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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 30 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President:

later:

Mr. CAPUTO

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Vice-President)

(Argentina)

(Cyprus)

- 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
- Statement by the President
- Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the aerial and naval military attack against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by the present United States Administration in April 1986 [43]

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.

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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/Rev.1, A/43/L.31 and Corr.1, A/43/L.32 and Corr.1, A/43/L.33 and Corr.1, A/43/L.34 and Corr.1, A/43/L.35 and Corr.1, A/43/L.36 and Corr.1, A/43/L.37 and Corr.1, A/43/L.38, A/43/L.41, A/43/L.42)

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The history of the struggle against apartheid goes back for decades now. This year we mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which gives reason for a detailed analysis of the efforts of the international community to eradicate apartheid, a crime against mankind and a serious threat to peace and security. Many do not hide their disappointment that the efforts made over so many years have not led to the desired results. The apartheid régime survives, and it continues to impose suffering on millions of people.

The Ukrainian SSR, which in all United Nations activities has actively advocated most effective measures against the racist régime, shares the serious concern at the absence of any fundamental shift towards a solution of the problem of how to eradicate apartheid.

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However, in our view what has been achieved is not insignificant, and it would not be right to fail to see the positive changes that have taken place. The condemnation of apartheid is now universal in scope. The anti-apartheid movement has become world-wide and includes all countries and continents. There is growing international isolation of the racist régime. More and more countries are joining in the boycott of South Africa in the areas of diplomatic, economic, military, sports and cultural ties. All of this did not happen by itself, of course, but resulted from determined effort. The Special Committee against Apartheid played a significant role in this regard. Working tirelessly, it has earned well-deserved recognition by broad international public opinion and within the United Nations.

If the Government in Pretoria has been forced to withdraw in any way during these years, to resort to manoeuvring, to replace a number of racist laws, that is proof of the efforts and the strength of the growing opposition within the country and the result of pressure from the international community.

There has also been a significant breakthrough with a view to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the southern African region. The political mechanism is now in place, opening up the path towards a peaceful and political solution of acute problems and giving grounds for hope for Angolan security and Namibian independence.

We welcome the agreements reached in Geneva. The talks were successful because the participants demonstrated political realism and a will to reach mutually acceptable decisions on the basis of balancing the interests of all parties involved in the conflict. However, we should like to emphasize that it is

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essential to apply those agreements until they are fully completed. At the same time, unless there is a solution to the problem of apartheid, it will not be possible to arrive at a full and final settlement of the conflict in southern Africa.

Of course we cannot forget what is happening in South Africa itself, where the white minority régime, supposedly reforming its outer face, is in fact continuing to pursue racist policies and to flout the elementary rights of the majority of the people in the country. The Pretoria authorities, having announced a state of emergency in the country, have not weakened repression but have stepped it up, trying to crush any activity against apartheid by force.

The number of executions carried out in South Africa makes it number one in the world on this score. As can be seen from the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, since the state of emergency was imposed in 1986, over 30,000 people have been arrested. Between December 1987 and March of this year, 37 political trials were completed in South Africa. Last year, according to the South African press, 164 persons were executed there. At present 62 criminal trials under way - this is according to information made available to the General Assembly - and 691 accused are involved in them, while 110 people who have struggled against racism have been condemned to death since the beginning of this year. The régime is continuing to pass such sentences, even on persons not directly involved in incidents who were simply attending events or shared the general views of the participants. Here it may be recalled that on 23 November, in its resolution 623 (1988), the Security Council expressed serious concern over the intention of the South African authorities to carry out the death sentence pronounced on an activist against apartheid, Paul Tefo Setlaba, on the basis of the

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doctrine of so-called common purpose. The Security Council urged the Government of South Africa to stay execution and commute the death sentence against Paul Tefo Setlaba in order to avoid further aggravating the situation in South Africa.

As can be seen from the report of the Special Committee, Pretoria, carrying out this policy of oppression within the country, is at the same time stepping up its terrorist activities in other countries. Murders of distinguished members of the African National Congress (ANC), which occurs even in the capitals of Western countries, are intended to weaken the national liberation movement.

The Ukrainian SSR strongly condemns the policy of terrorism and mass repression pursued by the racist régime. We call on the leaders of South Africa immediately and unconditionally to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, and to begin a true dialogue with the genuine leaders of the Africans there.

Pretoria has quite openly resumed its wide-ranging practice of forced removals of the black population to "homelands", one of the most flagrant effects of the apartheid system. The so-called municipal elections of 26 October and the parliamentary reform cannot hide the outrageous injustice that has caused 85 per cent of the population of the country to be deprived of its fundamental rights and freedoms. At this session the General Assembly has quite rightly assessed those elections and emphasized that they will only lead to a further worsening of the already explosive situation that has developed in South Africa under apartheid.

We believe analysis of occurrences in South Africa leads to the conclusion that first, the racist régime, broadening its mass repression, continues to ignore the appeals of the international community and demonstrates no desire to achieve a

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political settlement of the conflict in the country and secondly, the international community must respond to the régime's stepped up repression by strengthening sanctions as effectively as possible by peaceful means to force the Government of Pretoria to agree to a political settlement of the conflict.

A consensus on the question of effective measures has never been so close as it is today. It is only the position of a few countries, certain well-known countries, that has prevented the Security Council from adopting a decision on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

As far as the Ukrainian SSR is concerned, our people always feels deep solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. The Ukrainian SSR will continue strongly to support all actions by the United Nations to ensure the victory of the great humanitarian goals of freedom, independence and democracy in that country, which has suffered so much.

The Ukrainian SSR stands in full solidarity with demands for swift adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter. We believe that such comprehensive sanctions would be the most effective peaceful means of exerting pressure on the racist régime, and that there are other realistic opportunities for strengthening our influence on South Africa, such as the measures described in detail in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

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We should like to stress the following points. If it were possible fully to implement just the embargo on the export of oil to South Africa and on the import of coal from that country the economic impact on South Africa would be so real that it would force Pretoria to reconsider its policy. For obvious reasons, shipments of oil and coal would be relatively easy to control. Alternatively, one can imagine the serious difficulties that an air boycott would immediately create for the régime.

As can be seen from the research done by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, the effectiveness of the measures and sanctions already adopted has been significantly reduced, because they are not adequately co-ordinated and monitored, and so forth. If we were to eliminate such shortcomings from the system, we would indeed enhance its impact on the racist régime. The activities of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa are crucially important in that respect. The Ukrainian SSR has actively participated in the work of the Group, and we fully support the recommendations in paragraphs 55-59 of its report (A/43/44), particularly the appeal to the Security Council to introduce a mandatory embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa.

We also appeal to the Members of the United Nations to adopt effective measures to enforce the oil boycott. We believe that that would also help to broaden co-operation between States in that area. Strengthening the oil embargo against South Africa would certainly help to improve the exchange of information regarding violations of the embargo between Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The strengthening of co-operation with non-governmental organizations is also particularly important. As can be seen from the actual work of the Intergovernmental Group, such organizations can be of great

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assistance in monitoring the observance of the oil embargo and in disseminating information on violations.

We should publicize the work of the Intergovernmental Group more by making available information on its activities and by disseminating information on violations of the oil embargo and the sanctions applied against those who have violated it. This would focus greater international attention on the problem.

It would also be useful to have an exchange of views between States on their experience in monitoring the embargo on the delivery of oil and oil products to South Africa. The Intergovernmental Group could conduct the exchange of information.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to state how pleased it is that on 3 April 1988 the International Convention against Apartheid in Sport entered into force. It was ratified by 34 States and has been signed by over 40 States. There is no doubt that that Convention will play an important role in helping to isolate the apartheid régime in sports.

In commending the work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, we should like to pay tribute to its Chairman, the permanent representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Joseph Garba, for guiding the work of the Committee and for his great personal major contribution towards mobilizing Government support and international public opinion for the struggle against that shameful phenomenon apartheid. We also commend the work of the Permanent Representative of Norway, Ambassador Tom Vraalsen, who has chaired the Intergovernmental Group. Under his guidance the Group has become an important body of the United Nations, called upon to make a decisive contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

As we look at how the situation might develop in southern Africa we cannot fail to take account of the qualitatively new situation emerging in the world as a whole. As was emphasized recently by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in



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international affairs we are moving from confrontation to co-operation, mutual understanding and negotiations likely to achieve tangible results. The encouraging shifts in Soviet-American relations with regard to disarmament and the question of Afghanistan have shown convincingly that such a conclusion is justified. Naturally, such developments cannot fail to have a favourable influence, easing tension in southern Africa.

At this stage in world affairs the idea of freedom of choice is gaining ground, reflecting the objectivity of historical development and the unacceptability of the policy of force irrespective of its forms and manifestations. This is, after all, a concept that has outlived itself in historical terms, and that also refers to crushing the aspirations of peoples to freedom and self-determination.

History and recent events convincingly teach us that repression by fire and sword cannot crush the resolve of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence. It is now universally recognized that the shameful system of apartheid is doomed. The oppressed people of South Africa, who are the main force in the struggle against the racist régime, will certainly determine the future of their country. To do everything possible to make their day of victory come as quickly as possible, is the primary task of the international community, particularly the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): Let me, on behalf of the delegation of Zambia, join the preceding speakers, who, in very eloquent, moving and persuasive language, expressed themselves on the trauma and evils of the apartheid policies and practices of the Government of South Africa. For us in southern Africa apartheid evokes deep feelings of indignation and a sense of frustration and hopelessness for mankind. Apartheid symbolises the animal in man - it is the worst human tragedy

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that has ever been perpetrated by man since the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. It is one of the great horrors of modern times.

I wish to commend my brother and colleague, Mr. Joseph Garba, and his Committee for their informative report and for the tireless efforts the Committee continues to make, under his able and dynamic leadership, in our common struggle to eradicate apartheid. As always, the report represents a wealth of information upon which to base our future strategy as we advance the battle line against apartheid.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

It is clear from the report that the situation inside South Africa remains gloomy and has not improved since the Assembly last considered this item. Racism and racial discrimination continue to be enforced by law while peaceful protests are violently put down by the régime, which knows no bounds in its display of State terrorism. The protesters are either killed, or maimed and detained, or indeed subjected to judicial murder through the new invention of guilt on grounds of "common purpose". The memories of Sharpeville and the Soweto massacres, when defenceless children protesting against inferior education - armed only with stones - were sprayed with bullets, must be fresh in our minds. Thousands were killed in cold blood by troops in defence of apartheid. The world, which has become numb and punch drunk with disasters, condemned both the apartheid system, which denies human rights and majority rule, and the massacres.

Today apartheid has become a way of life in South Africa, a culture of the decultured, if you want. It is being entrenched in schools, in hospitals, in sport, in public transport and, despite the cost to the Government, it is also being applied to the use of toilets. The colour of your skin determines the toilet you should go to.

I wish to reiterate that apartheid is the root cause of the unrest in South Africa and tension in southern Africa. It continues to have grave consequences for regional and international peace and security. It is a scourge which the United Nations has condemned and has rightly declared as a crime against humanity. Repeated appeals to the Pretoria régime to end that degrading and inhuman practice have gone unheeded. Instead, the régime has responded by strengthening its repressive machinery and enforcing apartheid with even greater brutality.

From the Western world, the oppressed people of South Africa have been admonished to pursue dialogue with the racist régime in order to negotiate the future of that troubled country. Yet everyone in this Assembly knows that for more

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than 50 years the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) did everything to engage the ruling whites into meaningful dialogue in order to bring about a just and democratic system in the country. But those noble efforts were totally ignored and, instead, the African National Congress leaders were arrested and imprisoned for indefinite periods. Nelson Mandela has remained in jail for 26 years, with no hope of unconditional release.

We continue to be told, in phrases used by leaders of world Powers, that constructive dialogue has been the only hope in persuading South Africa to abandon the detested and wicked system of apartheid within South Africa. We have been told that dialogue is working because South Africa has withdrawn from southern Angola, that South Africa should be given a Nobel prize for demonstrating reasonableness during the ongoing talks. They point to Botha's African safari as deserving a prize for South Africa. The media is busy portraying the régime as a willing and reasonable partner in dialogue.

The UNITA factor is being made into an African issue in order to force Africa to participate in what is clearly an internal matter of reconciliation. The brokerage is being transferred from Mr. Chester Crocker to Africa. In short, South Africa is again winning the propaganda game, designed and carefully calculated to lessen the pressure of sanctions on its economy. Nothing has changed in the régime's mentality. What has changed, however, is the tactical approach to propaganda. South Africa is engaged in a campaign to improve its international image in order to brake the back-slide in the performance of its economy.

How then do we change the mind of a country and policy which has become the polecat among nations. Constructive engagement has failed because it is linked to a régime which legislates and enforces on the basis of colour. The argument against sanctions, based on black suffering, has run out of steam. We know, and

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

they know, that the suffering objection is a red herring intended as a cover story to protect investments in South Africa. I put it to this Assembly that it is those with a privileged life who may suffer the most, at least psychologically, from sanctions.

South Africa's defence of apartheid has not been limited to brutal actions in South Africa and Namibia, but has involved its premeditated acts of aggression and the destabilization of the front-line and other independent African States in the region. By such acts, South Africa has hoped to intimidate the front-line countries and to force them into abandoning their support for the struggle against apartheid. Pretoria's acts of brutality in South Africa and its acts of aggression against front-line States provide clear testimony that there is no intention whatsoever, nor the willingness on its part, to dismantle apartheid peacefully.

The situation in South Africa is deteriorating by the day. The state of emergency now covers virtually the entire country. Since the declaration of the state of emergency, police brutality has increased, resulting in mass arrests and the molestation of women and even children under the age of 16 years. The media has been muzzled, culminating in a total news black-out from that country.

The criminal acts committed by the Pretoria régime in defence of apartheid have left us in no doubt that only concerted international action in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter will bring pressure to bear on that régime to abandon its evil system of apartheid. As we have stated before, the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter is the only peaceful but effective way to exert sufficient pressure on the intransigent South African régime. In the interest of safeguarding the interests of the future generations of all South Africans, it is necessary that comprehensive mandatory sanctions be applied now. Otherwise armed struggle will be intensified.

(Mr. Zize, Zambia)

Zambia has stated before that the deteriorating situation in South Africa demands that bold steps be taken now in order to diffuse the potentially explosive situation. In this regard, we continue to call on the Pretoria régime to declare unequivocally that apartheid is dead and buried, and that the régime is prepared to meet the genuine leaders of the oppressed people in order to discuss the future of their country.

We have demanded that South Africa lift the state of emergency. South Africa must lift the ban on the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties. Above all, South Africa must release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

These steps, if taken, would go a long way in creating the necessary political and security atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations on the future of South Africa. The oppressed majority have stated time and again that they are ready to negotiate with South Africa, but they will not negotiate on their bended knees. They will negotiate with dignity.

We in Zambia reaffirm our total and unflinching solidarity and support for the oppressed majority in South Africa. There can be no peace in that country unless apartheid is eradicated. We call on the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, to take the measures necessary for bringing about peaceful change in South Africa. Let us act now to avert the imminent catastrophe.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): We are assembled once again to examine a subject-matter that remains on the agenda of the General Assembly year in and year out, decade after decade. We have the reports of the Secretary-General, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. These documents reveal the continuing nature of the South African tragedy. The information confirms the truth, that there is clearly no antidote in sight for a nagging political virus, the curse of the despicable system of apartheid.

The Cameroon delegation maintains the view that in our annual discourse here we should abandon rhetoric and verbal steam, which have been systematically rendered idle by the racist régime in Pretoria. It has become a matter of desperate urgency that we seriously search for new strategies to combat the evil forces.

History is on the side of the primary victims: the deprived children, women and men who live each passing day with the tyranny of brutal injustice, death and destruction. No despotic system, even systems less barbaric than that which

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afflicts our peoples in southern Africa, has ever lasted indefinitely. States are constituted by human beings and consequently the conduct of their affairs must fundamentally address the well-being of people. A dictatorship which seeks or undertakes to pursue a culture of arrogance and of oppression against the norms and dreams of prosperity entertained by the governed will inevitably fail. In the South African situation the question is one not of whether but of how soon history will commence its crushing exercise on the racist despots.

Africans everywhere are on the side of those victims, for our earned freedom remains meaningless while that situation continues. The geographical delineations of today were established on the basis of convenient criteria responding to the benefits of the looting, division and dominion perpetrated by a generation of colonizers. It is important for our friends and foes alike to understand that the afflictions of contemporary African peoples are not substances to be poured indiscriminately into political containers or geographical boundaries. Our problems do not respect sovereignty or the physical delimitation of States.

In a cruel world, we are learning the naked truth that we must fight to live together, morally, politically and economically, or we shall perish together under the weight of the misgivings of the present, leaving nothing for future generations to build on. The chemistry of our cultural affinities and our common aspirations to dignity and worth in economic and social terms will increasingly unite African peoples, whether or not they live in so-called independent territories.

Those who intellectualize to isolate the suffering Africans of our continent's south from the dilemma and circumstances of their brothers and sisters in the rest of the continent have contributed to misjudgements of the nature of our struggle as a continental people. We are together in the struggle and we, too, know that history is on our side.



(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The international community, as represented by our collectivity here in the General Assembly of the United Nations, has pronounced itself against the system of apartheid formally and in various manifestations. The Charter of the Organization, to which the Pretoria régime claims to subscribe, contains peremptory norms which theologically proclaim the fundamental human rights of peoples, cardinal among which are equality of rights and self-determination. These and other principles are considered to be components of the rudiments of universal peace. Yes, history is on our side, because the universal conscience, too, is on our side.

If everything is on our side, on the side of all who join in the struggle against apartheid, if the demise of the apartheid system and the disasters it inflicts on a divided multiracial society is sure, why then, we join the suffering and the dying in asking, does this generation not mobilize greater effort and resistance?

Is it because the illusion still persists in sectors of the international community that there is no threat to international peace and security in the explosive situation in South Africa? We refuse to believe that the long- and short-term consequences of the malaise are of no interest to those that must be concerned with security of tenure with regard to economic and security interests in the region as a whole and in South Africa in particular.

The Pretoria régime, like most Governments across the globe, is in the grip of the current economic crisis. Like other nations which are lured to foreign military intervention and adventurism, South Africa is waking up to the hard facts of the high financial and political costs of maintaining belligerent commitments abroad. At home, resistance against apartheid intensifies and so does the last cry of a dying conservatism, which accuses Botha of betrayal.

(Mr. Enge, Cameroon)

The movements with respect to Namibia, Angola and Mozambique do not stem from a philosophical or ideological change of heart in Pretoria. They are imperatives in hard times made worse by the effect of the sanctions that we have called for here. Caught in such a net, Pretoria may be expected to react when pushed to the foundations of its retrograde religion. The breaking point may soon be near, with freedom achieved by all the neighbouring nations and the final drive of all peoples to rid this generation of the apartheid system.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

What would be the future of today's archdeacons of apartheid if the extreme right of the apartheid cult overthrew Botha and others, who are already right enough, in that last ditch of resistance? Is it too speculative at this time to imagine that, weakened further in spirit and in alternative means, they would resort to the use of the nuclear weaponry now available to them?

We have consistently joined in appealing for support for the establishment of denuclearized zones. Non-proliferation as provided for in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is impossible de facto where steps are not taken to establish and guarantee the status of such zones. The threat of proliferation in Africa remains vivid as long as the racists of South Africa continue to possess and develop nuclear weapons. For the conservatives the fact of nuclear capability may well encourage rigidity and resistance to change.

What would happen to the security interests of nations which today, inadvertently or deliberately, provide sustenance and encouragement for illusions of capacity and power? There could also be total loss for investors and others that trade with South Africa today.

Wars are easily sparked off in times of global economic depression. These are the facts of history. We are passing through one such period at this tail end of the twentieth century. War waged in desperation by those that associate their cause with survival respects no rules. The development of nuclear and conventional weapons in South Africa was intended to consolidate a deterrent force. There would be no reason to keep the nuclear arsenal idle while obscene ambitions burn.

We raise these issues because our collective strategy must be inspired by truths and realities. A peaceful and economically sound multiracial South Africa would be a desirable element in African regional as well as global peace and security. We here must be seen to recognize that fact in all that we say and do.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The foreign policies of many of today's powerful nations must be retuned to promote peace rather than confrontation in Africa. The foundations of a prosperous future and the maintenance of international peace and security may well depend on events in Africa before the year 2000.

The continent remains perhaps the richest in natural resources. It is also the one geographical region so located that it has direct openings to all other continents in a strategic sense. It has provided sustenance for economic and power growth for great nations afar. Africa, in new forms of relationships with the rest of the world, can still play a critical role in the furtherance of international understanding, global peace, security and development.

Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter expresses the dream of achieving "international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

Those values were not declared to gratify transient purposes. They are part of the foundations of all endeavours to achieve permanency in peaceful coexistence among peoples as well as to remove and prevent conditions of belligerency and war. The time has come when we should address strategies for peace in southern Africa. The pressures of contemporary life are creating an impetus for change. We must not be diverted by token moves to undo in Angola, Namibia, and Mozambique what Pretoria had no justification for doing in the first place. We must not relax the pressure of increasing sanctions; for we must not create the illusion of satisfaction with the central element in the illegalities of Pretoria's felonies in the region.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

We cannot overemphasize the conviction of our nation, expressed by President Paul Biya when addressing this session of the General Assembly, that the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union can, in matters of international peace and security, maintain the hopes of mankind if they decide to take effective steps. Leaving aside reasons of universal conscience, Moscow and Washington have too many national security interests at stake in the eyes of history to permit a continuation of the present tragedy in southern Africa. With new-found understanding among them, which has thrown sunlight on to global dialogues and which we all praise, taking another historic step for peace in our region can bring nothing but benefits to both sides and to mankind as a whole.

In the meantime, the oppressed of South Africa continue to shed blood and tears. The pains of the present are intensified by thoughts of more difficult times ahead. Parents bring up their children unable to infuse in those leaders of tomorrow the quality of love and human understanding needed for weaving unity in building a multiracial society. The rest of the continent and a right-thinking world must wonder in fear whether it is not from South Africa that a new global explosion may come.

It is our continuing wish that our brothers and sisters afflicted by the scourge of apartheid should know clearly and without doubt that the hearts of Cameroonians continue to bleed as they share their strong sense of frustration and hope.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): Before going on to the next speaker, I should like to make a brief statement.

I wish to appeal to all delegations for their co-operation in ensuring that our plenary meetings can begin on time. I stress this point because the opening of

(The President)

recent meetings has been delayed because of the absence of delegations which were expected to speak. We are all conscious of the fact that we are approaching the final days of this session and that naturally a number of items will be accumulating as we begin receiving reports from various Committees. There are only a few working days left and it should be clear to all that we must use our time as efficiently as possible. It is therefore very important that we have the real co-operation of all members so that we can begin every meeting as punctually as possible.

I appeal for understanding and support in this matter so that we may complete our work successfully.

AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA:

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Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): The General Assembly last considered the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" in November 1987. The events during the past 12 months have once again confirmed that any hope that the racist Pretoria régime will mend its ways of its own accord is an illusion; consequently, the only way to deal with that régime is through international pressure.

The year that has passed has also demonstrated an increasing polarization of two contradictory and irreconcilable positions: on the one hand, Pretoria's persistence in maintaining and strengthening the foundations of the system of apartheid; on the other, the determination of a people struggling to be free and resolved to reach that goal at all costs and by all possible means.

As the annual report of the Committee against Apartheid points out, the racist Pretoria régime has stepped up internal repression and is seeking to eliminate every form of opposition in the country in order to impose its political designs. The resumption of the state of emergency and the adoption of various repressive measures against organizations that oppose apartheid and against national and

Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

foreign news media reaffirm beyond any doubt that the policy that the régime is pursuing to attain its objectives is the indiscriminate use of force and State terrorism.\*

We have always believed that the root of the problems in southern Africa is to be found in the existence of apartheid in South Africa. So long as this system remains in force, it will not be possible to achieve peace and stability in the region.

The misnamed reforms promoted by the racist minority in Pretoria are only a diversionary tactic used in an attempt to conceal the true essence of a system that has been described by the General Assembly as a crime. It is our opinion that we cannot discuss reforms of that system because apartheid cannot be reformed: it can only be totally eradicated. That is the only way the South African people will be able to achieve their central goal: the transformation of their country into a free, democratic and non-discriminatory society.

The international community has a fundamental role to play in this entire process. The struggle to put an end to this disgraceful system is everyone's struggle, not only that of the people of South Africa who are enduring this discrimination. We must be responsive to the sacrifices of those people and to what is also being done by the front-line countries, which are bravely and firmly resisting the aggression, threats and destabilization of the Pretoria régime. Indeed, since 1980 this destabilization has required an expenditure of more than \$27 billion - a truly astonishing figure.

The struggle against apartheid therefore must have the material and economic support of the front-line countries, the Southern African Development Co-ordination

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\* Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.



Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

Conference, the liberation movements and the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Similarly, Nicaragua stresses that the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against Pretoria is a fundamental step that must be taken by the international community to put an end to apartheid. Some powerful allies of Pretoria persist in obstructing any attempt in the Security Council to adopt sanctions against South Africa. We hope that these ardent defenders of freedom and democracy will show more respect for the human rights of 25 million persons than for the financial profits reaped at the cost of so many human lives.

So long as the system of apartheid retains its present structure, prospects for a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa will remain a mere hope and the country will remain submerged in violence. In view of the collaborationist attitude of certain allies of Pretoria, and in view of the tragic internal situation, armed struggle is a legitimate alternative - and the oppressed people of South Africa have chosen that alternative. The only way to put an end to violence in southern Africa, if we really wish to do so, is to eradicate racial discrimination. It is worth noting that there are some who voice concern over legitimate violence by peoples but remain silent about, and fail to protest with the same vigour against, the violence and terror of apartheid.

In conclusion, we state again our position of condemnation of the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African régime. We demand that it cease immediately and express our solidarity with the struggle of the noble people of South Africa to destroy this disgraceful system.

We hope, and we trust, that in the not-too-distant future the people of South Africa will at last be able to live in a free, democratic and non-discriminatory society.

Mr. DIAKITE (Mali) (interpretation from French): The year 1988 is the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Hence the General Assembly is this year considering the item on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa in a very special context.

First of all my delegation wishes to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on its very commendable efforts throughout the year to make better known the nature, the crimes and the purposes of the odious system of apartheid. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/43/22) has provided the General Assembly with valuable information on activities carried out throughout the world by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations as part of the struggle against apartheid. In South Africa itself this year has been marked by stepped-up violence and continuing acts of aggression, destabilization and State terrorism by the racist régime against neighbouring sovereign States. Faced with this brutal repression, the valiant people of South Africa proceeded to organize itself and develop new forms of resistance. On the international level, one can see from the report that the international front against apartheid is gaining ground and becoming stronger, thanks to a growing awareness at the international level of the serious threats to international peace and security posed by the apartheid system.

The racist régime of Pretoria has revealed itself fully by the fierce brutality with which it tries to stop the current of freedom from flowing throughout South Africa. It is trying to keep itself in power by whatever means. Under the cover of a state of emergency the Pretoria racists are systematically repressing opponents of apartheid. Arrests, deportations, threats and executions have become daily practices. The Pretoria régime has also tried to break the

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resistance of the black community by setting up self-defence groups and appointing assassins, trained and armed by South Africa, to intimidate and kill those who oppose apartheid.

The racist minority, vainly trying to stifle resistance to apartheid, has banned 17 anti-apartheid organizations and 18 individuals. To silence the leaders of those organizations the racists of Pretoria are stepping up the number of political trials against them. Restrictive measures against the media are part of the same approach.

But all this is in vain, because we learn from history that no force, however strong, can crush resistance based on the profound aspirations of a people dedicated to its total freedom.

The Pretoria régime is also known for breaking its word, evasion, false leads and delaying tactics. How often has it tried to claim so-called political reforms? On 26 October it organized so-called municipal elections throughout the country; but, like the so-called constitutional proposals of 1983, those elections were designed only to deprive the black majority of their fundamental rights and to perpetuate the wretched system of racial segregation. That is why the international community condemned and strongly rejected them, just as it had strongly rejected the constitutional proposals in 1983. This continuing approach by the international community to the insidious tactics of Pretoria is based on the belief that the apartheid system cannot be reformed but must be abolished, purely and simply, and replaced by a democratic society, as reaffirmed in resolution 38/11, without distinction as to race, based on the principle of majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa. To that end, the international community must insist, among other things, on the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all

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other political prisoners, an end to the banning of anti-apartheid organizations and the lifting of the state of emergency.

By violating the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, some Member States are helping Pretoria build up its military power and to carry out its nuclear programme, in total disregard of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. The question of knowing whether or not South Africa will use nuclear power for military purposes is, in the view of my delegation, a totally futile discussion. For how could one imagine for an instant that a racist and warlike régime such as that of Pretoria, which is keeping itself in power through terror, force and violence, would have started nuclear research for purely peaceful purposes?

Despite international condemnation, South Africa continues to receive economic assistance from certain States. Paragraphs 70 to 79 of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid contain enough information on trade, monetary and financial support to South Africa.

The black majority in South Africa is thus the victim of a major conspiracy between South Africa and its allies. Despite that situation, the valiant people of South Africa will inevitably win in their struggle against the proponents of apartheid.

The contribution made by the people of Mali to this struggle began immediately after Mali had achieved independence. Mali has always provided various kinds of support to the peoples of southern Africa in their liberation struggle. Accordingly, the Government of Mali organized a Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa from 7 to 13 November this year. During that week all sectors of the population of Mali, and many invitees from all over the world, lent their support to the freedom fighters and the front-line States.

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As the struggle against apartheid is stepped up, the more vigilant and committed we must be. That is why the delegation of Mali whole-heartedly supports the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in particular that calling for a special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa in 1989.

Africa, for its part, will, in due time and in accordance with resolutions adopted last May by the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, call for the convening of the Security Council to consider all of the reprehensible policies of racist South Africa and acts of terrorism in South Africa and the region so that appropriate measures may be taken, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime.

The effectiveness of international action to help the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against racial oppression is certainly due to the intensification of the campaign against apartheid and pressure against it. It was that pressure that forced Pretoria to commute the death sentences against the Sharpeville Six.

Apartheid is one of the major challenges facing the international community. Only firm action to isolate South Africa will enable the international community to take up that challenge.

In this connection my delegation welcomes the sanctions against the Pretoria régime that have been adopted throughout the world. Here we wish to pay tribute to the Nordic countries for the measures they have taken to thwart apartheid. The total isolation of South Africa, which would inevitably make South Africa bend to the will of the international community, will be achieved only through comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. That is why Mali continues to call for the

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application against South Africa of measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

In this year of the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the international community must remember that that major instrument was adopted only three years after mankind's victory over nazism. That is worth recalling, for some seem to forget that Africa paid dearly in that battle, waged by the world only recently against nazism.

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We are not saying that we are owed gratitude. We simply ask for understanding that the battle waged yesterday against nazism is no different from the battle being waged today against apartheid, that crime against humanity. We hope that the memory of the past will bring about the total commitment of all members of the international community to the eradication of apartheid and prevention of the blood-bath of unimaginable proportions that could result from the violence and racial tension in South Africa.

Mr. ERDENECHULJUN (Mongolia): The internal and external policies and practices of the racist régime of South Africa go against the grain of the latest developments in international relations, which are characterized by growing recognition of the common destiny of peoples and the increasing interdependence of nations. They stand in stark contravention of the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the fortieth anniversary of which the international community will commemorate in a few days' time.

I shall not tax the indulgence of this Assembly by citing facts about the inhuman acts committed by the apartheid régime against the black majority of the population of South Africa. Instances of Pretoria's criminal practices are thoroughly exposed in the lucid report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, as well as in the statements of previous speakers.

The situation in South Africa is becoming tense and explosive. Mongolia, like the entire international community, is deeply concerned by the recent serious deterioration of the situation in South Africa, in particular the escalating violations of the political, economic and civil rights of the majority of the population and the imposition of severe restrictions on the activities of mass-based organizations.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

The latest developments in South Africa prove once again the correctness of the widespread conviction that, as long as the state of emergency is in effect, political prisoners and detainees remain imprisoned and anti-apartheid and political organizations continue to be banned, prospects for a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa will remain remote and the country will continue its downward spiral into violence. They also show anew that apartheid cannot be reformed and must be totally eradicated.

While continuing the state of emergency and adopting a series of repressive measures to crush every form of opposition in the country, the racist régime of Pretoria resorts to various fake reforms designed to create illusory impressions of power-sharing and to impose on the overwhelming majority of the population its new political schemes. The latest manoeuvre has been the so-called municipal elections which the General Assembly overwhelmingly declared null and void.

It is in southern Africa, especially Namibia, that the international community is confronted with the most diehard entrenchment of colonialism and racism, shored up by the apartheid policies and practices of South Africa. The Pretoria régime has become a tool of the neo-globalist policy pursued by those in imperialist circles with regard to southern Africa and the African continent as a whole. Certain Western Powers abet South Africa in the illegal occupation of Namibia and in its destabilizing actions in the neighbouring African countries. Certain permanent members of the Security Council ensure that it is hamstrung every time it is asked to take action against the apartheid régime in conformity with the provisions of the Charter.

The undeclared war waged by South Africa and its surrogate forces against the neighbouring front-line States has intensified. The escalation of South Africa's military aggression has not been confined to Angola and Mozambique alone; it has included commando attacks in Zambia, threats and a partial border blockade against



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Botswana, and terrorist acts in Swaziland and Zimbabwe, causing deaths, injuries and damage to property.

With the backing of certain Western Powers, the Pretoria régime seeks to link Namibia's independence to completely extraneous issues. Until recently it attempted to link the end of the illegal occupation of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola, a concept which the Security Council declared irrelevant and unacceptable. Now Pretoria is trying to invent another linkage; it would like to make Namibia's independence conditional on the emergence of what is called an "acceptable" internal political solution in Angola.

There are now some hopeful signs for the long-overdue independence of Namibia. We consider the preliminary agreement on a formula for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) reached at the tripartite negotiations between representatives of Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States, to be a positive step. We hope this development will open up a prospect for the United Nations to fulfil its mandate to bring about the self-determination and independence of Namibia.

My delegation expresses the Mongolian Government's profound appreciation of the constructive approach demonstrated by the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba to the promotion of Namibia's independence.

While endorsing every move in the right direction, my delegation shares the view that the international community should remain vigilant regarding Pretoria's behaviour and continue to bring pressure to bear on South Africa until Namibia's independence is fully ensured and the apartheid régime dismantled. We commend the mature and constructive approach taken by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the tested vanguard of the people of Namibia. In other words, all States and international organizations should redouble their efforts to

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force the apartheid régime to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The latest report of the Special Committee against Apartheid concludes that the most effective sanctions, short of the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, would be those targeted at key areas of the economy, notably a ban on imports of coal and agricultural products, the supply of loans and credit, the transfer of technology and direct air flights to and from South Africa, and that a mandatory oil embargo still remains one of the most powerful ways of putting pressure on the racist régime. We are of the opinion that those States which continue to maintain economic relations with the Pretoria régime should pay heed to these and other conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee.

I should like to express our high appreciation of the work done by the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Committee, which commemorated this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment, has been instrumental in mobilizing world public opinion in favour of the struggle against apartheid. Its important work deserves more active support, especially at this time when resolute actions are required for the eradication of apartheid.

The Mongolian People's Republic, a firm advocate of the prompt elimination of apartheid, favours the adoption of more concerted and strictly monitored measures against South Africa and calls for compliance by all States Members with the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions.

Mongolia fully supports the proposal of the non-aligned countries for the convening in 1989 of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. My delegation welcomes the decision of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to work towards the convening of a meeting of the Security Council in Africa for the purpose of examining the

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totality of racist South Africa's reprehensible policies and acts of State terrorism in South Africa, Namibia and the subcontinent in order to undertake appropriate action, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. We believe that these measures, if realized, would give a decisive impetus to international efforts to eliminate apartheid.

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In 1990 the international community will commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which, inter alia, stated that

"All people have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." (resolution 1514 (XV))

The Mongolian delegation is of the view that the recent declaration by the General Assembly of 1990-2000 as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism is of great importance for enhancing the efforts of the international community to get apartheid dismantled.

My delegation expresses once again the unwavering support of the Mongolian people and its Government to the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for the establishment of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

While duly noting the commutation of the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, we call on the South African Government to stay the execution of other captured freedom fighters now on death row.

Mongolia adds its voice to the demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other patriots fighting for the eradication of apartheid.

The developments in South Africa have demonstrated once again that no repression, no intrigues can suppress the struggle of the South African people for human rights, liberty, self-determination and progress against the system of official racism and repression. The Mongolian delegation is confident that the time is not far away when justice and democracy will prevail in South Africa.

The obsolete and outdated policy and practices based on racial supremacy are doomed to failure.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): Apartheid is an offence against humanity. It is the most flagrant violation of the principle of equality, and it contravenes the other fundamental principles that are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

Japan is deeply concerned that, since the General Assembly last discussed this agenda item, the situation in South Africa has not improved, but in some fundamental respects has further deteriorated. The Government of South Africa continues its attempts to suppress the majority of the South African people with brutal force, which has resulted in the loss of many lives. Under a state of emergency, the people of South Africa continue to be subject to arbitrary arrest and detention. Pretoria has tightened its restrictions on the press in a vain attempt to conceal from the rest of the world the atrocities committed by its authorities.

At the same time South Africa continues to launch military incursions into neighbouring States, turning a deaf ear to the outrage of the international community.

Let me cite just some of the repressive measures South Africa has taken this past year. In February it prohibited all political activity by South African organizations that had been leading the non-violent struggle against apartheid. In March South African military units attacked Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, resulting in four deaths. And then in June the Government of South Africa decided to extend the state of emergency it had previously imposed. And last month, in a further desperate effort to stifle the voice of truth, peace and freedom, the Government of South Africa issued an order to suspend publication of the Weekly Mail. The Government of Japan condemns those measures, which Pretoria took solely to enforce the racist policy of apartheid.

It is all too apparent that the white minority rulers in Pretoria are as disinclined as ever to recognize the crux of the problem: it is their repugnant policy of apartheid that is the source of unrest among the black majority. It is

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

apartheid that invites the enmity of Pretoria's neighbours and the censure of the international community.

When will the authorities in Pretoria realize that the course of aggression, repression and blackmail, which they seem so intent on pursuing, will lead to a further deterioration of the situation, with more bloodshed and ultimately outright civil war?

Japan is second to none in its staunch opposition to apartheid.

Once again Japan demands that Pretoria take concrete and fundamental steps to abolish apartheid completely and present to the international community a credible timetable for the fulfilment of that objective. Japan demands that Pretoria release unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, lift the ban on all anti-apartheid organizations, including the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and enter into serious dialogue with those and other liberation movement leaders and organizations.

South Africa should lift the state of emergency immediately. Its military incursions into neighbouring States and its economic harassment of those States should cease forthwith.

Pending such actions, Japan will continue to pursue its stringent policies and measures against Pretoria.

For example, my Government does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa, but limits its relations to the consular level.

It prohibits direct investment by Japanese nationals, companies or their affiliates in South Africa, a policy that it has observed for more than 20 years.

It strictly limits sports, cultural and educational exchanges with South Africa; it does not issue tourist visas to South African nationals, and discourages Japanese citizens from travelling to South Africa.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

Japan prohibits trade in arms and all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field. It also prohibits the import of iron and steel from that country.

Apartheid enforcement agencies, such as the armed forces and police, are not permitted to purchase computers from Japan. Krugerrands and other gold coins cannot be brought into Japan. Air links with South Africa have been suspended and Japanese Government officials are prohibited from using South African Airways international flights.

Concerning trade with South Africa, it was reported that Japan had increased its trade and become South Africa's largest trading partner last year. I wish to point out, however, that this was mainly the result of the dramatic appreciation of the Japanese yen against the United States dollar and other currencies. Japan's trade with South Africa has declined in yen terms every year since 1984, resulting in a 27 per cent decrease during the years 1984 to 1987. I should also like to mention that the Government of Japan has taken additional steps this year further to discourage Japanese business ties with South Africa. In fact, the Foreign and Trade Ministers have made personal appeals to business leaders in Japan to exercise maximum restraint in trading with that country. As a result there are clear indications that Japanese trade with South Africa is decreasing this year.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

Given the aforementioned strict policies of my Government with regard to economic relations with South Africa, paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/43/L.32 and Corr.1, entitled "Comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa", indicates a misunderstanding of Japan's record to date. We believe that a country should not be singled out for blame on the basis of trade statistics, which are always open to interpretation. Furthermore, my country generally opposes the practice of name-calling in the resolutions of the United Nations. For these reasons, my delegation calls for the deletion of the reference to Japan in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, and will request that this be put to a separate vote.

In the present circumstances, direct political and economic pressures are absolutely essential in order to send a clear political signal to South Africa. But at the same time there are other aspects of the problem which we must not overlook.

First of all, we must not forget the plight of the States neighbouring South Africa, which are constantly threatened by military incursions and economic blackmail from Pretoria. Recognizing that those States are suffering economic difficulties as the situation in South Africa deteriorates, Japan is enhancing its economic and technical co-operation with them, including economic assistance to the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. Japan attaches great importance to political dialogue and thus is intensifying exchanges with black African leaders.

Secondly, looking ahead to the day when true democracy is finally established and human rights are enjoyed by all people in South Africa, Japan is extending human resources development assistance to help prepare the black people of South Africa to discharge their responsibilities effectively in their nation-building and



(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

national reconstruction efforts. My Government's contributions over the years to the humanitarian and educational funds and programmes of the United Nations, as well as its bilateral assistance, attest to the importance it attaches to this area. Japan is determined to extend such assistance for as long as the need continues for the development of South Africa's most precious resource, namely, its people.

Japan calls upon the Government of South Africa to declare unequivocally that it intends to abolish apartheid and enter unconditionally into discussions with the leaders of the black community on specific steps leading to that end. Japan likewise urges all concerned to combine their energies in peaceful efforts towards the abolition of apartheid.

This century has witnessed unspeakable horrors of war, genocide and human cruelty, but I think all would agree that, with the growing awareness of our interdependence, the trend is towards peace, justice and equality. Meeting the global challenges and tapping the opportunities that lie ahead will require the best efforts of every nation and every people. So, as we prepare for the twenty-first century, let us redouble our efforts to persuade South Africa to acknowledge the inevitable, sooner rather than later, and abandon its racist policies, so that it may become once again a valued member of the international community.

Mr. ELIASSON (Sweden): For Namibia we now see encouraging prospects for a peaceful termination of South Africa's illegal occupation. The prerequisite is the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Let us hope that this opportunity will not be lost.

It is of the utmost importance, however, that, while we see the independence of Namibia come closer, we do not resort to wishful thinking, especially in view of developments in South Africa itself. For as long as fundamental political rights

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

are denied to the majority of South Africa's population, there will be no lasting peace in southern Africa.

A settlement of the question of Namibia cannot eliminate the root cause of conflict in southern Africa, which continues to be apartheid. And, regrettably, during the past year there has been no progress towards political change in South Africa itself. In fact, the situation has deteriorated.

In June this year the nation-wide state of emergency was again renewed. The Draconian provisions of the emergency and security regulations were tightened to criminalize and stifle genuine opposition and political dissent. Detention without trial, forced removals, political trials, bannings, restriction orders and other forms of large-scale repression of opponents of apartheid continue unabated. At the same time, vigilante groups, with the tacit encouragement and assistance of the security forces, are creating havoc in black townships.

Of the 2,500 persons currently in detention under the emergency regulations at least 1,000 have been held for one year or more. One of the most alarming features is that children and young people have become a special target for repression. Of those detained since the imposition of the state of emergency more than 10,000 are children, a number of whom have suffered maltreatment and torture. It is revolting that the South African Government allows this situation to continue. The long-term effects on the children themselves, as well as on the society, are devastating.

The dramatic increase in the use of the death penalty is another cause of grave concern. According to Amnesty International, 81 persons were executed in South Africa between January and July 1988. A total of 274 people are awaiting execution. Of these at least 70 have been convicted of politically motivated crimes.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

To conceal the grim realities of apartheid severe restrictions have also been imposed on the mass media. A recent example is the banning of the publications of The Weekly Mail, and Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of The New Nation, is, after almost two years, still in detention without being charged.

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

In South Africa the majority is repressed not as individuals but as a group where individuals do not count. They are simply brushed aside because of their race. That is why apartheid goes deeper than political repression. That is why we are all affected. Apartheid fundamentally undermines respect for the equal dignity and worth of the human person - one of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. It is therefore our duty, as members of this Organization, not only to help bring about peaceful change in South Africa, but equally important, to contribute to the restoration of respect for human dignity.

There can be no coexistence with apartheid. There can be no neutrality over apartheid. The logic of necessity, the force of justice is this: apartheid must - and will - come to an end. Therefore the international efforts to bring about peaceful change in South Africa must continue. We must be firm in our demands. No weakening in the pressure on the South African Government should be allowed.

It is the firm belief of my Government that mandatory sanctions adopted by the Security Council are the most effective means of exerting such pressure. It is therefore disappointing that the Security Council has not yet been able to decide on such measures. Pending such a decision, Sweden, as part of a Nordic action programme, has extended its previously unilateral measures and introduced a general ban on trade with South Africa. We call upon those countries that still oppose sanctions to reconsider their position.

There are other ways in which the international community can facilitate the struggle against apartheid. We can assist the victims and opponents of apartheid through generous voluntary contributions to the various United Nations programmes for refugees, for relief work, for education and for legal assistance, or through direct contributions to the organizations involved in such humanitarian work. As Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

Africa I should like to mention particularly the work and activities of this Fund, which, in our view, deserves strong and increasing support from Member States. As for humanitarian assistance, Sweden, for its part, has for many years supported programmes to assist the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization. This year our assistance amounts to the equivalent of \$28 million. In addition to this governmental assistance there are substantial contributions from non-governmental organizations.

Let me mention in particular the need to support the black labour movement in its active struggle against apartheid.

Support to the front-line States remains a pillar of any international strategy for overcoming the apartheid policies of South Africa. Assistance to these countries is not only crucial if we are to reduce their vulnerability; it is also important for future development, when apartheid is gone and all the countries of the region, including South Africa and Namibia, join in peaceful co-operation.

Assistance to the front-line States has thus been a corner-stone of Swedish policy on southern Africa for many years. This year we are allocating half of our bilateral assistance, or more than \$500 million, to the countries in southern Africa. Over the last five years Sweden has contributed close to \$2 billion in different forms of assistance to the region.

Another important element of our policy on South Africa is our participation in the broad-based co-operation between the Nordic countries and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) group. The purpose of this co-operation is to develop the economic and cultural relations between these two regions and to reduce the dependence of the SADCC countries on South Africa.

A few days ago Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala were freed. The death sentences inflicted upon the Sharpeville Six were commuted. My Government hopes

(Mr. Eliasson, Sweden)

that these measures will be followed by the release - the real and unconditional release - of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. It is of great importance that genuine representatives of the South African people be brought into a national convention to discuss freely the future of their own country.

Peaceful change may still be possible in South Africa, but it will have to come soon if violence is not to become unavoidable. Violence, if it comes, will lead to enormous suffering for all concerned. The ending of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic South Africa without racial discrimination should now be the first item on our agenda. It basically has to do with the dignity of man and how seriously we are willing to stand up for such fundamental values.

Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): For decades, through this Assembly and many bodies at different regional, national and international levels, the international community has been witnessing new crimes committed by the Pretoria apartheid régime against the people of South Africa and neighbouring peoples.

This international forum is a means of alerting the human conscience, so that it may express not only its condemnation of these crimes but also its anguish at having to bear the responsibility for the atrocities committed by the Pretoria régime in an age when laws have been entrenched and diversified to protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of man, the age of technology in the service of people, the age of space, the age of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Given the accumulation and the entrenchment of such laws, the crimes of the apartheid régime indicate that international concerted efforts have a long way to go before they can shake off the shame of the actions of the white minority in South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

Given this fact, we have to wonder why such effective international laws and resolutions have been made to fall short of ending this crime. The answers to these questions are very easy to find.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

There are certain States and corporations that continue to co-operate with the racist régime in South Africa in a manner that strengthens and emboldens that régime to challenge the resolutions of the international community. Those States and corporations are well known and soundly condemned. Their continued flouting of United Nations resolutions and their failure to fulfil their moral and international obligations constitute a grave threat to international peace and security.

The apartheid policy that is being practised against the black population in South Africa has brought about a dangerous situation over the years. It has had adverse effects on and dire consequences for the South African society. It has also affected the region, where the internal laws of apartheid develop into expansionism and motives for acts of aggression against African States, particularly the neighbours of South Africa. These States have suffered much because of this terrorist policy of aggression pursued by the apartheid régime.

On the international level the permanent threat to international peace and security is apparent in the consequences of the escalating conflicts and the tendency to suck into its vortex other forces whose international interests are interdependent and conflicting.

The overwhelming black and Coloured majority in South Africa, and, indeed, all those that oppose apartheid, lead a miserable life and lack the barest necessities of human existence. The tin cities with their mud streets and dusty atmosphere and their hovels are dens of misery and despair.

The indigenous population is deprived of all that makes life worth living. The people live in the mire of apartheid day in and day out. They face humiliation, persecution and death. They are deprived of real opportunities for education, work, culture, freedom of expression, the right to vote and every other



(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

right that is fundamental to life in humanly acceptable economic, social and political conditions. They are not only denied the right to determine the future of their own country but also deprived of the right to shape their own and their children's future.

On the other side of the racial divide the white minority live in resplendent cities and beautiful neighbourhoods. They lead an affluent life and enjoy all the wealth of the country, at the expense of the other inhabitants, the blacks. Against those blacks the most violent means of oppression are used and the vilest laws of social and racial discrimination are enacted. The dignity and future of millions are trampled into the dust. People are imprisoned or interned at will. Houses are demolished. People are made homeless. People are sentenced to death and executed. Prisons are filled with the opponents of apartheid.

A case in point is the imprisonment of Mr. Nelson Mandela and his fellow activists, whom the authorities of the white minority accuse of treason, conspiracy and terrorism. Every day many are subjected to arbitrary detention, humiliation, torture, dismissal. All are deprived of the right to freedom of speech, association, demonstration and even protest. The whole country has been turned into a dreadful prison in which the most atrocious forms of injustice take place.

Nothing in history can be likened to what is going on in South Africa and Namibia, except what is happening in occupied Palestine, where for over four decades the forces of Israeli occupation have been pursuing the same policy of injustice. The Palestinian people have been and continue to be the targets of murder, displacement, detention, demolition of their homes, and denial of their rights. Israeli terrorism has been escalated to new peaks which bespeak the criminal nature of the Israeli occupation. In its attempt to suppress the heroic year-old uprising of the Palestinian people, by whatever inhuman means it can

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

employ, the Israeli occupation has shown that each of the twin régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria is an identical replica of the other and that this fact stems from the racist nature of the two régimes. Both are based on one philosophy that involves the persecution of the indigenous population, the trampling of their human rights and the denial of their fundamental freedoms by force of arms and the use of violence, suppression and the policy of the iron fist.

This explains to a great extent the strategic co-operation that exists between the two régimes on the political, military, economic and nuclear levels. This co-operation is an irrefutable fact. Despite Israel's attempts to polish its tarnished image in the eyes of the international community through the propagation of lies concerning an alleged change in its policies towards its strategic ally, South Africa, the situation remains the same. The truth of the matter is that Israel's alleged intention to scale down its relations with South Africa is nothing but a political ploy to safeguard Israeli interests in the United States of America. Israel's deep-rooted and multifaceted relations with the racist régime in South Africa have become so far-reaching that they cannot be made to look compatible with the boycott law against the apartheid régime enacted by the American Congress in 1986.

Consequently, the continuation of that state of affairs caused embarrassment to Israel and its friends in the United States and it was necessary to mount an operation that would produce some sort of cover for Israel's relations with Pretoria and, at the same time, protect Israel from the American boycott law. Israel had to be seen to be scaling down its relations with South Africa in order to ensure the continuance of the flow of American grants and assistance to Israel itself.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

The international community has condemned and continues to condemn this ongoing wide-ranging co-operation between the two régimes. The competent international committees, researchers and experts have exposed the secrets and dimensions of this co-operation in detailed and lengthy reports. For instance, we can refer to the reports of relevant United Nations committees and to a report entitled "Undercutting Sanctions: Israel, the United States and South Africa", written by Jane Hunter, an American writer with the Washington Middle East Association.

The racist régime in Tel Aviv wreaks havoc and terrorism in the Arab region; it destabilizes the régime's security to enable it to achieve its expansionist aims and practises its aggressive policies. The racist régime in South Africa follows the same pattern in its acts of aggression and its attacks on African States, particularly neighbouring States. In addition to illegally occupying Namibia and turning Namibian territory into a launching-pad for aggression, it continues its acts of aggression against the peoples of Angola, Botswana and Mozambique, among others. It too wreaks havoc and spreads instability. It obstructs the development programmes and stunts the economic growth of African countries.

The troops and mercenaries of the racist régime in South Africa use the so-called policy of strenuous pursuit as a cover for inflicting the greatest amount of damage on the front-line States so as to weaken and blackmail them through acts of aggression, violence and war. The ultimate aim is to force those States to stop supporting the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for freedom, independence and self-determination.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

Iraq, on the basis of its consistent principled political stance against occupation, aggression and racism, condemns the policies of aggression pursued by the Pretoria régime in South Africa and calls for the granting of further assistance to the front-line States to enable them to face up to the racist régime, repels its onslaught and bury its racist policy for ever.

The policies of racism, aggression and expansionism inside and outside South Africa pose a serious threat to international peace and security. To allow such policies to continue is to compound the dangers they pose and their adverse impact on the international arena, especially in an age of interdependent and complex interests.

Iraq therefore considers that the régime's continued racist and aggressive policies in South Africa pose a grave and escalating threat to international peace and security. This calls for decisive, concerted international action and co-operation by all the States of the world through the United Nations and regional and other organizations, to bring about the dismantling of the racist régime, force it to abandon its racist policies of aggression and enable the people of South Africa to enjoy fully their right to self-determination and their other inalienable rights.

The fact that the narrow self-interest of certain States - which more often than not brag about their defence of human rights and falsely accuse others - has led them to condone the actions of the racist régime and appease it under various pretexts, is one of the main reasons for the continuance of apartheid and of the suffering of the people of South Africa and Namibia and other African peoples.

Iraq rejects the flimsy pretexts put forward by certain States to justify their co-operation with and promotion of the Pretoria régime. This conduct leads

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

to the creation of many loopholes and breaks the international embargo imposed on the racist régime. Thus it thwarts the effect of international resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and enables the racist régime to continue to exist, despite its rejection and condemnation by the international community in the dozens of resolutions that have been adopted against it.

Iraq calls upon all the States of the world to shoulder their international responsibilities and implement strictly the boycott resolutions against the South African régime to compel it to respect the will of the international community, heed the logic of right and justice and the legitimacy of these principles, and end the great injustice it imposes on Africa.

I wish to reiterate here that Iraq continues to abide by international resolutions, particularly those of the United Nations. We have no diplomatic, economic, political or cultural relations with the South African régime. Iraq continues to abide by the oil and arms embargoes imposed on South Africa. It does not allow Iraqi ships to use South African ports. Iraq has supported every measure taken to end co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field. Iraq has also co-operated on different occasions in different ways with the United Nations in its efforts to bring to an end the occupation of Namibia by the racist Pretoria régime and enable Namibia to achieve its independence, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

On the governmental level, Iraq has no political, cultural, sports or commercial relations with the Pretoria régime. There are no Iraqi investments in South Africa. Iraqi law bans emigration to South Africa and does not allow tourist travel to South Africa.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

On the other hand, Iraq has normal relations with the African front-line States. It extends political, moral and material support to those States. Iraq does not recognize any bantustans and does not invest in them.

My country supports all liberation movements, including the black labour movement, in their struggle for independence and the attainment of their human rights in South Africa and Namibia. There are no obstacles in Iraq to co-operation with these African labour movements against the apartheid policy and occupation. Iraq strongly condemns the use by the Pretoria régime of mercenaries, whom we consider to be criminals who should be legally punished.

My delegation is pleased to salute from this rostrum the people of South Africa, particularly those struggling under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), to abolish the apartheid policy and régime. This is an inevitable step towards the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society based on self-determination and majority government.

On behalf of my delegation, I reaffirm our support for the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to liberate Namibia from the abominable racist régime. We also reaffirm our support for the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid and other international committees which contribute effectively to the struggle of the people in South Africa to attain their inalienable rights.

Iraq's rich experience has led it to believe that the policy of aggression is non-productive. The people of Iraq, who have defended their country against aggression for eight years at great human and material cost, believe that the people of South Africa and Namibia will succeed, because this is the logic of justice and right and the lesson of history.

Mr. COSTELLO (Australia): For more than 40 years the racist policies of South Africa have been discussed and debated in the United Nations. In May this year the Special Committee against Apartheid held its 25th anniversary meeting, but there was nothing to celebrate. As the Chairman of the Special Committee, Major-General Garba, said on that occasion "The current situation gives no reason for confidence or comfort". The pernicious system of apartheid remains in place in South Africa.

Indeed, the peaceful resolution of the political crisis within South Africa is not in sight, and there have been too many signals in the past 12 months that confirm the continuing failure of the South African Government to take the courageous and imaginative steps it must take if that crisis is to be resolved by peaceful negotiations. Such signals have included: the prohibitions imposed in February on the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations committed to peaceful forms of struggle, and on the Congress of South African Trade Unions; restrictions which have sought to silence many of the very people the Government should be negotiating with to end apartheid; the renewal in June this year of a state of emergency, now in its third year, which gives the South African Government sweeping powers to suppress political activities and dissent whether by political groups, churchmen, trade union or individual, powers to imprison people without trial, and to impose a censorship blanket to try to prevent the truth about events in South Africa reaching all the people within South Africa and the outside world.

We have seen the continuing exercise of press censorship and the closing and suspension of various respected South African newspapers. The gagging of press freedom does not make political problems go away. What is needed is not less information but more open debate and genuine freedom of expression so that the ongoing conflict in South Africa can be resolved by peaceful means.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

We have seen the recent holding of municipal elections along racial lines quite inconsistent with a valid democratic expression of will by the people - elections which this General Assembly has already condemned. We have heard reports of growing vigilantism and para-militarism that threaten the rights of all South Africans, and an alarming trend of increasing victimization, and detention of men, women and even children.

We have continuing concerns about threats to the security of South Africa's neighbours and the devastating consequences of those threats to the livelihoods and wellbeing of those countries and their peoples.

The South African Government has taken some small positive steps in recent weeks. It has commuted the sentences of the Sharpeville Six. It has released the long-term political prisoners Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala on humanitarian grounds. There has also been an improvement in the circumstances of the detention of Nelson Mandela.

But what change there is has been painfully and disappointingly slow. And while recent moves are welcome they remain totally inadequate as any token of commitment on the part of the Government of South Africa to put an end to the system of apartheid.

When the announcement concerning Nelson Mandela was made last week it was announced he could not be released because of alleged unspecified risks or threats to his safety. Last week in the Australian Parliament the Minister for Foreign Affairs said the Australian Government would be most concerned if unsubstantiated alleged risks to Nelson Mandela were to be used as an excuse to delay his release indefinitely. My Government continues to believe that Nelson Mandela's unconditional release would help to heal the deep divisions among South Africans.



(Mr. Costello, Australia)

Similarly, the decision with respect to the Sharpeville Six has been welcomed by my Government, but relief at that news has been tempered by the lengthy prison terms to which the Six have been sentenced - up to 25 years - which seems particularly onerous in view of the highly controversial use of the so-called common purpose doctrine in this case. And our relief was tempered still further by the awful news that several more people have since been hanged.

Continuing repression on the part of the South African Government is not and can never be the solution to South Africa's chronic political problems. Only a freely negotiated and non-racist resolution of South Africa's problems can prevent steadily increasing tension, violence and bloodshed in South Africa and the region in the future.

What is needed now from the Government of South Africa is imaginative and courageous action, heeding the advice of the world community and casting aside its totally discredited policies of the past. There is need for courage and imagination in releasing Nelson Mandela unconditionally, and freeing from detention other political prisoners, in lifting the state of emergency and allowing free political expression and organization; for courage and imagination in starting now to negotiate with authentic black leaders on a non-racist democratic system based on equality and dignity for all South Africans; and for courage and imagination to seek a path of peace and reconciliation, at home and abroad, and to break the cycle of violence endemic in South Africa.

The situation in South Africa remains a tragic one and it cannot endure indefinitely. It remains in the interests of South Africa, of the region and of the entire international community, that the problems of South Africa be solved peacefully to avoid further violence, confrontation and bloodshed.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

At the heart of these problems lies apartheid, a system of injustice and institutionalized racism which is foreign to Australia's commitment to democracy and freedom, and contrary to all civilized human values.

Australia has taken a prominent and determined stance against apartheid and its injustices. We have done so on our own and we have done so in company with like-minded countries.

In choosing measures we have been guided by a number of considerations. Some of our sanctions are specifically targeted, such as our ban on representative sports exchanges between Australia and South Africa, the cessation of air links, and our withdrawal of consular facilities for visa issue from South Africa. These are aimed particularly at white South Africans and are designed to bring home to them the personal cost of maintaining apartheid and to encourage them to be instruments of change within South Africa.

Other measures have a wider purpose. In this category I would highlight a number of sanctions taken by Australia together with its partners in the Commonwealth. Australia has implemented all measures agreed by Commonwealth leaders in Nassau in October 1985 and in London in 1986. These measures include: the prohibition of exports to South Africa of petroleum and petroleum products, computer hardware equipment and any other products known to be of use to the South African security forces; and a strict embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, artillery vehicles and para-military equipment and on military co-operation with South Africa. Australia has implemented Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 558 (1984) on the export and import of arms and is currently taking the necessary administrative steps to ensure that Australian practice is in conformity with Security Council resolution 591 (1986) in voluntarily strengthening the arms embargo to include spare parts and military related equipment.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

There has been discouragement by Australia of new investments, the banning of new bank loans to South Africa and the termination of all Government assistance to investment in and trade with South Africa. Australia has also introduced a code of conduct for Australian companies operating in South Africa to ensure that they do not exploit the injustices of the apartheid system. An administrator has been appointed to report on the code and the first report was tabled in our Parliament in 1987.

Australia has a ban on all Government procurement in South Africa, on the promotion of tourism to South Africa (we closed the offices of the South African Tourist Commission in 1986), and there is a ban on Government contracts with majority-owned South African companies.

Australia has also banned the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa.

All these measures are now established in Australian law and policy. Some of them have hurt and are hurting us, but this has given us no excuse not to implement them.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

But sanctions need to be taken by all countries if they are to be truly effective. My Government is on record as being willing to support mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The outrage felt against apartheid is international. The measures to force its abandonment should have the same international scope.

We believe there are also positive measures that can be taken to encourage and support change in South Africa and to strengthen the stand of the international community against apartheid.

In October 1983 the Australian Government announced the introduction of a programme to enable prominent opponents of apartheid to visit Australia. Bishop Tutu, Mr. Boesak, Mr. Breyentach, Mr. Kane-Berman and Mr. Oliver Tambo have visited Australia under the programme. Most recently, Mrs. Joyce Mokhesi, a sister of one of the members of the Sharpeville Six visited Australia under the scheme and met with anti-apartheid groups, parliamentary and legal groups, senior Government and Opposition leaders and our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Since 1983 the Australian Government has operated a scholarship programme for black South Africans to undertake tertiary-level studies in South Africa, and this scheme has been supplemented by a programme for black South African refugees to study in Australian tertiary institutions.

In December 1986 Australia announced a five-year \$A5 million Government programme - subsequently increased to \$7.5 million - for education, training and development of disadvantaged black South Africans and Namibians as well as South African and Namibian refugees. Australia also contributes annually to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

(Mr. Costello, Australia)

Australia's contacts with the nationalist movements of southern Africa have been expanded. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) maintain information offices in Australia. The Australian Government firmly supports the peaceful expression of opinion and dissemination of information by these organizations in Australia.

As a member of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, Australia continues actively to pursue measures calculated to increase pressure on the apartheid system to bring about fundamental political change. Australia will serve as host to a meeting of that Committee in the middle of next year.

Every year at the General Assembly, and in the Security Council, we hear condemnation of apartheid in South Africa. But resolutions of the General Assembly have been ignored. The Security Council too has been paralyzed by a combination of South African defiance and the use of the veto by those permanent members that do not support mandatory sanctions against South Africa. And apartheid is still with us.

There can be no doubt about the determination of the United Nations to end apartheid, even if so far it has not led to the attainment of that goal. Inevitably, apartheid's days are numbered; inevitably, justice will prevail. We cannot and must not regard these debates as repetitive rituals. We must retain and increase the pressure. South Africa must be given the unmistakable message that its apartheid policies cannot and shall not be tolerated. They are anathema to the basic tenets of a civilized world.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 23 September 1988, I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. ISRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited, discriminated against and dispossessed people of Azania (South Africa), allow me most sincerely to thank Member States for giving us this opportunity of addressing the General Assembly on this important agenda item. In our presentation we shall attempt to review the developments during the past year and update members on the current situation.

However, before commencing my presentation, I wish to convey to the Assembly warm revolutionary greetings from President Zephania Mothopeng, who was released last Saturday from the apartheid prison. He personally asked me to express his profound gratitude to all those Member States, organizations and individuals that had stood with him and the legitimate struggle of the Azanian people during his years of incarceration. He further asked me to call on the Assembly to intensify the political, economic, diplomatic and cultural isolation of the illegal minority racist régime. Now that he has won his unconditional release, his top priority, he said, is to unite the Azanian people in their legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination. President Mothopeng's spirit is as formidable as ever. He is looking forward to addressing the Assembly personally in the near future.

Having dutifully conveyed the personal message of President Zephania Mothopeng, I should like now to continue with our presentation.

Apartheid was long since declared a crime against humanity. The racists from apartheid South Africa have been correctly denied the South African seat in the

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

General Assembly. The illegal minority racist régime is confronted with growing political isolation, internally and internationally. The sanctions campaign is beginning to bite. Also, the balance of forces on the ground, both inside apartheid South Africa and in the region, is fast changing.

In the past year the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania have significantly intensified their struggles on the political, organizational and armed-struggle fronts. Allow me briefly to enumerate some of the known and obvious achievements.

The oppressed and exploited workers in Azania, through the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), not only have achieved an unprecedented degree of organizational success but have participated in effective joint actions inside the country. The Azanian workers, moreover, through NACTU and COSATU, are liberation-oriented and therefore constitute an important and effective element in the struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

In terms of advancing the struggle inside apartheid South Africa, what did our people achieve in the year under review?

In January 1988, despite the state of emergency and increased arrests and bannings, the Azania National Youth Unity (AZANYU), the nationally based youth organization, held a congress attended by over 2,000 delegates inside apartheid South Africa. That conference took important decisions, including one to put an end to "necklacing". The participants not only took that important decision but successfully implemented it. Five Western embassies in South Africa sent observers to the conference.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

Several organizations in Azania, responding to the call of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, declared 20 to 27 February 1988 the Sobukwe Cultural Week to observe the tenth anniversary of the death of the founder-President of the PAC, Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. The theme of the Cultural Week was Sobukwe's ideological contribution to the Azanian and African struggle. Large meetings were held in some 14 cities, in defiance of the state of emergency and other restrictions.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was appropriately observed by the Azanian masses on 21 March 1988. AZNAYU, NACTU and the rapidly developing African Women's Organization organized the cleaning of the graves of the Sharpeville and Soweto martyrs and the holding of services. However, the new phenomenon this year was that the Azanian workers did not report for work on 21 March.

Organizations subscribing to the dominant Africanist tendency inside apartheid South Africa organized a meeting in Soweto to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity. More than 9,000 Azanians attended the meeting, in defiance of all restrictions and press censorship. The meeting was held on 25 May 1988.

NACTU and COSATU, the two major trade union federations, jointly called for a three-day protest strike against restrictive labour legislation from 6 to 8 June 1988. The strike was a resounding success. Over 3.5 million workers responded to the call. The successful strike demonstrated the ability of NACTU and COSATU to mobilize the workers nationwide, take joint action and paralyse the economy. Although the racist régime declared the strike illegal, it could neither prevent it nor subsequently arrest and charge anyone for calling and/or organizing the successful strike. That, however, reflected the growing impotence and inherent weakness of the illegal, aggressive régime in apartheid South Africa....



(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

A week later, Azanian workers observed a total stay-at-home in commemoration of the twelfth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising of 16 June 1976.

It is interesting to note that the oppressed and dispossessed Azanian masses have declared 21 March and 16 June their national days. May we take this opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid, as well as Member States, for also observing those landmark anniversaries of the legitimate struggle of our people.

The Azanian women, victims of many-sided oppression and exploitation, have also been organizing themselves and playing an increasing role in all aspects of the struggle. Recently some 30 Azanian women, representing different organizations and different vocations and coming from different parts of the country, met in Harare, Zimbabwe, to exchange views and experiences.

Those and other related activities demonstrate the high degree of politicization and organizational ability of the Azanian masses. Ideologically our people are already mentally liberated. The principle of non-collaboration with any organ or institution of the illegal minority racist régime, enunciated in the 1949 Programme of Action and adhered to and implemented by the PAC since its inception, is widely observed by the Azanian masses in our country. The overwhelming boycott in the African townships to the recently held municipal elections is living testimony to the widespread adherence of the principle of non-collaboration. Consequently, there was no need for specific calls to boycott the régime-sponsored elections. The only significant factor which emerged from the last municipal elections in the African townships was that some of the results could qualify to go into the Guinness Book of Records. One puppet councillor was elected - so called - by his own and his wife's votes.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

For the past two Thursdays, public meetings have been organized in Johannesburg and Pretoria by trade unions, youth, students, women and clergymen to draw attention to the deteriorating health of our recently released Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, President of the PAC. The meetings were well attended and the campaign was gaining momentum. In the face of internal and international pressure the régime was compelled to release unconditionally President Zephania Mothopeng on 26 November 1988. However, in the past the racist régime had released President Sobukwe, our founder President, only to banish him to a remote place, where he subsequently died. President Sobukwe was refused permission to seek proper medical attention abroad. Uncle Zeph, as our President is popularly known at home, was recently operated upon without his or his wife's consent. Although released, he is gravely ill. We of the Pan Africanist Congress demand that he have access to the best medical care abroad, and we shall ask the international community to assist us in this campaign.

The release of President Zephania Mothopeng and others was not an act of generosity. Those who are still languishing in apartheid dungeons, like Comrade Jaftha Masemola and Comrade Nelson Mandela, should not have been imprisoned in the first place. Those who are guilty in apartheid South Africa are the advocates of the universally condemned apartheid policies and not those determined to eradicate that crime against humanity.

Allow me to remind the world of the determination and exemplary sacrifice of the longest-serving political life prisoner in apartheid South Africa, Comrade Jaftha Masemola. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1963. He is the only political prisoner who has spent nine years in solitary confinement. He still remains incarcerated because of his principled rejection of Botha's so-called amnesty. We call on the international community to focus attention on the plight and sacrifice of Comrade Masemola.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

Although the minority racist régime is currently facing three simultaneous crises - political, economic and military - the deceptive and brutal nature of the régime has not changed. While appearing to be releasing unconditionally some political prisoners, and partially releasing others, the arrest and detention of political opponents inside the country is on the increase. Apartheid gaols remain overcrowded.

However, a new, disturbing phenomenon is the drastic rise in the number of judicial murders in apartheid South Africa. Last year the régime executed 168, the highest number in a single year since 1910. According to the racist so-called Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, a total of 101 were sentenced to death for unrest-related incidents, including the Sharpeville Six. Last week, P. W. Botha announced the reprieve granted to the Sharpeville Six. They were sentenced under the controversial law of common purpose. They will now serve between 18 and 25 years.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

At the same time, P. W. Botha also granted reprieves to four white policemen guilty of first-degree murder. This political trade-off must be strongly condemned, and the campaign for the unconditional release of the Sharpeville Six must be continued and intensified. The Pan Africanist Congress strongly supports the struggle to end all judicial murders in apartheid South Africa.

The presence and role of the Africanist tendency and the activities of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), are being acknowledged, albeit grudgingly. In a recent trial of PAC and Qibla members, in which Enoch Zulu, member of the Central Committee and APLA's high command, was the main accused, the racist judge sentenced the seven patriots to a total of 136 years. In recent months, articles have appeared in such diverse papers as the Johannesburg Star, The Weekly Mail, The Sowetan, the Financial Times, Britain's The Economist, and so on, acknowledging the "resurgence of the PAC".

The Pan Africanist Congress was there to organize the 21 March 1960 anti-pass campaign, which changed the course of the struggle in the country, and played a leading role in the 16 June 1976 Soweto uprising. At the turn of the present decade, the PAC declared the 1980s the decade of the Azanian revolution. Even the racists acknowledge today that a revolutionary climate now exists inside apartheid South Africa.

The Pan Africanist Congress, after consultation with mass organizations inside the country, has evolved the following five principles to guide our struggle. First, apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be totally and completely eradicated. Secondly, the vehicle for genuine change in apartheid South Africa can never be the régime but will, rather, be the oppressed and dispossessed majority; therefore, the task of the national liberation movement must be to increase the fighting capacity

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

of the people ideologically, organizationally and in the intensification of the armed struggle. Thirdly, all forms of struggle must be encouraged and supported; however, armed struggle must remain the principal form of struggle. Fourthly, internationally, the racist régime must be isolated and the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be intensified; however, international action must be seen as a complementary factor, the decisive factor being the internal factor. Fifthly, the introduction of the East-West conflict into the legitimate struggle of the Azanian people for national liberation and self-determination must be firmly resisted. These principles are receiving overwhelming support, both internally and internationally.

Allow me now to dwell briefly on the situation in southern Africa. It is a well-known fact that Angola, Cuba, racist South Africa and the United States have been, and are still, engaged in discussions aimed at ending South African aggression against and occupation of the People's Republic of Angola and at the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in Namibia. What has thus far been concretely achieved is the rapid and unconditional withdrawal of the South African aggressor troops from southern Angola. Racist South Africa unconditionally withdrew because of the military defeats suffered at the hands of Angolan troops, not because it has now become an angel of peace. Every other issue in the region is still being discussed, although it has been reported that agreements have been reached.

The Pan Africanist Congress maintains that racist South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia should have been terminated long ago. Moreover, the Pan Africanist Congress firmly rejects the linkage issue introduced by the racist régime and supported by the United States. We reject the concept of holding a people hostage over an issue in which they have no jurisdiction whatsoever.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

The inalienable rights of the Namibian people cannot be denied to them because of the Cuban presence in Angola.

The military defeats in southern Angola have destroyed the myth of invincibility which the racist régime had created about itself. However, the régime is attempting to turn the military defeats into some form of diplomatic offensive on the African continent. Those in some circles cite Botha's visits to some African countries as a diplomatic victory. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania submits that Botha has failed to make any inroad into Africa. It is no secret that Pretoria already had contacts with the countries that Botha visited. What is perhaps new is that these contacts are now in the open. Racist South Africa has failed to make any new contact on the African continent.

The PAC is grateful to the front-line States for the principled support they continue to render to our just struggle and for the sacrifices that they continue to endure. We are also grateful to the other African member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which have rendered moral, political, material and other forms of support for our struggle. We are also grateful to the countries outside the continent that have given non-sectarian support to our just cause. These countries and support groups the world over acknowledge that the core of the problem in southern Africa is not that we lack the etiquette of good-neighbourliness but is the policies and practices of the illegal minority racist régime. Only the complete eradication of that régime can bring genuine peace and prosperity in the region.

While commending those that support our just cause, we must point out that our people consider the refusal by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions to be a deliberate attempt to frustrate the application of the most effective

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

peaceful international weapon through which to bring down the racist régime. They cannot oppose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on the one hand and preach the peaceful solution of the problem on the other.

In conclusion, we reiterate our unconditional support for our Namibian and Palestinian brothers and sisters who are waging a principled struggle for national liberation and self-determination. We condemn Zionist-racist collaboration. Moreover, as a national liberation movement we deplore the decision of the United States State Department to refuse a visa to Chairman Arafat to address this Assembly - the Assembly gathered here to promote peace and understanding in this troubled world. We urge the United States State Department to rescind this unfortunate decision.

(Mr. Ebrahim, PAC)

On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, allow me to express our most sincere gratitude to Major-General Joseph Garba, the representative of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the untiring Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for the invaluable assistance he has rendered our just struggle and for promoting our cause internationally. We are also grateful to his great country, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for the principled support rendered our struggle. We wish to extend our gratitude also to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, and his able staff for the support rendered in bringing an early demise to the evil apartheid system. Last, but not least, we wish to thank the member States of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their concern and commitment.

Liberation is always the fruit of struggle. Our people have struggled and will continue to struggle so that apartheid South Africa will be swept into the dustbin of history and in its place emerge the new democratic, non-racial Azania.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker on this item for this meeting.

Before turning to the next item I should like to inform members that the debate on this item will continue this afternoon and that the Assembly will meet on Friday to take action on the draft resolutions.



## AGENDA ITEM 43

DECLARATION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE AERIAL AND NAVAL MILITARY ATTACK AGAINST THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA BY THE PRESENT UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION IN APRIL 1986

The PRESIDENT: Following consultations, it is my understanding that consideration of this item may be deferred to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to defer consideration of the item and to include it in the provisional agenda of the forty-fourth session?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 43.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.