electoral fraud. Of the total number of blacks registered to vote - that is, 280,000 out of a black population of almost 29 million - or about 1 per cent of the population - 30 per cent participated in the voting: that is 30 per cent of 1 per cent.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

On the economic level, the few sanctions imposed against South Africa have had some impact on the country's economy by increasing its budgetary deficit and encouraging the trade unions, affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) to mobilize their followers and members, who now number more than 120,000, with a view to paralysing the economic output and growth of the country.

The general strike from 6 to 8 June 1988 cost the régime some \$3.5 million.

From now on the racist régime will have to reconsider its dictatorial relationship with the trade unions and seek to reach agreement with them. There again, only a frank dialogue based on the protection of mutual interests will be accepted in the long term.

The third crisis, which is the military one, faced by the South African régime, is demonstrated by the white soldiers' resistance to serving under the flag. When one man refused to join the army and was condemned to six years' imprisonment, 156 others joined him the day after he was sentenced.

This analysis of the present situation in South Africa is enough in itself to explain the various kinds of pressure that the international community and its individual members continue to bring to bear on the racist régime of South Africa to persuade it to recognize the fundamental rights of Africans in South Africa and abolish its odious system of apartheid which has been declared a crime against humanity.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

It is against this background that we must look at the various meetings held by President Botha with some African leaders, including my own, namely the President-Founder of the People's Revolutionary Movement, President of our Republic, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, who met President Botha on 1 October last in Gbodolite. At these meetings President Botha was asked to release Nelson Mandela following medical care in hospital, and commutation of the death sentence for the six Sharpeville prisoners, to be replaced by a few years' imprisonment, was called for.

On 24 November those decisions were announced by the South African Government, and on Saturday, 26 November, Brother Mothopeng, one of the leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), 75 years old, was unconditionally released. He had spent many years in prison. My delegation sincerely hopes that the leader of the PAC, Mr. Mothopeng, will be authorized by the South African authorities to leave the country for better care abroad.

Zaire believes that all those kinds of pressure on the régime must lead it to abandon its administrative and racial system so that it can enter into a process of dialogue with the black South African people, leading the way to a true democracy in which every citizen will participate in the political and economic life of the country. A constitution guaranteeing the principles of democracy must replace the system of apartheid, which has been condemned by the entire international community. Zaire encouraged the quadripartite negotiations on the situation in southern Africa which led to the Geneva agreements, and we believe that full and comprehensive implementation of those agreements would guarantee the territorial integrity of Angola and the independence of Namibia. The South African régime, which has now entered into this dialogue with the other parties concerned in

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

the situation in southern Africa, must now turn its attention to the interior of its own country, more precisely to the African majority, so as to arrive at the complete eradication of apartheid.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): The General Assembly is having to consider once again the tragic situation prevailing in South Africa. The policy of racial discrimination and the systematic violation of human rights in that unfortunate country continue to be a major source of concern and indignation for the international community.

The apartheid system in racist South Africa is a blatant violation of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In spite of the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning that abominable system, South Africa has chosen stubbornly to ignore the universal opprobrium, and has so far refused to make a radical change in its racial policies. The complete elimination of apartheid is the only acceptable solution.

Regrettably, the situation has not improved since the last session of the General Assembly, and violence continues to cause widespread human suffering in South Africa.

Massive repression against all opponents of apartheid compels the black majority to protest throughout the country and this provokes, in return, harsh repression. Only 10 days ago four black leaders of anti-apartheid organizations were convicted on treason charges, after a judge accepted the South African Government's arguments that it was possible to commit high treason without engaging in violence. Recently, however, internal and international pressures exerted against South Africa have had some modest but tangible effects. We were glad to

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

learn that the death sentences imposed on the Sharpeville Six had been commuted. The freeing last week of Zephania Mothopeng after he had served nine years in prison was another welcome development. This could be a significant move, if it were a first step towards the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees.

As was stated by the Secretary-General at the recent meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners,

"The tragedy of South Africa is exacerbated by the fact that some of the black leaders who would be crucial participants in any peaceful negotiation remain imprisoned". (A/AC.115/PV.621, p. 6)

Brutal repression of non-violent opposition is conclusive proof of South Africa's resistance to change. The authorities refuse to recognize that the system of apartheid, which contains within itself the seeds of violence, is the main reason for the explosive situation prevailing in South Africa. In this context, the state of emergency, which was renewed last June, has further contributed to the deterioration of the political climate. Another regrettable development has been the holding on 26 October 1988 of racial municipal elections which were an extension of the constitutional proposals of 1983 aimed at perpetuating the present system of racial segregation.

The Government of South Africa ~~must~~ realize that as long as it does not totally dismantle its policy of apartheid and bring about the necessary conditions for a real process of change towards majority rule and racial equality, South Africa will continue to move further away from real peace and become engulfed in civil war.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

This state of affairs is a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa and is aggravated by South Africa's military aggression against neighbouring States. The continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa is another worrisome aspect of this bleak situation. At this point, however, I should like to point out that we are encouraged by the recent acceptance of a peace accord for south-western Africa by Angola, Cuba and South Africa. We sincerely hope that this development will lead to the granting of independence to Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without further delay.

My Government, deeply concerned by the situation in South Africa, believes that concerted action on the part of the international community is needed to combat apartheid. The United Nations must continue to be in the forefront in the efforts exerted at the international level to apply pressure on South Africa. We are convinced that this Organization can play a major role in bringing about the necessary conditions for genuine change and the eradication of apartheid. In this context, we welcome the positive effects of the international campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and for clemency for the Sharpeville Six.

In conclusion, I wish to pay particular tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its commendable efforts to support the legitimate aspirations of the South African people.

I wish also to recall that Turkey, which does not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with Pretoria, is firmly committed to all the efforts designed to ensure the dismantling of apartheid through peaceful means and dialogue. We are in no doubt that a system of democracy and racial equality must come to South Africa. It is our earnest hope that the transition will occur through negotiations and not through the use of force.

Mr. HUSAIN (Pakistan): South Africa's policy of apartheid has been on the United Nations agenda in one form or another for more than 40 years, having first been discussed in the General Assembly in 1946. Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the Security Council first discussed this question and recognized in its resolution 134 (1960), that the situation in South Africa had led to international friction and, if continued, might endanger international peace and security. The policy of apartheid in all its manifestations has been universally condemned in every international forum. Regrettably, the Pretoria régime has persisted in this abhorrent policy in total disregard of international opinion.

The United Nations has affirmed, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, that the only solution to the problem of apartheid is the total abolition of the apartheid system and its replacement by a non-racial, democratic society, where the people of South Africa can exercise their legal right to choose their leaders in freedom and dignity. Many resolutions and decisions have been adopted, invariably by overwhelming majorities, for the elimination of apartheid. However, it took years of brutal violence against the black majority by the racist Pretoria régime and its open defiance of United Nations resolutions to convince the Security Council to adopt, in November 1977, a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Although further restrictive measures against the intransigent Pretoria régime are obviously called for, the Security Council has been unable to agree on them so far.

The racist structure of apartheid imposed by the white minority is at present confronting a serious challenge. The military reversals of the racist régime and the growing determination of the black liberation movements have forced it to the negotiating table. Its representatives have reportedly accepted a tentative agreement in the talks with Cuba and Angola, under United States mediation, for the

(Mr. Husain, Pakistan)

eventual independence of Namibia. The independence of Namibia and the elimination of apartheid are two fronts of a struggle against a common enemy. Success on one front should not give cause to relent pressure on the other. Pressure on the Pretoria régime for dismantling the policy of apartheid must be maintained regardless of progress on the question of Namibia.

South Africa has repeatedly tried to deflect international criticism and pressure from the liberation movements by mounting repeated incursions and subversive acts against the front-line States, resulting in the destabilization of the whole region. Its announcements of make-believe programmes of reform to phase out apartheid are nothing but insidious manoeuvres by the racist minority further to entrench the white minority rule. The racially segregated municipal elections held recently in South Africa were rejected and condemned by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/13 of 26 October, earlier this year.

Despite the proclamation in 1983 of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and three international Conventions, namely, the International Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, this heinous crime against humanity continues to fester. Pakistan was among the first countries to ratify the Conventions. No measures are too harsh to realize the objective of the elimination of this abominable system. It is therefore imperative that mandatory sanctions be imposed on South Africa and that the mandatory arms embargo already imposed by the Security Council be strictly enforced. Nothing short of the complete political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural isolation of South Africa will compel it to resile from its institutionalized system of racial discrimination.

(Mr. Husain, Pakistan)

In February this year, Pretoria imposed severe restrictions on the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and 18 individuals committed to peaceful struggle and on the Congress of South African Trade Unions. These repressive measures, coupled with Pretoria's policy of co-optation and so-called political reform, make it clear that it is trying to establish control and legitimacy in South Africa and thus extend its unjust rule.

We salute Nelson Mandela, that redoubtable fighter against apartheid. His long incarceration has failed to break his spirit or weaken his resolve. We demand that he be set completely at liberty without any conditions or restrictions whatsoever. The international community should continue to press South Africa to lift the state of emergency, release all political prisoners, especially children, and lift the ban on black political organizations. The commutation of the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six underscores the effectiveness of sustained international pressure on Pretoria.

The forty-third session of the General Assembly has an historic and moral responsibility to agree on effective measures for the elimination of apartheid. The present improvement in the international political climate provides a unique opportunity to put into effect the efforts already under way for the elimination of apartheid.

With our belief in the universal brotherhood and equality of mankind regardless of race, colour and creed, enshrined in our religion, Islam, the Government and people of Pakistan have always remained committed to the eradication of apartheid. Pakistan has consistently extended its unwavering support to every action and resolution of the United Nations on the question of apartheid in South Africa. It has not only expressed its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa but also extended practical and material assistance to the victims of

(Mr. Husain, Pakistan)

apartheid. A stringent and comprehensive boycott of the racist régime has been maintained for the last four decades by Pakistan. It has scrupulously pursued the policy of ostracism in diplomatic, political, economic, trade, cultural, sports, shipping and air links with Pretoria. Pakistan supports the adoption of effective measures by the United Nations, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, to secure the elimination of racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation, and the establishment of majority rule in South Africa.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): This session of the General Assembly has been punctuated by some seminal trends in international relations. There has been a resurgence of diplomatic activity on the international, regional and bilateral levels, inspiring confidence that at long last we have embarked on the road to peace in many conflict situations. Similarly, the signs of a general relaxation of tensions, especially between the two super-Powers, which have been reflected in their traditional rivalry, are being increasingly replaced by dialogue and co-operation on issues of regional and global concern. And resort to the good offices of our esteemed Secretary-General confirm the new and constructive approach in the utilization of the machinery of our Organization in the search for a more peaceful, just and safer world.

Notwithstanding these welcome developments, there are still those who continue to view this progressive process in the affairs of mankind not as an opportunity for negotiation and reconciliation, but as a potent threat to their positions of power and privilege. Nowhere is this more poignantly true than in South Africa, where the racist minority régime stands like a perverse anachronism against the tide of history, intent on preserving its antediluvian system and institutions

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

founded on repugnant notions of race and racial superiority. Indeed, nothing is more threatening to a racist régime that thrives on international hostility than the diminution of antagonisms between military, economic and ideological adversaries - for it removes a major component of Pretoria's diplomatic strategy of cloaking the entire situation in southern Africa in terms of global rivalry and East-West contention, behind which it pursues a policy of racist oppression in South Africa, of colonial domination in Namibia, and of hegemony throughout the region.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

It is incredible that, after having been proclaimed contrary to the United Nations Charter, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, apartheid should persist in our midst to this day. Regrettably, scores of United Nations resolutions demanding the eradication of this scourge, including the total mobilization of the resources of the international community to compel South Africa to see reason and abandon its racist policies, have been of no avail. South Africa has thus blatantly disregarded our collective pleas, defied our appeals and treated the united will of the world with utter disdain. The fact of the matter is that practitioners of the vile ideology of apartheid, imbued with bigotry and hate, cannot and will not recognize, much less accept, reality and reason. Ultimately Pretoria's desperation is an admission of the failure of its policies: failure to achieve its own stated goal of establishing security and normalcy in the country and failure to suppress, coerce or co-opt the struggling black masses of South Africa.

Because the apartheid régime has been unable to stifle the opposition through the Draconian state of emergency, invoked successively since 1985 and renewed once again last June, it has now adopted further measures to silence totally all protests, including the most non-violent and passive forms of political expression. In doing so Pretoria has moved to crush any peaceful opposition to its rule.

As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid notes, the racist régime has moved on a broad front, including new legislation, more repressive measures and an intensification of its state terrorist policies further to entrench apartheid. Thus, superimposed on the state of emergency, which has already turned the country into a police state, Pretoria has effectively banned 17 leading

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

anti-apartheid organizations and 18 prominent community leaders from conducting any political activity whatsoever. It also has suppressed further the black labour movement through the adoption of the Labour Relations Amendment Act and prohibited all groups and individuals from receiving foreign funds on the basis of the so-called Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill. In addition to the banning of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest coalition of non-violent anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, the conviction on treason charges of four prominent black leaders of the UDF and seven others cannot but provoke further unrest, as it forecloses virtually all peaceful means of struggle.

In an attempt to blunt the international outcry over those measures, Pretoria - just three days ago - released Zephania Mothopeng, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and Harry Gwala of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) after more than a decade of incarceration. Encouraging as it is, this limited step can hardly give reason for optimism, for as in the case of the regulations and legislation supplementing the state of emergency, the use of detention without trial also has been augmented by resort to vigilantes and paramilitary and other surrogate forces which have been annihilating apartheid opponents, particularly in those communities with a history of organized resistance to apartheid. In tandem with the death squads, resort to capital punishment through the judiciary has reached unprecedented levels, with the execution rate in South Africa one of the highest in the world. There are at least 70 political prisoners on death row. In this regard as well, while we welcome the commutation of the death sentences against the Sharpeville Six, on whose behalf the international community, including the Security Council, made repeated appeals, my delegation regards their Draconian prison sentences as a gross injustice that should be rescinded.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

A further manifestation of the murderous onslaught is resort to abductions and assassinations of South African exiles and representatives of the liberation movements outside the country, as exemplified by the killing of the ANC representative in France in March this year and an attempt on the life of the ANC representative in Belgium. Apart from physically eliminating anti-apartheid activists, Pretoria has continued to step up its policy of large-scale forced removals of the black population to the so-called homelands, to enforce more strictly expulsions from white-zone areas and to crack down on members of the domestic and foreign media in order to muzzle the press.

We could go on with the litany of crimes perpetrated in the name of apartheid by the racist régime against the black majority. However, my delegation believes that given the urgency of the extreme situation our attention must be focused on the immediate crisis brought on by the racist régime's attempts to crush all non-violent resistance to apartheid before the holding of the discredited municipal elections last month for black representatives to the officially-sanctioned community councils. The Pretoria régime had hoped to use those elections to mislead the world public that a process of political reform was under way in the country. However, it was clear from the beginning that the elections would change nothing, for they constituted a further desperate ploy to give an aura of legitimacy to the régime's constitutional plans for maintaining the apartheid system by denying real power to the black majority.

That insidious device was immediately and resoundingly denounced by this session of the General Assembly in resolution 43/13, which declared that the so-called municipal elections would further entrench white minority rule and that they were contrary to the principles of the Charter. Furthermore, it forewarned that the holding of elections would inevitably aggravate the already explosive

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

situation in South Africa and called on the Security Council to meet in order to consider the situation as a matter of urgency. In this regard as well, it is to be recalled that the General Assembly and the Security Council, by their resolutions 38/11 and 554 (1984) respectively, had already proclaimed the new constitution of the racist régime null and void and the South African Government not only racist but also illegal.

It is indeed telling as regards the short-sighted arrogance of the racist régime that it had gone ahead with the elections, which were a dismal failure because the people stood united in refusing to be used in this unseemly manoeuvre to legitimize the apartheid constitution. Thus the Pretoria régime has turned a deaf ear to the overwhelming demands of the international community to rescind the state of emergency and to enter into meaningful negotiations with the genuine representatives of the black majority by releasing Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, leading to the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society based on universal suffrage. In fact, the representative of apartheid South Africa had the foolhardiness to stand before the Security Council last March and arrogantly proclaim to that body "we reject your accusations with contempt and invite you to do your damndest" (S/PV.2793, p. 16). Hence, by its own pronouncements the Pretoria régime has indisputably opted for confrontation rather than conciliation. It has denied the just grievances and demands of the black majority and has intensified its repressive campaign of intimidation and violence, confident that in the end the Security Council will be prevented from adopting resolute measures to enforce its own decisions.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Yet the international community's demand for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa is today more determined than ever before, for it is now universally acknowledged that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eradicated. Moreover, the breadth and scope of the rejection of the October elections by the black majority emphasizes that the crisis inside the country has further intensified and that despite all of the armed forces at the disposal of the régime it cannot crush the determination of the people to continue their struggle for justice and emancipation. It is imperative therefore to recognize the gravity of the situation by taking resolute and effective action before it is too late.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Indonesia is fully aware that even the limited sanctions imposed by a number of countries have exposed the vulnerabilities of South Africa's economy. However, we are concerned that, as some States have moved on disinvestment, the denial of long-term credit and the imposition of further boycotts and embargoes, others have stepped in to fill the gap. Thus, pending the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter, we should work to strengthen existing measures to isolate the Pretoria régime through better co-ordination, standardization and a more effective monitoring and reporting system. In this context, those countries which continue to maintain relations with South Africa should be prevailed upon to raise the level of their sanctions and close loopholes. We should also bring diplomatic pressure to bear to prevent countries from benefiting from the vacuum created by other States which have severed relations with South Africa.

At the same time, all possible assistance should be extended to the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movements. Likewise, the front-line States deserve increased support, as they are making a singular contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

While there are indications that the political climate in the region is improving, the international community should not lose sight of the dangerous deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa. It must be emphasized that the threat to regional peace and international security will continue to intensify for as long as the repugnant system of apartheid remains intact.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Therefore, there can be no capitulation to, or accommodation of, apartheid. Only through vigilance and unyielding determination can the international community meet and overcome the challenge of eradicating this scourge, in any and all of its manifestations, from the earth, and thereby finally bring freedom and justice to South Africa and stability and harmony to the region.

Mr. BOROV (Bulgaria): The various aspects of the disturbing situation in the southern part of Africa have been on the agenda of the General Assembly invariably for four decades now. One of the most important of those aspects is the policy of apartheid pursued by the racist régime of South Africa.

This is so not only because the human conscience cannot reconcile itself to the continued existence of the deplorable system of apartheid, under which racial segregation, oppression and exploitation of the country's native population have been institutionalized and elevated to the rank of State policy; the importance of the issue is also determined by the fact that, because of its inhuman and cruel nature, the system of apartheid is severely aggressive and poses a threat to the interests and security of all States and peoples in the region. The people of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, has for decades been subjected to immeasurable suffering. The neighbouring sovereign and independent States and peoples have been subjected to continued direct and indirect political, economic and military aggression and acts of destabilization.

The policies and practices of the racist authorities in Pretoria have repeatedly exacerbated tensions in the southern part of Africa, thus putting at stake international peace and security. The preservation of the archaic system of apartheid, which is the main reason for conflicts and tensions in that part of the world, poses a continued threat to world peace.

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

Based as it is on the inhuman concept, rejected by history, of the exceptional nature and domination of one race, the apartheid system is one of the gravest challenges to our civilization and to the United Nations. The policy of apartheid pursued by the South African Government has been justly qualified in a number of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions as a crime against humanity incompatible with, and contravening the spirit and letter of, the United Nations Charter. A number of documents adopted by the United Nations and other international forums highlight the serious threat to world peace and security posed by the system of apartheid and demand its immediate abolition.

The South African authorities continue to disregard the consistent calls of the international community and United Nations resolutions for the dismantling of the system of apartheid, the granting of independence to Namibia and the halting of all acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States. The South African authorities continue to adopt measures and actions the real aim of which is to perpetuate that disgraceful system.

Over the past year the Pretoria régime has extended martial law in the country and stepped up its repression of activists and public organizations leading the peaceful resistance against apartheid. Severe restrictions have been imposed on the activities of 17 leading organizations in the movement against apartheid, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and 11 prominent members of the opposition. Justifying their actions by the need to create the conditions for implementing their programme of constitutional reforms, the South African authorities are prepared to go to any lengths in their attempts to destroy all forms of resistance, including peaceful forms. The army, the police, the security service and the courts are actively employed in quelling the opposition, and we are witnessing the ever more frequent involvement of the so-called vigilantes, right-wing extremists

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

and unidentified killers. In addition to its acts of terror, torture, detention without trial - including detention of young people - death penalties, rigged trials and censorship, Pretoria has openly returned to the policy of violent relocation of the black population. This year's report of the Special Committee against Apartheid is again full of information and data about flagrant mass violations of basic human rights and freedoms and atrocities committed by the South African régime in its efforts to preserve the dominant position of the white minority and the system of apartheid.

Pretoria has also stepped up its acts of terrorism abroad, including in certain Western capitals, aimed at eliminating leaders of the African National Congress. This disgraceful system based on terror and violence, is seeking salvation by means of expansion and armed aggression against other States and peoples. This year we have witnessed an intensification of the undeclared war which South Africa and the armed groups supported by it are waging against neighbouring States. This war has caused enormous suffering and damage, particularly in Mozambique, while Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Swaziland have also been targets of aggression.

The total embargo on all information about events in South Africa imposed by the racist authorities cannot obscure the acute and profound political, economic and social crisis of the régime. Despite its powerful repressive apparatus, martial law, the open and hidden support of foreign backers of the régime, and the régime's attempts to improve its image by purely cosmetic reforms, the world community has witnessed a strengthening of the anti-racist democratic movement in South Africa. The fight against racism has become nation-wide, with the involvement of ever broader strata of the native population. The role of the African National Congress has indisputably been strengthened in the struggle aimed at creating a united democratic society free of racial tensions.

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

Recent developments have demonstrated that the struggle and suffering of the South African population and the international community's consistent efforts in the fight against apartheid have not been in vain. International condemnation and isolation, deepening political and economic crises and defeats on the battlefield have compelled the Pretoria régime to come to the negotiating table on the problems of South West Africa. This has created a real opportunity to find a political settlement to one of the elements of the crisis in that part of the world.

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States and the efforts of the international community to eradicate apartheid and is following with great interest and hope the development of this process. We welcome the efforts of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba and their good will and readiness to reach a reasonable compromise in the name of true independence for Namibia and peace and stability in the region. We fully support the constructive position of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

Now that the South African interventionist forces are being withdrawn from Angola, the international community is anxiously awaiting the beginning of the practical implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This should involve the full participation by SWAPO in the process of the settlement of the issue. We are very well aware that this process will not be easy or short. Neither will it lead to the complete normalization of the situation in the southern part of Africa, as it does not touch on the core of the issue, namely, the system of apartheid, the generator of tensions in the region.

Bulgaria is convinced that the illegal and inhuman nature of apartheid cannot be changed. Apartheid must be totally eradicated. We believe that the elimination of the last stand of colonialism and apartheid in the southern part of Africa is a task of universal human significance. The only peaceful means at the disposal of the international community for compelling the South African régime to comply with its demands is the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes in the right of peoples to free political choice and calls for the people of South Africa to be given the opportunity to exercise it. The most important task and responsibility of the

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

United Nations is to find reliable international legal guarantees for the free exercise of this right to choose. The world Organization will always have our full and active support in its fulfilment of this mission.

At the same time the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue actively to support the native African population of South Africa, led by the African National Congress of South Africa, in its struggle aimed at the complete elimination of the abhorrent system of apartheid.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): The period since the creation of the United Nations has witnessed the liberation and emancipation of a great many countries, the affirmation of human rights and the realization of the process of democratization which rewrote the ground rules of international relations. The picture of the world of our age is different from the one just a few decades ago. Yet, in South Africa the system of apartheid and racial discrimination, a throw-back to the darkest pages of mankind's history, continues to obtain.

Ten days ago the General Assembly concluded debate on the question of Namibia, one of the aspects of the crisis in southern Africa which has constituted a constant threat to international peace and security for a number of years. Intense diplomatic activity has been under way in the last couple of months aimed at finding a solution to the years-long problem of South Africa's pressure and aggression against Angola. We note with satisfaction that negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa create conditions for the initiation of the long-awaited process of the decolonization of Namibia. However, what continues to make the situation in this region one of the most serious sources of international tension is the policy and practice of apartheid by the Government of South Africa.

The international community has invested enormous effort in the struggle against apartheid. To this end, numerous resolutions and declarations have been adopted by the United Nations and many international conventions concluded.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Unfortunately, each and every attempt by the international community to put an end to this inhuman system has failed to bear fruit. It is therefore small surprise that the situation in South Africa and the system of apartheid remain impervious to the positive change that has affected international relations in recent times and stand out as negative examples of the continued persistence of serious international problems and tensions.

And the situation is deteriorating. The racist régime, apprehensive of the approaching end to its rule, increases repression and terror against the majority population and brutally persecutes opponents of apartheid. The state of emergency has become a regular state of affairs with ruthless persecution of all free-thinking men and women and rigorous censorship of the media. Arbitrary arrests, detention, and an ever greater number of death penalties are a horrifying reflection of the constantly deteriorating situation. The fact that these practices have been discussed in the Security Council on several occasions this year alone testifies to the gravity and serious consequences of the situation in South Africa.

Pretoria's aggressiveness is not confined to its own borders. The policy of destabilization of independent neighbouring States has the same purpose of preserving the internal status quo and ensuring its domination in the region. Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other States of the region have experienced the wrath of this shameless régime many times in the past. In the pursuit of their policy of terror, the South African racists have not stopped short of assassinating their political opponents and freedom fighters around the world in a vain attempt to eliminate them.

However, despite efforts to silence the opposition, the racist régime is facing increasing internal resistance and mounting international isolation. Massive internal resistance is convincing evidence of the resolve of the majority

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

population to preserve its dignity, regardless of sacrifice, and to win its legitimate right to live in freedom. The national liberation movements - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) - together with the trade unions, the church and disillusioned segments of the white population, continue to wage a just struggle against apartheid and for a new system in South Africa based on democratic foundations.

Along with mounting resistance inside South Africa, there is increasing international isolation of this régime. The pressure of the international community, in particular the voluntary sanctions imposed by many countries, including those which have not severed all relations with South Africa, has begun to erode the economic and military foundations of the apartheid régime. What continues to be important, however, is to intensify these efforts and increase pressure upon South Africa.

The régime in Pretoria is trying to break out of international isolation and reduce internal pressure by resorting to various measures aimed at creating the impression of its alleged readiness to introduce gradual reforms into the existing system. Wide publicity was given to municipal elections last October which, not surprisingly, were racially segregated. The General Assembly has declared these elections to be contrary to the principles of the Charter. A few days ago President Botha commuted the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six. Yet they will still have to serve exceptionally long prison terms even though their guilt has never been proved. Similarly, it is reported that Nelson Mandela, who is seriously ill, will not be sent back to prison, where he spent a quarter of a century, but will not be allowed to go free either. What is obviously involved is a paper reform in an attempt to hoodwink the international community so as to lessen the pressure and negative effects of international isolation of South Africa.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

For the preponderant part of the international community, however, there is no dilemma. The policy of apartheid cannot be reformed. The only alternative is its complete elimination. In order to achieve that goal, all available measures should be taken, and Yugoslavia maintains, along with the greater part of the States Members of the United Nation., that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter are the only remaining peaceful means at the disposal of the international community.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Unfortunately, those in some important international circles refuse to acknowledge this fact and continue to co-operate with South Africa. Refusal to resort to sanctions, however, is grist to the racists' mill in their brazen drive against the majority population and the vain hope that the glory days of their supremacy will last for ever.

Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, maintains that the solution to this crisis can be found only through the establishment of a democratic social system based on the racial equality of all citizens of that country. A social transformation along these lines must be carried out through a political dialogue between the régime and the genuine representatives of the majority population. The basic pre-conditions for the realization of this process are: termination of the state of emergency, the urgent and unconditional liberation of all political prisoners - Nelson Mandela before all - the lifting of the ban on the activities of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other political parties and organizations, discontinuance of censorship and the free return of political refugees.

The legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for a democratic society in a united country calls for concrete political and material assistance by the international community. The United Nations has special obligations and responsibilities in this regard. Let me take this opportunity to acknowledge and support the activities of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which for 25 years now has made a valuable contribution to our joint efforts to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination.

For its part, Yugoslavia will continue to render unstinting moral and material assistance to the struggle of the people of South Africa for the realization of

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

freedom, equality and human dignity. To this end, Yugoslavia, as a member of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund, will continue to contribute to international aid to the victims of the aggression of the racist régime, liberation movements and front-line States.

In a few days we shall mark the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the greatest achievements of our Organization. Let me recall its opening paragraph, which states:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." (resolution 217 A (III))

It is for these lofty goals that we should act to eliminate the evil of apartheid from the face of the earth once and for all.

Mr. DELFECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The shameful practice of apartheid, that cruel system that is contrary to the repeatedly expressed will of this Assembly, remains not only a factor with serious implications within South Africa itself, but also one that seriously disturbs peace and security in southern Africa.

The international community has adopted a position of clear rejection of apartheid. That unequivocal attitude is reflected in many resolutions adopted by organs of the United Nations. However, South Africa has ignored those appeals. Indeed, the Pretoria régime, far from acknowledging its responsibility to put an end immediately to its heinous and altogether unacceptable policy of racial discrimination, has chosen to adopt measures aimed at perpetuating apartheid. This unwillingness to eliminate the most violent and offensive manifestations of the discriminatory régime fully justifies the active resistance of the oppressed

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

people of South Africa, which deserves the sympathy and support of all States represented here.

We know that for over two years there has been unprecedented agitation in South Africa and that the state of emergency imposed by the Government has only served to deepen the crisis. I shall highlight by way of example some new and severe measures of repression taken by the Pretoria Government during 1988.

On 24 February last the voice of reason of the organizations that opposed the régime by non-violent means was silenced and those organizations were virtually banned by the Government. The response of the international community to that event was immediate. A number of voices were raised against the ban on all peaceful political activities, imposed on 17 extra-parliamentary South African organizations representing a large sector of the black community of that country, and against the brutal police action to disperse a demonstration, by Archbishop Tutu of the Anglican church requesting the lifting of the ban. Among them was the voice of my own Government, which issued a communiqué on 1 March this year strongly condemning those arbitrary provisions, which violate the fundamental rights of human beings.

As a consequence of these measures there were innumerable detentions and several anti-apartheid leaders are now in prison or awaiting trial. Furthermore, on 9 June 1988 the state of emergency was renewed in South Africa, thus prolonging the plight of those who must live with the consequences of the denial of their fundamental freedoms.

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

So-called municipal elections were held recently in South African territory, although that term is in itself an affront and a mockery of the most elementary principles that should govern an election, since the native majority was deprived of the right to be elected and therefore of the right democratically to represent its people.

The fact that South African courts should declare that mere peaceful and therefore non-violent acts may constitute treason and thus warrant the death penalty is also a cause of deep concern.

We have learned that President Botha's Government has commuted the sentences on the Sharpeville Six and has recently released two South African political prisoners. There is also hope that Nelson Mandela will not return to prison. Such measures may prompt us to think that somehow the aberrant consequences of governmental acts inspired by the racist system of apartheid are being mitigated. But, if the purpose of those acts is to compensate for years of unfair detention and imprisonment, we are facing a manoeuvre that mocks those who struggle to restore dignity and justice in South Africa.

The perverse apartheid régime cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.

We welcome the adoption of specific measures against South Africa by individual countries, but we affirm once again that the isolated action of States or groups of States, albeit useful and necessary, is not enough.

(Mr. Delpach, Argentina)

We have stated on several occasions, and we reaffirm today, that only concerted action by all the Members of the United Nations, including those that have more significant relations with Pretoria, can constitute an effective tool to eradicate apartheid once and for all.

We, together with the countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement, are convinced that the way to oblige the South African Government to put an end to the shameful and anachronistic régime of apartheid is to adopt new decisions that broaden the scope of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). In fact, the most appropriate, effective and peaceful way of attaining that goal is to apply mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

In that context Argentina, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council during the period 1987-1988, has clearly shown the firmness of Argentine support for the struggle of Africa against racial discrimination. Both in February last year and in March this year Argentina co-sponsored two draft resolutions containing a list of major sanctions to be applied against the Government in Pretoria. Unfortunately, in both cases the draft resolutions were vetoed.

I want to take this opportunity to reiterate the position of my Government: it condemns the South African régime's policy of apartheid as a crime against humanity which, as such, must come to an end at once so that the South African people may enjoy the benefits of a free, democratic and non-racist society.

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia): Our Organization has been dealing with the situation in southern Africa practically since its establishment. A number of States in the region have become free during that period, also thanks to the contribution of the United Nations. The recent developments at the quadripartite negotiations on ensuring Angola's security and on the granting of independence to Namibia offer hope that the Namibian people also will be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. However, nothing is changing about the depressing position of the people of South Africa. In spite of resolute condemnation and some specific actions taken by the international community, and in disregard of the increasing opposition in South Africa itself, the régime in Pretoria continues its criminal policy of apartheid, a policy of racial discrimination denying human rights in a manner unworthy of the end of the twentieth century. But the policy of apartheid not only means brutality and terror against millions of South Africans; it also is a constant source of tension throughout the southern part of the African continent - a grave threat to international peace and security.

Developments during the past year demonstrate the ever more unbearable position of the Pretoria régime of apartheid. Of no help are the partial, cosmetic adjustments to the system of apartheid designed to break down the ever stronger resistance movement and to make apartheid more acceptable to the international community. A total failure, thanks to the united opposition of the oppressed people of South Africa, were the so-called municipal elections held on 26 October this year.

In accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/13 Czechoslovakia regards the so-called municipal elections, as well as other manipulations concocted by the Pretoria régime, as steps aimed at preserving apartheid and racial inequality in South Africa which are in sharp contradiction of the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

Given the ineffectiveness of the cosmetic modifications and of other manoeuvres rejected by the people of South Africa, the racist régime resorts ever more to open force.

For more than two years a state of emergency has been in operation in that country. The justified actions by the oppressed people of South Africa for the protection of their country and of human dignity have been countered by the most shameful forms of oppression: shooting into groups of defenceless persons, torture and executions. A number of dissenters from apartheid are being kept in prisons without trial; murders and kidnappings take place. Violence is being committed even on children. The régime in Pretoria is trying to divide the African population by artificially stirring up ethnic unrest and clashes. In order to prevent truthful information on developments in the country the Government of South Africa has imposed sweeping measures of censorship.

Any activities of mass organizations comprising other than members of the white population are restrained. Late in February the activities of 17 anti-apartheid organizations, including the United Democratic Front, were prohibited, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions is still not allowed to engage in syndicate-related activities other than inside enterprises.

In spite of the brutality and terror the population of South Africa remains unbroken. This was confirmed by the mass demonstration coinciding with the seventieth birthday of Nelson Mandela, who has been sentenced to life imprisonment. His personality has become a true symbol of struggle against apartheid. The very celebration of this hero's jubilee has become an opportunity for the progressive world public to launch an unprecedented campaign of solidarity with the fighters for democracy in South Africa. Allow me, in this context, to recall that the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, awarded Nelson Mandela the Order of Friendship.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

The struggle against apartheid is progressing ever more markedly, from the stage of unco-ordinated actions of resistance to a widespread popular movement whose clear and unequivocal demand is the transfer of power by the racist minority to the democratic majority. Growing also is the number of realistically thinking representatives of the white community, who rightly view the system of apartheid as an impediment to the further development of the country.

Developments in South Africa demonstrate ever more clearly that the Government of South Africa would not be able to persist in pursuing its policy of apartheid without the continuing assistance of some Members of this Organization. We are especially concerned about the continuing co-operation of some States with South Africa in the military field, including the nuclear sphere. As stated by the Foreign Minister of South Africa, Roelof Botha, in August, South Africa is capable of producing nuclear weapons. This fact constitutes a serious threat to peace and security, not only on the African continent but world wide.

A verbal condemnation of the inhuman régime of apartheid does not suffice today. The time to act has come. Each and every member of the international community must decide on which side to stand. Apartheid must be eradicated completely and without delay.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

The decisions adopted by the United Nations and in other international forums, as well as the course of our discussion yesterday and today, show unequivocally that the international community does not intend to reconcile itself to the existence of the apartheid régime. We expect the United Nations to take new, more effective and active measures to ensure the practical implementation of General Assembly resolutions on the apartheid policy of the South African Government.

It is widely recognized that the most suitable, effective and, indeed, peaceful means by which the international community could contribute to the final eradication of apartheid would be through the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In spite of this, some express the view that such sanctions would primarily affect the black population of South Africa. Czechoslovakia holds that these arguments are only empty excuses. Studies show that sanctions, if truly effective, would affect far more seriously the ruling machinery of South Africa. Even the oppressed South African population itself is in favour of sanctions. We feel that the time has come for the international community to start adopting such sanctions against the Pretoria régime. These should be comprehensive and mandatory, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

We are ready to support all steps taken by our Organization with the aim of contributing, through sanctions, to the eradication of the apartheid régime in South Africa.

Consequently Czechoslovakia participates in all respects in the struggle of the international community to bring about the elimination of apartheid. In the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) it has suspended all co-operation with South Africa and does not maintain any political, economic, military or other ties with it. We pursue a policy of consistent boycott of South Africa and our

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

position in the question of struggle against the policy of apartheid is based on principle and is invariable.

We express support for all actions and measures at various levels and in different forums aimed at eliminating apartheid and establishing democracy in South Africa. We strongly demand the unconditional freeing of all political prisoners, above all Nelson Mandela, the heroic representative of the people of South Africa. We confirm our solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and with their national liberation movements, headed by the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to grant all-round support and assistance to these organizations.

Mr. BUDHATHOKI (Nepal): Very often in the United Nations forum and elsewhere the Government of Nepal, like many other Governments, has warned that the failure to dismantle the system of apartheid poses grave consequences not only for South Africa but for the entire region and beyond. Each year the Assembly has reviewed the constant deterioration in the situation in that country. It has condemned unequivocally the entrenchment and intensification of the racist domination and the mounting brutality to and repression of all opponents of apartheid. Yet the racist minority régime continues to turn a deaf ear to this universal protest.

In desperate effort to overcome the mounting opposition the racist régime has had recourse even to Draconian measures. The reinforced emergency regulations have given sweeping powers to the security forces and police. Thousands of people, including women and children, have been thrown into prison. A very large number of people are being detained without any formal charges being brought against them. Impartial observers have drawn the attention of the international community to the increasing resort to the death penalty by the racist régime. In parallel with the

(Mr. Budhathoki, Nepal)

escalating repression and violence, the Pretoria régime has imposed severe restrictions on the activities of anti-apartheid organizations and individuals committed to struggling for peaceful change. Sweeping and restrictive measures have been imposed on bona fide activities of trade unions. The régime is obviously attempting to appease the extremely right-wing conservative voters rather than address itself to the legitimate aspirations of the majority. In addition, the racist régime has proposed measures which would prevent all groups and individuals from receiving foreign funding for anti-apartheid activities.

While all avenues for peaceful change are being systematically blocked, vigilantes and assassins are carrying on their campaign of terror, obviously with the consent of the security forces. The recent spate of explosions aimed at anti-apartheid organizations are clear evidence of intention to disrupt the activities of these organizations and to eliminate their members and leaders.

Under cover of emergency regulations, the racist régime is now openly pursuing its policy of relocating the black population as part of its plan to consolidate the so-called homelands. The régime has also continued to maintain strict censorship of the media. The greatest victim of the campaign has been the anti-apartheid press which records the voice of the black majority. Through strict censorship and persecution of media representatives, the minority régime is making every attempt to prevent news of the struggle against apartheid and the brutal suppression of the masses from reaching the outside world.

Despite the brutal, repressive measures the heroic people of South Africa have refused to give up their struggle for justice and equality. Religious leaders and institutions have taken up the struggle against apartheid more directly. The trade unions, likewise, have refused to surrender. The national liberation movements are now waging a co-ordinated campaign to challenge the legitimacy of the racist régime, despite heavy odds.

(Mr. Budhathoki, Nepal)

In this context, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the front-line States, which have been bearing the heavy burden of giving refuge and support to the victims of apartheid. South Africa is waging an undeclared war against these States to prevent them from living up to their international responsibility. Mozambique and Angola have been very severely hit by the destabilizing campaigns of the racist régime. Commando attacks on Zambia, border blockades against Botswana and terrorist acts against Swaziland and Zimbabwe have unfortunately become all too regular.

To maintain its repression and carry on the campaign of destabilization against neighbouring States, South Africa has continued to build its military strength. Unless the international community acts soon and decisively the racist régime could plunge the entire region into a great tragedy. It is deeply regrettable that the racist régime is able to continue its arms build-up despite the mandatory arms embargo imposed on it by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). My delegation appeals to all countries to adhere scrupulously to the provisions of resolution 418 (1977) and to end all trade and collaboration with the racist régime in the military field.

The acquisition of nuclear capability by the Pretoria régime is an ominous development. It is an instrument for black mailing neighbouring countries and defiance of the unanimous wish of the countries of the continent to denuclearize Africa. Urgent measures are needed to curb this grave threat not only to southern Africa but to the whole world.

The so-called reforms announced by the Pretoria régime can have no meaning so long as it is bent on its bantustan policy and on depriving the African majority of their inalienable rights. The General Assembly has rightly condemned the segregated municipal elections held in South Africa recently. Those elections lost all claim to legitimacy because of the boycott by an overwhelming majority.

(Mr. Budhathoki, Nepal)

The General Assembly has always demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners as the first step towards a peaceful political settlement. After having been incarcerated in the racist prison for decades, the leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. Zephania Mothopeng, and the veteran trade union leader Mr. Harry Gwala have been released in precarious health. The senior leader of the anti-apartheid movement, Mr. Nelson Mandela, has been transferred from prison to hospital for treatment but still remains in custody. My delegation has also noted that the death sentences imposed on the so-called Sharpeville Six on grounds of common purpose has finally been commuted under international pressure and protest. We hope that those developments, though too little and too late, will lead to change in the racist policy of arbitrary persecution and imprisonment of the nationalist leaders. Only a political dialogue with those leaders could pave the way to the establishment of a democratic and multiracial society in South Africa.

Despite those measures and some recent efforts to end isolation, the Pretoria régime has not shown willingness to respect the legitimate rights of the majority of the population. On the contrary, it continues to rely even more heavily on repressive and brutal measures to defend the universally condemned system of apartheid. The only peaceful option left to eliminate apartheid is through imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter.

South Africa has to be coerced through economic sanctions and through complete isolation. It is heartening to note that the international community has started to act in this direction. The sports and cultural boycotts and disinvestment campaigns bear witness to this. The action taken by Nordic countries deserves special mention. The implementation of the oil embargo, however, needs to be tightened and strictly monitored. The measures adopted by individual countries

(Mr. Budhathoki, Nepal)

could have greater effect if they were co-ordinated and standardized to close any loopholes in their implementation.

In conclusion, I wish to place on record my delegation's appreciation of the very important efforts being made by the Special Committee against Apartheid to co-ordinate the international struggle against apartheid. The Committee has rendered invaluable assistance in raising international consciousness about this criminal system. The active role of the Special Committee serves as a proof that the United Nations continues to play a key role in our common efforts to bring about rapid and peaceful changes by increasing the pressure on South Africa and by supporting the instruments of change.

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): In brief, the apartheid policy in southern Africa is a denial of the most fundamental of human rights; it enshrines an abhorrent colonialist phenomenon that has receded from many parts of the world and found its last bastion in Africa, in the Pretoria régime.

It is a policy based on domination, by a minority of no more than 15 per cent of the inhabitants, over the rest of the populace, and the monopoly of political power by that minority, which deprives the majority of their political, economic and social rights.

Even more important is the denial of the majority's fundamental human rights. In an era of equal rights for all and the entrenchment and affirmation of human rights, the Pretoria régime continues to base its system of apartheid on outdated racist theories and the political myth that that minority is a chosen people with a God-given message.

This explains the persistence of the ruling minority in pursuing its policy of repression, tyranny and deprivation without a qualm. The Pretoria régime continues

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

to act as though they are masters and the ruled majority are slaves. This had led to brutality and repression and the prevention of the indigenous population from participating in ruling their country, and the imposition of all sorts of restrictions on their exercise of their rights and freedoms. This is a situation that cannot exist in any other part of the world.

The Pretoria régime has been able to continue its cruelty and injustice because it receives aid and support from certain countries for strategic and economic reasons. Due to that support the apartheid régime has continued to thrive for many years; the white minority has enjoyed untold privileges, immunities and great wealth; and the movement of the international community towards the adoption of sanctions against the régime, the racism of the white minority and its blindness towards the rights of the African people has been slow. The situation which has been compounded by other factors continues to obstruct the achievement of equality in that land.

Israel is in the forefront of the States which aid and abet South Africa and collaborate with it militarily. This is because there exists between Israel and South Africa the strong link of common outlook, interest and destiny. What is so grave about the existence of such a régime is that while we find differences in economic, political and social rights between peoples the world over, what we find in South Africa is a system of racial discrimination whereby the régime allows itself to differentiate between the races and social classes on the basis of colour and thus institutionalize apartheid and make it the basis of political power and the backbone of the economic and social system.

This has led to the adoption of an economic and social policy which has caused the black majority to be the poorest of the poor in their own country and made it possible to legislate an inequitable division of labour between the whites and the blacks, whose economic life has thus been subjected to the interests of a minority

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

that has deprived them of the right of ownership in South Africa and Namibia, and blocked the way to any reform or change in the economic situation of the majority.

As to the political aspect of the situation, the Africans in South Africa have been disfranchised. They are also barred from holding public office except in what is known as the bantustans.

The apartheid régime in South Africa continues to defy the world community. It has done so since the issue was first considered by the United Nations in 1952, and particularly since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, which focused the attention of international public opinion on the problem of apartheid in South Africa - since the General Assembly began annually adopting resolutions denouncing and condemning the policy of apartheid and calling on the international community not to give any assistance to the régime that practices it in South Africa. However the international community - particularly those countries having common economic and social interests with the Pretoria régime - has shown the resolutions of the United Nations to have little import and effect save that they call the world's attention to the tragedy of 20 million people who suffer oppression and deprivation at the hands of a minority of less than 6 million people.

As we are about to solve the Namibian question - and we hope no contrived obstacles will be put in our way as in the past - we must ask ourselves whether there is any hope of changing the system of apartheid, which has paid no attention to international pressure or international norms of behaviour, legal or otherwise.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

We notice from time to time certain indications that seem to show that some changes take place in this régime's policy. We have been pleased to note, for instance, that the activist, Nelson Mandela, will not be returned to prison and that the death sentence on the Sharpeville Six has been commuted to life. However, we have not heard or seen any indication that the apartheid system, which is the source of all evil in South Africa, is coming to an end.

Will the countries of the world be satisfied to continue to be spectators, or will they honour their human and Charter commitments, and insist that equality is the right of every human being and that equal rights are the prerogative of all regardless of race, origin or colour, as our Organization stipulates?

We hope that the international community will take a new step forward, because it is a universal shame to tolerate further the existence of the apartheid régime in South Africa.

Mr. MOULTRIE (Bahamas): As the international community reaffirms its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, South Africa remains the bastion of racism and apartheid. The abhorrent apartheid régime of South Africa persists despite increased pressure through sanctions, resolutions, embargoes, and calls for divestment.

Over the years, the apartheid policies of the Botha Government have continued and intensified to the extent that all of its actions are suspect, even those that appear to be positive. Underlying these policies are the mixed signals that have been given recently. There seems to be one policy for "export" and another for "local consumption". Overseas, the Botha Government approved an agreement with Angola and Cuba that would bring independence to Namibia under Security Council resolution 435 (1978), lead to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and end South African military incursions there.

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

In South Africa, a three-year trial ended with four black leaders convicted of treason for arousing opposition to Government policy. These treason convictions were extraordinary in their departure from civilized legal standards. The defendants had committed no violence, nor aided any foreign enemy. They had merely led protests against the apartheid system. Upheld on appeal, the result would seemingly be to make anyone who acts as a leader of black opposition to Government policy liable to prosecution for treason. In effect, the Government will be able to demand unflinching loyalty from people who can neither vote for it nor against it. Such a decision points to unlimited suppression and repression of domestic opponents.*

Then, surprising most observers, President Botha commuted the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, and he has announced that Nelson Mandela, after recovering from tuberculosis, would be kept in a "guarded residence" instead of being returned to prison. Most recently, the South African Government freed two long-time black nationalists, one the leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the other a member of the African National Congress, both being freed on supposedly humanitarian grounds.

The political reasons, although they may be short-run, are obvious. Opposite policies, accommodating abroad and repressive at home, have a twofold purpose: first, disarming the conservative white opposition and getting him past the national election next spring; and, secondly, diverting the attention of the international community, and in so doing easing the pressure being applied on him.

Further, the alleged funding by the South African Government of the television series, Shaka Zulu which portrays the black man as a bloodthirsty, power-hungry

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

savage, incapable of managing his own destiny, is yet another attempt to justify apartheid.

The Bahamas condemns the policy of apartheid, and while it is pleased that the international community has joined with the people of South Africa in demanding the dismantling of this system, we are however concerned about the ongoing practice of undermining sanctions by some countries which take advantage of the economic void created by measures adopted by other countries. The Bahamas believes that it is only through economic sanctions which are sufficiently costly to compel South Africa to initiate the process of dialogue with representatives of the African National Congress and other legitimate organizations of the black population that real progress towards dismantling apartheid will be made.

The Bahamas notes with satisfaction that the number of countries supporting sanctions is increasing in all regions. However, there are those who continue to drag their feet on the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, and we ask for international consensus on the critical question of sanctions.

We are convinced that only through the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule can just and lasting peace and democracy exist in South Africa. It is for this reason that the Bahamas supported resolution 43/13 of 26 October 1988, which condemned the recent "municipal elections" as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Further, we reject any so-called negotiated settlement based on these elections.

Similarly, we believe that the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid is invaluable in countering South Africa's policy of apartheid. We wish to see greater support for, and adherence to, the

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

provisions of this Convention, particularly in these times of heightened resistance to apartheid within South Africa.

The rising tide of black resistance to apartheid is evidence that the black majority is undaunted by the brutal and savage repression of frequent and lengthy states of emergency, such as the present one. Democracy, racial desegregation, social justice and the abolition of apartheid are now considered by many to be indispensable life-and-death issues.

South Africa's over-armament maintains in that subregion a situation of permanent insecurity aimed at destabilizing the African front-line States. The Bahamas believes that the sovereign front-line States of southern Africa should be protected from incursions and bombings by the South African military which murder innocent civilians and wreak havoc on their societies and economies.

The Bahamas emphatically condemns this practice and calls on all members of the international community to join us in rendering economic and humanitarian assistance to the front-line States which continue to show commendable will to make sacrifices in the cause of freedom and justice.

When the General Assembly adopted last week five resolutions on the question of Namibia, the Bahamas voted in favour of these resolutions calling for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the establishment of a free and sovereign Namibia. We are optimistic that the tripartite negotiations involving Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the United States as mediator, will assure the genuine independence of Namibia.

South Africa can neither find peace nor prosperity in the white supremacist model. The only way is to reach out to the black majority. The Sharpeville commutations were a meaningful gesture. Nelson Mandela's unconditional release would be even more meaningful.

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

Past experience clearly demonstrates that it is not sufficient for the international community to recognize the inherent dangers to world peace or the denial of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms which the system of apartheid constitutes. Rather, it is incumbent on all Member States of this Organization to take appropriate action, both individually and collectively, to continue to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government, forcing it to abandon its policy of apartheid, not in due course but as a matter of the highest priority.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

NOTIFICATION BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL UNDER ARTICLE 12, PARAGRAPH 2, OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/611)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly has before it a note by the Secretary-General issued as document A/43/611.

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

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 7.

AGENDA ITEM 11

REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (A/43/2)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Security Council (A/43/2)?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): That concludes our consideration of agenda item 11.

AGENDA ITEM 16 (continued)

ELECTIONS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS AND OTHER ELECTIONS

- (e) ELECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES: NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/864)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In his note (A/43/864) under this item the Secretary-General proposes that the term of office of Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocké as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be extended for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1989 and ending on 31 December 1991.

May I take it that the General Assembly approves that proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): That concludes our consideration of sub-item (e) of agenda item 16.

AGENDA ITEM 17 (continued)

APPOINTMENTS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS

- (k) CONFIRMATION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT: NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/866)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In his note (A/43/866) of 25 November 1988 the Secretary-General proposes that the appointment of Mr. Kenneth Dadzie be extended for a further period of three years, beginning on 1 January 1989 and ending on 31 December 1991.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to confirm the extension of Mr. Dadzie's appointment?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): We have now concluded our consideration of sub-item (k) of agenda item 17.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I have to inform the General Assembly that I have received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations in which he requests, on behalf of the Arab States, that consideration of agenda item 37, entitled "Question of Palestine", be postponed to a future date, to be determined after consultations.

Consequently I propose that the Assembly postpone consideration of agenda item 37, on the question of Palestine, to a future date, to be announced in due course.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly so decides.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.