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PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 7 November 1989, at 3.00 p.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam)
(Vice-President)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [28] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
 - (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa
 - (c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports
 - (d) Reports of the Secretary-General
 - (e) Report of the Special Political Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/44/22 and Corr. 2)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/44/44)
- (c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/44/47)
- (d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/44/533, A/44/555 and Corr. 1, A/44/556, A/44/698)
- (e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/44/709)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that in accordance with the decision taken this morning the list of speakers in the debate will be closed at 5.00 p.m. today. I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

Mr. ABUBAKAR (Nigeria): As the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly considers the agenda item on apartheid, we are hopeful that the forty-third year of the consideration of this issue will mark the final turning-point for apartheid. My delegation expresses this hope because at no other time in the history of apartheid and the history of our Organization have events and personalities been so favourable for the peaceful elimination of apartheid through negotiations.

Indeed, the prevailing situation is so auspicious that the progressive climate for negotiating an end to apartheid has been positively enhanced by the seeming consensus of opinion existing today on the need to commence the final march towards the elimination of apartheid. This uniquely auspicious atmosphere has been further reinforced by the very profound views articulated by African States in the renowned Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989.

(Mr. Abubakar, Nigeria)

If there ever was a premise or basis for contemplating the dismantling of apartheid, it is the one eloquently spelled out in that Declaration. Similarly, the positive atmosphere has been further complemented by the envisaged first-ever special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, which will convene in this Hall on 12 December 1989.

My delegation finds deep comfort, if not solace, in the very eloquent and lucid words of the Harare Declaration, and we therefore fully agree with the solemn reaffirmation of our belief

"that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria régime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations". (A/44/697, para. 14)

My delegation further shares the view that:

"Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement" (ibid.)

and that

"Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created". (ibid., para. 18)

There is an imperative need to create an atmosphere conducive to the enhancement of genuine negotiations. Indeed, the mass democratic movement in South Africa, coupled with the liberation movements - the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) - are willing to negotiate. Regrettably, it is not within their competence to bring about the desired atmosphere for negotiations.

(Mr. Abubakar, Nigeria)

The tragedy of apartheid lies with its originators. The eradication of apartheid and the basis on which it must be predicated lies also with the architects of apartheid. The acts of violence, destabilization, aggression and dehumanizing legislation clearly documented in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid that is before the Assembly are not acts contrived and executed by Nelson Mandela and his fellow political prisoners. They are not acts and designs of the ANC and the PAC illegally banned by the racist régime, nor of the countless women and children who have been dispossessed of their birthright. Nor are they acts of South Africans chased into exile by the racist régime.

It is the minds of those who contrived the evil policies of apartheid and the minds of their offspring who gave initial impetus to apartheid by enthroning that policy through legislation - it is those very minds that must now rewind and retrack in order to create the basis on which apartheid can be eradicated through genuine negotiation. The onus for creating a basis for genuine negotiations rests solidly with the racist régime in South Africa - and particularly with the De Klerk administration. As we are all aware, you cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs. The leader in South Africa has to prove that he has the inner resources and courage not only to introduce comprehensive reforms but also to keep them firmly on course to end the apartheid system.

For too long we have listened to talk of racist reform. For too long we have been asked by supporters of apartheid to give reform a chance - as though reform were synonymous with peace. And again, at the end of the day, the mirage of reform ends with a deeper entrenchment of apartheid. What we see is the application of apartheid to reform apartheid. For too long we have been asked not to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions on racist South Africa, in the hope that it

(Mr. Abubakar, Nigeria)

will see reason and have the wisdom to negotiate an end to apartheid. But time and time again we are left with the short end of the stick while apartheid and its supporters buy more time for this heinous system which is a crime against humanity.

We have repeatedly asked the perpetrators and apologists of apartheid what they must expect from the victims of apartheid. Often, if we are not told that sanctions will hurt blacks more, we are told that reforms take time. But, then, we have known the diversionary tactics of apartheid reforms: 43 wasted years of them. Then again, we are told in this Hall that the United Nations and its membership cannot support the right of the oppressed people of South Africa either to armed resistance or to armed struggle against an oppressive and unjust régime. What are the supporters of apartheid going to tell us next?

(Mr. Abuhakar, Nigeria)

In effect, we cannot continue to be reminded that the trump card is held by the racist régime. The moment of truth has arrived and he who holds the trump card, he who built the house of repression, violence and draconian legislation, must retrace his steps and create the necessary atmosphere for peace.

The road that leads from Soweto to Pretoria also leads from Pretoria to Soweto; that political road is two-way. The oppressed black people of South Africa have always known this. They have, therefore, always been ready to march along that long winding road to Pretoria to negotiate peace. But, unfortunately, the racist régime has not demonstrated the good faith necessary for negotiations because of its assumption that military force and violence can triumph over the forces of freedom and justice. In 1958 Albert Lithuli called for negotiations; in 1961 Nelson Mandela called, and even today he still calls, for negotiations. These negotiations, however, cannot be on the terms of the oppressor régime, which responded with massacres in Sharpeville, Soweto and Langa.

Even now, at this moment, when the international community is unified in agreement that a basis exists for the peaceful elimination of apartheid, we fail to see any concrete effort by the racist régime to embark urgently on a peace process through negotiations. Rather, they have chosen the path of superficial gestures aimed at buying time. Gestures are exactly what they are; empty gestures that give no concrete substance to South Africa's professed willingness to eradicate apartheid or to its show of good faith. Yet, in spite of this obvious ploy, supporters of apartheid want the oppressed people of South Africa to bear an equal burden in creating a basis for genuine negotiations. Common sense tells us that a man with a rifle is not on an equal footing with a man with a club. How, then, can the oppressor and the oppressed be put on an equal footing? And how can the gaoled negotiate with his gaoler? While we submit that oppressed South Africans and their

(Mr. Abubakar, Nigeria)

representatives have a crucial role to play in the peaceful eradication of apartheid through negotiations, we remain convinced that the greater onus lies on the oppressor régime itself. This conviction is founded on and rooted in the fact, and our knowledge, that blacks in South Africa have always in their long struggle stood for peace.

I commenced this speech by reiterating our belief that conditions are now propitious for peaceful negotiations on an end to apartheid. True as this may be, it does not warrant or demand that the international community relax its efforts with regard to South Africa. Rather, it reinforces the need for intensified pressure from outside to bring about reforms in South Africa. If South Africa is indeed ready to negotiate, it is because it feels the pressure both at home and abroad. Whereas, it may indicate willingness to negotiate, our role in the Assembly and as members of the international community remains to continue our solidarity with those engaged in the liberation struggle, strengthen the imposition of sanctions against the South African régime, keep the apartheid question in full view and isolate the racist régime in every way possible, while supporting the peace and negotiation process. To do less would be to grant an undeserved reprieve to the apartheid system.

That apartheid is an affront to humanity and violates the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of our Organization and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights need hardly be emphasized. That apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security and has resulted in the loss of countless lives, destruction of property and destabilization of some African States is a reality. That apartheid will be eliminated is a matter of time. However, whether it is eliminated peacefully or violently will be up to the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Abuhakar, Nigeria)

For its part, my delegation will continue to support all efforts aimed at reaching a peaceful settlement. However, we remain conscious and resolute in our belief that the oppressed people of South Africa retain the right to pursue their self-determination through armed struggle. The path to a genuine political settlement of the conflict in South Africa, to our mind, can be found in the Harare Declaration. We join our voice once again to the voices of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth in calling on Pretoria to show its goodwill, good faith and willingness to embark on peaceful negotiations with the majority population in South Africa, by releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally; lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; removing all troops from the townships; ending the state of emergency and repealing all oppressive legislation; and, finally, ceasing all political trials and political executions.

We consider that action to meet these demands would create the necessary climate for negotiations, and we call upon all parties to take full advantage of the opportunities arising therefrom. My delegation believes, further, that if these demands were met it could not but lead to an agreed suspension of hostilities.

Peace is well at hand in South Africa if Pretoria will only show good faith for once. Only when it does, must we in this Assembly relax our efforts in the struggle against apartheid.

The PRESIDENT: It is with great pleasure that I welcome to the General Assembly the Rev. C. S. Banana, former President of Zimbabwe. Since leaving office as President of that great front-line State, Mr. Banana has continued to exert himself in the struggle for peace in South Africa, the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. Only two months ago he was co-Chairman of the Panel of Eminent Persons in public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia, at which I was privileged to testify.

Mr. BANANA (Zimbabwe): Let me begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the Assembly. You represent in your high office the best of Africa, the promise of our continent as it reaches from a past of oppression and poverty to a future of hope and fulfilment. It is fitting that you should preside over this meeting to consider what the international community can do to end a particularly poisonous remnant and survivor of the past, the system of apartheid.

Let me also extend to the people of Namibia my heartfelt good wishes on the elections there today. Namibia's transition to freedom has been hard won and long awaited. Coming from a neighbouring African State that shares a common experience of history, I know how momentous this transition is, and how perilous it can be.

(Mr. Banana, Zimbabwe)

When the Panel met in Geneva this September a great deal of international attention was focused on South Africa. In fact, South Africa held its racially exclusive elections on the day we concluded the hearings, and the mass media carried much of, analysis and comment about, the changes that could or would be forthcoming. In this context, one of the major tasks we faced in formulating recommendations was to assess the prospects for real change. As this assessment underlies the direction and thrust of our report, allow me to outline briefly the factors we took into account in concluding that the international community should maintain and increase economic pressures on the system of apartheid.

Over the three days of hearings our Panel heard a wide range of views on the current situation in South Africa. We focused on the activities of transnational corporations, including transnational banks, in the context of international sanctions aimed at the elimination of the apartheid system. We considered carefully the issue of whether sanctions had been effective in pressing the South African Government to come to the negotiating table. We considered testimony on the variety of loopholes in current international sanctions and the partial success South Africa has had in exploiting them. We also considered the role of several Governments in helping South Africa undermine international action against apartheid, contravening in the process not only United Nations policies but even their own laws and solemn commitments. In our recommendations we address these various issues and also look at what can be done to help prepare for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Historically the racist domination of South Africa has been founded on the enormous flow of profits to the white minority and to foreign investors. That partnership of outside investor and inside oppressor has been crucial to the maintenance of the apartheid system. Their shared economic interests have been at the core of the apartheid system, overriding all other considerations - religious,

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moral and humane. The role of foreign economic interests in South Africa has for this reason been the focus of attention at the United Nations for many years. In particular, attention has focused on the activities of transnational corporations, because they have been the key agents directing foreign investment and technology to South Africa and siphoning off the profits.

During the last two decades, as opposition to apartheid has grown within the country and the international pressure of sanctions and consumer boycotts has increased, the profitability of the system has begun to erode. The costs of security within the country and of South Africa's aggression against neighbouring States, the costs of circumventing sanctions and, perhaps most important, the costs of directing economic growth by the irrational dictates of racial prejudice, have all taken their toll. South Africa's economy has been increasingly distorted, its growth rate stunted and its capacity to sustain the high standard of living for the white minority progressively reduced. In fact, with the economy growing at an average of about 2 per cent a year and inflation at 16 per cent, there has been a substantial drop in white real income in the last five years. The results are clearly evident. An increasing number of white South Africans, newly aware of the economic madness of apartheid, have been joining the ranks of the disaffected. Those who can are voting with their feet, leaving in ever larger numbers. Estimates show that the white population of South Africa will decline in absolute terms this year.

Transnational corporations, too, have been discovering that they must face more than international opprobrium for their South African links; they must increasingly contend with an unhealthy business climate, with volatile and unpredictable economic and political conditions and little promise of long-term stability. Some 277 transnational corporations have divested themselves of their equity interests in South Africa since 1985. Many of those corporations have been

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forced to leave by consumer and popular pressure in their home countries, and it is important to acknowledge that such pressure has been most effectively applied in the United States; about 60 per cent of the divesting corporations have been from the United States. In some key countries of Europe popular pressures have not led, as they have in the United States, to strong action by Governments. In some countries this translation of popular feeling into corporate policy has been prevented by deliberate acts of Government, while in others it is a matter of inadequate organization and information at the mass level. One of the reasons for holding the public hearings in Europe this time was, indeed, to try to draw the attention of the European public to the prevailing situation.

The future of South Africa is in the hands of its own people. But undoubtedly external pressures have helped it in the struggle against apartheid. Our recommendation that international sanctions be continued and intensified is aimed not at destroying the South African economy, but at raising the economic stakes, at making the Government and business community of South Africa realize that their own welfare requires the end of apartheid. To some extent, judging from the current fluid situation in South Africa, that realization has been growing in influential circles.

Pretoria has signalled its acknowledgement of the need for internal change. It has withdrawn from overtly aggressive postures in Angola and Namibia. But there is as yet no commitment to end the system of institutionalized racism that the world has condemned as a crime against humanity. There is still talk of reform, of incremental changes that would serve merely to hide the realities of racial dominance and oppression. Under these circumstances, the Panel did not buy the idea that the world should back away from sanctions and give Mr. De Klerk a chance. It is our view that the world should give a chance to the people of South

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Africa to determine its own destiny. Unless the international community continues to press for change at this critical juncture, we shall lose the momentum to end apartheid.

What do transnational corporations think of the current situation in South Africa? How do they justify their continued involvement in areas specifically forbidden by international agreements? Why do so many of the corporations that have supposedly divested themselves of interests in South Africa continue to maintain non-equity interests in the country? It is my sad duty to report that we did not get information on these points from the corporations themselves. The preponderant majority of the approximately 800 transnational corporations with links to South Africa declined to participate in the public hearings. Only 200 of those invited responded. Most sent regrets. A very few sent brief written submissions.

However, corporate views were voiced at the hearings by delegations from the International Chamber of Commerce and several representatives of the South African business community, led by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South Africa. They argued that the presence of transnational corporations in South Africa actually benefited the black population, both by giving it economical power and by pressing for acceptable standards in working and social conditions. In their view, international sanctions aimed at ending their links with South Africa were counter-productive, inflicting most damage on the country's black population.

(Mr. Banana, Zimbabwe)

Diametrically opposed views were presented by other witnesses, including those who came from and spoke for the black community in South Africa. In their view, it was incorrect and immoral to argue that sanctions should not be imposed because they would lead to a loss of jobs; such losses represented the inevitable costs of the struggle for freedom, which the black community was prepared to pay. They said the South African Government remained intransigent on the issue of eliminating apartheid, and more international pressure relating to financial and trade flows would be of critical importance in the months ahead.

The latter view of the economic, political and moral realities in South Africa is powerfully convincing. At the same time, the Panel was deeply troubled by the argument that the burden of sanctions falls on those members of the black community least able to bear it. That is why we recommend that, while increasing pressures on the South African economy, the international community - including transnational corporations - must take steps to minimize losses suffered by black workers and their dependants.

As the report of the Panel is before the Assembly, I will do no more than enumerate the main recommendations that require action here. We have called for a range of actions to be undertaken by Governments relating to sanctions in the areas of short-term finance, investment and trade.

In the area of finance, we ask for an end to trade credits and an end to gold swaps and forward gold sales. We ask for restrictions in bank lending and that banks set political terms for rescheduling debt that would lead to the end of apartheid.

On investment, we ask that Governments mandate corporations to withdraw their investments in South Africa, repeal double-taxation agreements and provide no tax relief on South African investments. We ask for national legislation to cover

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licensing, franchising and supply of technology to South Africa. When corporations disinvest, we ask that they treat their black employees fairly.

As regards trade, we ask that Governments work towards a steady reduction of trade ties and specifically that they ban imports of South African agricultural goods, manufactures, non-strategic materials, gold, platinum and coal. We ask for a phasing out of trade credits, a strengthening of the arms and oil embargoes and a ban on the export of machine tools and capital equipment to South Africa.

A particularly important recommendation made by our Panel was with reference to South Africa's international debt, much of which would have come due in June 1990. We had urged that the transnational banks which hold this debt should impose strict political conditions for rescheduling. Such a move by the banks would have had an immediate impact. Unfortunately, the major banks holding the debt paid no heed. They rushed to conclude negotiations with South Africa, and the announcement of the agreement in October was yet another indication of the little weight given to moral, humane and ethical considerations in the face of the drive to maximize profits. The rescheduling of the debt, however, does not mean that these banks can exert no pressure on South Africa. In the important matter of short-term trade credits - on which the South African economy is heavily dependent - the major international banks could play a positive and powerful role. It is our hope that they will.

The hasty rescheduling of South Africa's debt by the transnational banks points to an important deficiency in the existing international actions against apartheid: the lack of timely and adequate information about the activities of those who support the system. The banks which refuse to co-operate in exerting pressure on South Africa have much wider interests in Europe, North America and Asia, where there are active anti-apartheid movements with mass followings. If

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they faced the prospect of co-ordinated consumer disaffection with their South African policies, they would have been far more amenable to taking a strong anti-apartheid stand; but broad-based anti-apartheid movements could not act in time to mobilize opinion. The information publicly available was not adequate or timely. This deficiency is further underlined when we consider the implementation of existing sanctions. Though they have been effective in exerting pressure on the South African economy and Government, they are full of loopholes and not observed by all Governments.

Today no Government outside South Africa defends or justifies apartheid; but major countries such as the United Kingdom, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany oppose any effective action to end the system. They try to rationalize their positions with the most convoluted arguments, but few can miss their basic self-interest in the maintenance of apartheid. A welcome departure from the ranks of these countries has been the United States. Since its Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act in 1986 and sustained it against a Presidential veto, the United States has moved with appreciable effect. The Nordic countries too have acted very effectively to curb their links with South Africa. If we have a changed atmosphere today in South Africa, it is in no small measure due to these Governments.

One of the most dispiriting aspects of the current situation is that many Governments - of developed and developing countries alike - routinely and surreptitiously help to circumvent sanctions. These are Governments solemnly committed to taking a wide range of actions against apartheid; yet they cheat. Many of the worst abuses are in the most sensitive areas such as trade in arms, oil and technology. If this information were widely publicized, many of the Governments which now cheat on sanctions could be embarrassed into rectitude.

(Mr. Banana, Zimbabwe)

To increase the effectiveness of "people's sanctions", information is essential. We have made several recommendations to ensure that available information is collected, analysed and disseminated. One of them is that the General Assembly initiate a study of the implementation of existing international sanctions. We ask that this study be a frank one, naming the countries which are surreptitiously or otherwise helping South Africa to maintain apartheid.

A central recommendation of the Panel is that the United Nations set up a monitoring mechanism to provide a regular flow of information on trade and financial flows to and from South Africa. Such a mechanism might also focus international attention on a relatively new phenomenon, the investment by South African transnational corporations in other countries. Armed with such information, we expect that popular anti-apartheid movements will be able to influence corporate policies on South Africa far more effectively than they can at present. I would urge this Assembly to act swiftly with regard to this recommendation, for it could be one of the most effective measures we could take to end apartheid.

In concluding my remarks, let me turn to the future. As I began by saying, there is now a great deal of talk - within and outside South Africa - about the impending demise of apartheid. I would like to underline the concern of the Panel that we do not underestimate the problems that lie ahead or the intransigence of those who currently hold a monopoly of political power in South Africa.

(Mr. Banana, Zimbabwe)

We cannot say when apartheid will end: that is in the hands of the South African people. What we can say is that the community of nations represented here has the collective responsibility to ensure that the struggling people of South Africa receive all the support we are capable of giving. And this refers not only to the abolition of apartheid but to the challenges that lie beyond the end of that criminal system.

We ask that the General Assembly initiate a comprehensive programme of training and education for black South Africans within and outside the country to prepare for those challenges. We call on transnational corporations which have benefited from the abundant wealth of South Africa to play a constructive role not only in helping bring apartheid to an end, but to support these programmes. Together we can play a positive and valuable role in bringing to birth a non-racist and democratic South Africa.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset to convey our thanks and appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid for the important role it is playing in mobilizing and in strengthening international opinion and consolidating the international campaign against apartheid. We also wish to convey our gratitude to the Chairman of that Committee, Major-General Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria, for the competence with which he presides over the Committee. Our appreciation also goes to the members of the Committee and the secretariat of the Centre against Apartheid for the important reports they have submitted to the General Assembly, giving us a comprehensive and detailed survey of the oppressive practices and policies of the Government of South Africa against the black majority and relating acts of aggression committed by South Africa against neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

The United Nations has been making intensive efforts and has adopted many resolutions, including all those adopted by the General Assembly at its regular sessions, notably resolution 43/50 A to K, which, taken as a whole, are aimed at ending the policy of racial discrimination practised by the racist minority Government of South Africa. However, the South African Government continues to defy the will of the international community, violating the principles of the United Nations and rejecting the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The South African Government is still pursuing an oppressive course designed to end all forms of national resistance and step up its undeclared war against the front-line countries within the framework of its policy of destabilization aimed at destroying their economies and thus preventing them from opposing the policy of apartheid and supporting the national resistance movement.

Faced with the continued practices of the racist South African Government, the reimposition of the state of emergency and the continued application of many oppressive laws, that Government's statements on the introduction of certain political changes can only be considered as a public relations move to improve its image and reduce international pressure. The South African apartheid régime represents not only a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the fundamental norms of civilized behaviour by States but also a crime against humanity and a danger to international peace and security. That régime is maintained through the use of force, oppression of the citizens and disregard of basic freedoms; it even resorts to deportation, detention without trial, torture, assassination, unexplained kidnappings and acts of aggression against neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

The international community's support for the struggle of the South African people is making it possible for them to continue their legitimate struggle against injustice and persecution. The leaders of this militant people have shown considerable flexibility in their political positions in order to reach a peaceful settlement. They have proven that they are a peace-loving people wishing to establish a society governed in justice and harmony. They have put forward a series of legitimate demands which, if accepted by the Government of South Africa, would bring about a favourable climate for the holding of constructive negotiations and democratic dialogue with the participation, on an equal footing, of all parties concerned, as the best way to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Despite the unanimous opinion of the international community on this approach, the most recent developments mentioned in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid confirms that:

"Developments in the period under review ... underline the fact that the impasse continues in South Africa, in spite of a number of internal and external developments." (A/44/22, para. 5)

There are people who believe it possible that the leaders of South Africa can be persuaded voluntarily to renounce their policy of apartheid. However, they are mistaken, for the leaders of South Africa strive continually to make their racist régime more effective and impregnable. Since the purposes and principles of the United Nations reflect the conscience and hopes of mankind, it behoves the Organization and its Member States to shoulder their responsibility and carry out their sacred duty to rid mankind of this odious stigma of apartheid. In so doing, the Organization and its Member States must adopt all the necessary measures of deterrence and impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions in order completely to isolate the Government of South Africa at the international level and to compel it quickly to renounce its policy of racial discrimination.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Even if economic sanctions do not yield the required effective and prompt results, they will no doubt have an effect and therefore should be continued and strengthened and the scope of their application should be expanded. I wish to refer to the following recommendation of the Panel of Eminent Persons:

"The Panel feels strongly that the future of South Africa will only be determined by the people of South Africa themselves - black and white. But it also accepts that the continuous tightening of external pressures can and does improve the environment within which pressure can be brought to bear internally on both the Government and the business sector". (A/44/576, para. 19)

We therefore condemn all collaboration between the South African régime and any other country, and we call for an end to all support or assistance to the South African Government. We also condemn the co-operation between the Government of South Africa and Israel, particularly in the nuclear and military fields.

A régime based on racial discrimination, on rejection of the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the population, is in contradiction with the revealed religions and with the principles of the United Nations Charter, to which all States Members of the Organization are committed.

Based on our deep faith in values and morals guaranteeing the dignity and the freedom of man - values and morals that guide our policy - Jordan supports the just demands of the people of South Africa. We pay tribute to that people for its heroic struggle against the policy of apartheid. We are confident that, despite the policy of repression practised by the South African régime, the nationalist forces will pursue their struggle and will continue to mobilize their potential and step up their actions in order to attain their just objectives, regardless of the sacrifices they must make and the time it may take.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

We call upon all countries to abide strictly by all the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions pertaining to the struggle against the policy of apartheid. Those resolutions must be implemented. For if those commitments are respected by all Member States the policy of apartheid will surely disappear.

We appeal to all countries and all organizations to continue to lend moral and material assistance to the people of South Africa so that it can pursue its struggle to gain its rights. Assistance must also be given to the front-line States to bolster their steadfast action and lighten their burden. In that connection, we support the recommendations in paragraph 275 of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, to which I have already referred. We hope that all those recommendations will be implemented.

The present international détente has so far helped to achieve peaceful solutions to a number of regional conflicts in different parts of the world. Active efforts by the United Nations have also played an important role. The most important of those efforts is doubtless the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. That positive development gives us hope that it will be possible to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa.

It will be possible to achieve peace in South Africa only if the entire population, of all colours, participates in the process. It is incumbent upon the Government of South Africa to respond to the voice of reason and speedily engage in a dialogue with the black majority, through its representatives. That Government is deluding itself if it maintains that it can disregard the just demands of the black citizens. It must understand that time is not on its side. On the contrary, only if a constructive dialogue is immediately initiated can peace and understanding, in keeping with moral values and international conventions, replace conflicts and contradictions.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): For decades now the system of apartheid has been disturbing the stability and security of the whole southern part of the African continent, and it is still a serious threat to international peace and security. The system - a totalitarian enterprise described in an international Convention as a crime against humanity - is also a crime against mankind's peace and security, because it is an outrage to the essence of the human condition.

Apartheid is a despicable form of racial discrimination, imposed by a minority régime on the entire South African population, whose sovereignty and most elementary rights it flouts. It is perpetuated through the use of brute force, savage repression and increasing criminal acts of intimidation and economic and political destabilization against independent neighbouring States.

We are again discussing the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, as we have done every year for, alas, far too long. But the situation of the people of South Africa is still tragic. In order to assert its domination, the racist régime uses all the repressive means available to it, including increasingly frequent recourse to vigilantes recruited and armed by the police forces.

The repression is not confined to acts of violence by the police forces. It includes arbitrary arrests, mass imprisonment, detention without charges or trial, torture and summary execution. No one is safe: not militants or trade union leaders, not the clergy, not women, not children. There are now some 30,000 children under the age of 18 in the Pretoria régime's hideous gaols; children are the preferred target of police brutality.

But the unleashing of repressive violence by the Pretoria régime, bringing unspeakable suffering to the South African people; the indefinite extension

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

of the state of emergency, giving unlimited powers to the police forces; and the summary execution of patriots cannot weaken in any way the resolve of the South African people to regain all their rights by all means possible. In fact, all this does is make them resist the hateful system of apartheid even more. This resolve of the South African majority to struggle until apartheid has been totally eliminated has been repeatedly demonstrated by the many mass demonstrations organized in the townships and the various general strikes.

Confronted by the scope of the people's resistance to the policy of apartheid and the extension of that resistance to the country as a whole and to all the components of society, including religious leaders and institutions, the Pretoria régime, having imposed harsh restrictions on the national and foreign media and having banned all political activity by anti-apartheid organizations, in the hope - a vain hope - of stifling the calls for the freedom of the South African people and of concealing from the rest of the world the harsh reality of apartheid, had no choice but to agree to the holding of the huge mass demonstration in Johannesburg organized by the African National Congress (ANC) on 29 October last.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

The breadth of the people's movement, which totally rejects the apartheid system, has shaken the very foundations of the racist régime. The political crisis that led to the resignation of the former South African President and the recent release of political leaders is also symptomatic of the disarray within the régime.

The minority South African régime also imposes this infernal cycle of violence on the independent States in the region by systematically destroying their economic infrastructures in order to increase their dependence and discourage them from supporting the legitimate struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and from assisting the national liberation movements of those peoples. These acts of aggression and destabilization, which have so far cost the nine countries in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) several billion dollars and countless human lives, are still being accompanied by constant military support for the subversive forces of UNITA in Angola and RENAMO in Mozambique, despite the positive developments taking place in the region.

Even if the Pretoria régime has, over the years, succeeded in strengthening its military capability and power, it has done so only by means of a carefully concocted network of underhand agreements which demonstrate scorn for the arms embargo. In this connection, the report on the recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa and the latest revelations by the media testify eloquently to the extensive collusion between the two régimes made possible by the technological assistance in this area which they constantly receive.

It is clear from this that the racist Pretoria régime's ability to keep up its defiance is based on the closely linked interests between South Africa and some countries which, by giving it succour in its intransigence, considerably reduce the

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actual scope and impact of the various measures so far adopted - whether individually or collectively - against it. The support South Africa continues to receive, by giving it the sure knowledge that sanctions of this kind will not be implemented, also guarantees it total impunity in its attempt to achieve regional hegemony and gives it succour in its attitude of defiance of the international community's efforts to put an end to the policy of apartheid. In persisting in this attitude, the apartheid régime is itself providing proof of its inability to reform, proof that the only cure for this debasing scourge is total eradication through immediate and joint action by the whole international community.

That being the case, it falls once again to the Security Council to take over from the General Assembly and finally adopt the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

In reaffirming my country's unwavering support for, and solidarity with, the legitimate representatives of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia - the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - and also for the front-line States, in their just struggle against apartheid, I once again pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its constant efforts to keep world public opinion continually informed of Pretoria's criminal activities, and to eliminate this hateful system once and for all.

Mr. LEWIS (Antigua and Barbuda): The arguments of the apartheid régime in South Africa that sanctions do not work and that the situation has been defused have been proved to be baseless. They have been merely an attempt by the racist régime to stave off sanctions of a more comprehensive nature. In reality, the tide of history is moving steadily against the evil régime. Recent events have amply demonstrated that South Africa's political and economic power has withered, and it would be a benefit to the régime to work quickly to fashion a new society based on justice and equity, or be faced with severe and gruesome consequences.

(Mr. Lewis, Antigua and Barbuda)

The racist régime continues to labour under the illusion that certain interests will always be in its corner in times of difficulty, and the recent refinancing of its debt gives it further encouragement. Defenders of lost causes often fight bitterly, and even though neither justice nor the tide of history is on their side, any glimmer of support can be used as sustenance. When one reads of what took place before a United Nations panel in Geneva early in September, at which leaders of South African business tried to present arguments that sanctions do not work, and when one reads their replies to questions, one realizes that the recent refinancing of their debt will simply allow business to continue as usual. A member of the South African team before the United Nations panel, Manfred Graf von Roon, put forward the fanciful notion that everyone to the left of Mr. Andries Treunicht's hard-line racist Conservative Party was a reformer at heart. When asked what reforms his group would most like to see, von Roon replied: "The repeal of the group areas act and more training for Blacks". He could not bring himself to suggest what all witnesses claimed to be their eventual aim: the abolition of apartheid and the advent of one man, one vote.

No, the racists will not accept the concept of one person, one vote, and they have been refinanced to continue business as usual. In Washington, Representative Howard Wolpe, Democrat of Michigan, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, was to state, painfully:

"I am very disappointed with the response of the banking community. This action represents an enormous boost for the defenders of apartheid. At a time that pressure is being mounted to bring about negotiations, this action is taken that substantially reduces that pressure".

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President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia put it more bluntly:

"Bankers are sucking the blood by supporting South Africa. They are bloodsuckers".

They are giving succour to a régime which provided the framework for the Reverend Allen Aubrey Boesak to preach an entire sermon with a South African soldier pointing a loaded machine gun at his head. And now we have been made to understand that South Africa has test-fired an intermediate-range ballistic missile that could carry nuclear warheads.

The régime upon which the banking interests have smiled so favourably is the same one which has manifested again and again that it cannot be trusted. It is the régime in which, in spite of the efforts of many countries, and in spite of its own pledges and promises, continues to place obstacles in the way of the independence process in Namibia and blatantly fabricates stories for the world-wide media. We know for example that the recent allegations by South Africa that the Black nationalists had crossed into Namibia from Angola a week before the Territory's free independence elections were based on phony radio messages. Hopefully, the elections starting in Namibia today - 7 November - will be allowed to proceed without interference from the racist forces. It is the same régime which deliberately arranges tours for visitors so that they can see only what the régime desires them to see, and which recruits "scholars" such as Colin Vale of the University of Witwatersrand to diffuse its Nazi philosophy in a journal as reputable as Global Affairs. But, repeatedly, the truth comes to the surface.

The British sporting journal The Cricketer is not a publication in which one would normally look for an indictment against apartheid, but in the issue of August this year one finds precisely that, by David Sheppard, the Archbishop of Liverpool.

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That eminent individual, who has received international acclaim for his endeavours both on the sporting field and in the area of theology, went to South Africa to see for himself the realities of the so-called improvements that had been presented in various forms of the media. Accompanying that gentleman from the Church of England were his wife and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, Derek Worlock.

Sheppard described the efforts made by the South African authorities to be selective in what they exposed visitors to, but Sheppard and his team took it upon themselves to get a true perspective of the South African scenario. From his investigations the Bishop was forced to state the following:

"What most coloured our impressions was to visit more than a dozen black or Coloured Townships: we sometimes stayed overnight, visited people in their homes, saw a variety of projects, listened at length to those who live and work there and talked with groups in the street. We had been told by many sportsmen and visitors that things are getting better, that apartheid is rapidly crumbling and that the troubles have calmed down ... We found to the contrary a situation which was much more terrible than we imagined."

The Group of Eminent Persons from the Commonwealth of Nations gave us a detailed study of South African existence. Now a group, including two English bishops, has seen for itself what truly exists. Yet, we hesitate to apply stiffer and more comprehensive sanctions. Workers have spoken, trade union officials have endorsed their statements, old men and maidens, children and matrons, have all testified to the realities of everyday living in South Africa. Eminent individuals have pronounced, and we continue to take half measures.

The Bishop of Liverpool stated that, however much "petty apartheid" has been removed, "grand apartheid" is firmly in place. Issues of policy about land,

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segregation, education, the police and how decisions are made all come to the surface. Yet, in spite of all this, responsible people are seeing sincerity in the utterings of one F. W. De Klerk, and the masquerading of the present Government.

Antigua and Barbuda, in viewing the new leadership under F. W. De Klerk, recognizes that the Government of South Africa has no intention of responding to efforts of reason, logic, morality or persuasion. We in Antigua and Barbuda adhere to the philosophy that all people are equal and have the same right to human dignity, irrespective of race, sex or religious preference. We cannot accept the right of any single group to govern the majority of people in a society without their consent. Neither can we accept the right of any country to engage deliberately in action to destabilize its neighbours because they seek justice and equity for the oppressed. We see apartheid as sponsoring depression, degradation, deprivation and the severest forms of dehumanization.

Consequently, it behoves all peace-loving and egalitarian societies to apply the utmost pressure to help intensify the liberation struggle in South Africa so that it can be transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. Be it remembered that the Pretoria régime held elections on 6 September, which excluded the overwhelming majority of the Azanian people.*

Sir Sridath Ramphal's statement in the foreword to the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, "Mission to South Africa", is worthy of constant repetition. He stated:

"Apartheid must end. It will end, if necessary, through a bloody struggle whose cost in lives may be counted in millions and whose agonies will

* Mr. Jaya (Brunei Darussalam), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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reverberate in every corner of our multi-racial world. But it could end by peaceful means - by a genuine process of negotiation - once white South Africa accepts that the evil system by which it has sustained its dominance must end and is ready by deeds to bring it about."

It is clear that sanctions, even though they fall short of what the majority of countries in the world have demanded, are bringing significant pressure to bear upon the apartheid régime. The majority population has accepted the fact that additional suffering caused by sanctions is an essential part of the price of ending the greater suffering inflicted by apartheid.

We recognize that apartheid cannot be reformed and, that being so, call for its deracination. South Africans of all races, colours and creeds must come together on the basis of total and complete equality in exercising their right to self-determination. We call once again for the introduction of sanctions of a comprehensive and mandatory nature. Antigua and Barbuda vehemently rejects the argument that mandatory sanctions would not only be ineffective but create unbearable hardships to black South Africans and to the inhabitants of the front-line States. We wish to recall that the front-line States have not been hesitant in applying sanctions and of themselves have made many sacrifices in an effort to advance the cause of the dehumanized inhabitants of South Africa.

Finally, we call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all the remaining political prisoners.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): First, I should like to extend my delegation's thanks to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its very full report (A/44/22 and Corr.2). I thank it for all its efforts to keep the international public well informed of the grave events taking

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place in South Africa. In particular, I should like to thank and express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your work as Chairman of the Committee and for your constant efforts to ensure the ending of that human tragedy.

For over 40 years the international community has been condemning the régime in power in South Africa. For many years the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity have adopted resolution after resolution aimed at the ending of the system of apartheid. But that régime still pursues the same abhorrent racist policy. Suppression and political trials continue and death sentences are still carried out, thousands of individuals, including Nelson Mandela, the leader of the South African freedom fighters, remain in gaol. Gangs of members of the national security forces, death squads and secret service gangs continue to liquidate political activists and destabilize the communities of the black majority. Such actions flout international resolutions and conventions, just as the other racist régime, in Palestine, flouts all United Nations resolutions, treaties and conventions and pursues an abhorrent racist policy against the Arab people of Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories.

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Part two of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/44/22 and Corr.2), contains irrefutable proof, derived from reliable sources, of the collaboration between the two régimes in the nuclear and military fields. Furthermore, the report states that South African generals, in civilian clothes, are advising the Zionists on how to curb the valiant Palestinian uprising. There is little need for me to review what the international mass media have reported recently on the collaboration.

Today more than ever before the international community is called upon to close its ranks in the common struggle to put an end to that régime. The most important means of forcing that régime to change and to comply with the will of the international community is by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The boycott has proved fully successful and we must not listen to those that claim that sanctions would not be completely effective and could be prejudicial to the interests of the black majority. This is a truism that barely masks ill will. Those are futile arguments, desperate attempts to protect certain countries' economic interests in South Africa. The sanctions that have been applied have, in fact, affected the economy of the racist régime. Therefore those measures must be stepped up until we achieve our objective, the total elimination of racial discrimination, so that the people of South Africa may be enabled to determine their own future in full freedom.

We call on those countries that have economic relations with the racist régime to put an end to those relations. We ask them to implement immediately against racist South Africa the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. All countries must strictly abide by the sanctions that have been decided upon.

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I am happy to state from this rostrum that my country, a member of the Organization of African Unity and a Member of the United Nations, is fully committed to all the resolutions that have been adopted in this respect. My country has no relations with that régime in any area whatsoever.

Despite some positive changes that have occurred in Namibia in the context of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we must remain vigilant and not relax our guard until Namibia accedes to independence and takes its proper place among the nations of the world as an independent, sovereign State. The Pretoria régime is well known for its deceitfulness, for breaking promises and for obfuscation and prevarication. Namibian independence must not be a pretext for some to try to circumvent the boycott or to make South Africa appear to be a country that has changed its policy. Namibian independence is one thing; eradication of the policy of apartheid is another. We look forward to the day when independent Namibia will join us in our common struggle to put an end to the racist régime in South Africa.

Today more than ever before the community of nations is called upon to support the front-line States in Africa, stand at their side and give them all possible help and support. The white minority must understand that the world has changed and that in the last part of the twentieth century we cannot tolerate disdain for a human being simply because of the colour of his skin or his creed.

I wish to pay tribute to the militant people of South Africa struggling for their freedom and their rights. My country stands shoulder to shoulder with them and fully supports their cause of bringing an end to the odious, outrageous human tragedy in Africa.

Mr. SAEED SAAD (Sudan): Apartheid is correctly characterized as a crime against humanity and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international

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instruments. The entire community of nations is rightly convinced that apartheid policies are the root cause of instability and conflict in southern Africa and a permanent threat to international peace and security. Therefore the apartheid régime in Pretoria remains exposed to mounting resistance from the people of South Africa and to condemnation from the international community.

Domestic and international pressure should indeed be continuous and effective, so that the Pretoria régime will find itself increasingly vulnerable and unable to pursue those inhumane policies. To achieve this goal it is imperative that full and increasing support be given to the people of South Africa and their liberation movement to enable them to continue their legitimate struggle for a united, democratic and non-racist State. Furthermore, the international community must, by concerted action, step up pressure on the apartheid régime by strictly implementing and imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions according to Chapter VII of the Charter.

Failure to abide by the Assembly's resolutions calling for the implementation of sanctions and to call instead for their relaxation is in effect synonymous with lending support to the racist régime at a time when the crisis it is facing is at its height. Not only that, but the news carried to us the other day tells how apartheid policies are being strengthened - the news, that is, of the nuclear co-operation and assistance Pretoria is receiving from Israel, in defiance of the world consensus.

Contrary to such deplorable behaviour, we continue to support unconditionally and uncompromisingly the people of South Africa and their liberation movement in their legitimate struggle against the apartheid régime using all the means available to them, including armed struggle. Equally, it must be recognized that the movement's long-standing position is to achieve its goals by peaceful means.

(Mr. Saeed Saad, Sudan)

Thus it is the responsibility of the apartheid régime to make a negotiated political settlement a viable option. This will be possible if, and only if, all political prisoners and detainees are unconditionally released, all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons are lifted, all troops are removed from townships, the state of emergency is ended, restrictive laws are repealed, and political trials and executions cease.

These alone can be the first steps in the right direction. They are the necessary initial conditions of a free and meaningful political discussion leading to the eradication of the policies of apartheid in South Africa.

Mr. VAZQUEZ (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again Argentina wishes to raise its voice against the cruel policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. My country associates itself with the international community's repeated condemnation of this ignominious régime in many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. That condemnation, which is reiterated year after year, is gathering strength. For, with every passing year, it becomes more difficult to understand how a régime based on intolerance and racial discrimination can persist. I say it is difficult to understand because, as we approach the end of a century characterized by impressive technological and social progress, and given the present climate of détente in international relations, the possibility of such a régime surviving is inconceivable.

However, the South African racist régime's policies and practices of apartheid exist and persist, thereby endangering international and regional peace and security. For that reason, the Organization must find an appropriate way to eliminate once and for all this racist régime which is depriving the South African people of its fundamental rights.

Individual action by States, although useful and necessary, is not sufficient. We have often pointed out, and we stress today, that only concerted action by all States Members of the United Nations, including those which have the most significant relations with Pretoria, can be an effective instrument in the struggle against apartheid.

In this regard, countries members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are convinced that the way to compel the South African Government to end the despicable, anachronistic apartheid régime is to adopt new decisions that would extend the scope of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). In fact, the most

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appropriate, effective and peaceful option for the attainment of that goal is the imposition of additional mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Pretoria régime continues to disregard the repeated appeals by the international community. In this connection, we deplore the racist Government's decision of 12 June this year to extend the state of emergency, once again postponing the creation of the climate necessary for a solution to the problems of South Africa.

The presidential elections recently held in South Africa, in which 70 per cent of the population was denied the right to vote, were an affront to and a negation of the most basic principles that should govern an electoral process. They reflect a mentality which must be eradicated.

This lack of any intention to eliminate the most violent and offensive activities of the discriminatory Pretoria régime fully warrant the active resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa, who deserve the understanding and support of all the States represented here.

There can be no doubt that there will be no peace, stability or justice in the region so long as apartheid rules in South Africa. We therefore appeal to the Pretoria Government to put an end to the state of emergency and revoke all legislation, such as the Internal Security Law, aimed at curbing political activity, and to proceed to the unconditional and completely unrestricted release of all political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela. All these steps must be directed towards the abolition of apartheid, so that the South African people may enjoy the benefits of a free, democratic, non-racist society.

In this context, we think that the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa that is to be

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convened will be of great interest. We hope that that special session will make a concrete contribution to freeing the South African people from the infamous policy of apartheid.

In conclusion, I congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on its laudable work, and I thank Ambassador Garba for the tireless efforts and professional skills he has placed at the service of the Committee.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Because of the racist position so stubbornly held by the South African Government and the continued institutionalization of its policies of apartheid, the black people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population in South Africa, have continued to suffer discrimination and oppression and remain deprived of their basic political and economic rights. It is therefore very necessary for the current session of the General Assembly once again to consider the question of the policies of apartheid of the South African Government, as it is the responsibility and obligation of the United Nations to live up to the principles enshrined in its Charter and to uphold international justice.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

The South African régime has long practised the reactionary system of apartheid and pushed the policy of so-called separate racial development. Under this reactionary rule the vast numbers of black people are subjected to every kind of discrimination just because of the colour of their skin. The régime has evicted the black population from their homeland under its bantustan plans. It has declared black organizations illegal, wilfully arresting their leaders and putting them behind bars. It has also banned petitions, protest marches and demonstrations by black people. Furthermore, it has maintained a nation-wide state of emergency and imposed security regulations through which to persecute black people, while indulging outrageously in their suppression and in killing them.

The perverse behaviour of the South African régime has not only exhausted the forbearance of black people in the country so that they have countered it with civil disobedience or open resistance, but also aroused the condemnation and opposition of the entire international community. Many countries have refused to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa or to have anything to do with its Government. Some international agreements aimed at imposing economic sanctions against South Africa have been adopted. The international sports community has decided to boycott South Africa in world sports events. All this fully demonstrates how deeply detested are the policies of apartheid of the South African Government. In the course of consideration of this item during the current session of the General Assembly dozens of persons representing various social groups and organizations and individuals from across the world have applied to testify before the Special Political Committee. With abundant facts, they have exposed the racist acts of the South African Government and strongly demanded that it put an end to its apartheid system.

The Chinese Government and people have always supported the South African people in their just struggle against apartheid. We are of the view that apartheid

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and racism are out of tune and totally incompatible with the present time of human progress, civilization, ethics and legality, and should therefore be completely abolished.

Thanks to the persistent struggle by black people, as well as enlightened white people, in South Africa, thanks to the common efforts of the international community, and thanks to the prevailing tide in the world situation, characterized by relaxation of tension, there have been some changes in the domestic and foreign policies of the South African Government. Mr. De Clerk, the new President of South Africa, has expressed his readiness to talk with the black people on some domestic issues. Former African National Congress (ANC) General-Secretary Mr. Sisulu and seven other political prisoners who were in gaol for many years have now been released. However, to date the South African authorities have given no indication that they will truly abandon their policies of apartheid, and a handful of extreme right-wing and Conservative whites are still trying to preserve their privileges by any and every means.

We do not believe that the system of apartheid can be changed in part; it must be dismantled in its totality. The resolutions on combating apartheid adopted by the United Nations over the years contain many reasonable propositions and proposals. Not long ago the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted the Harare Declaration on the question of southern Africa, which set forth its principled position on a political settlement of the South African question. The ninth summit conference of the countries of the Non-Alignment Movement issued a strong call for the early elimination of the apartheid system. We urge the South African authorities to get - and hope that they will get - a clear understanding of the situation, go along with the trend of history and meet the wishes of the South African people by immediately abolishing the apartheid We

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system as well as all racially discriminatory laws and decrees in the country. call on the South African Government to release immediately and unconditionally the black leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, lift the nation-wide state of emergency and remove the bans on such anti-apartheid organizations as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), while conducting a dialogue with them on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, free and racially equal South Africa. We call on the international community to continue to put powerful pressure and imposing effective sanctions on the South African authorities and give vigorous support and active assistance to the struggle of the South African people until the final victory ending the apartheid system is won.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.