



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 4 March 1988, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. PEJIC

(Yugoslavia)

Members:

Algeria
Argentina
Brazil
China
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Italy
Japan
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
United Kingdom
United States of America
Zambia

Mr. DJOUDI
Mr. DELPECH
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KAGAMI
Mr. RANA
Mr. SARRE

Mr. BELONOGOV
Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. OKUN
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

LETTER DATED 2 MARCH 1988 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SIERRA LEONE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19567)

LETTER DATED 2 MARCH 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZAMBIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19568)

The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed, I should like to make the following statement.

Several members of the Council have approached me and drawn my attention to yesterday's statement of the representative of South Africa at the meeting of the Council.

I myself had noticed that that statement was full of arrogant accusations against this Council and the United Nations, which only reflects the policies of South Africa that are strongly rejected by the international community. The representatives who approached me strongly expressed the view that the statement of the representative of South Africa was an affront to the international community, the United Nations and this august body, and absolutely unacceptable. This only shows that South Africa is determined to continue its racist policies in disregard of the international community and decisions of the United Nations.

I share these views with all of you. I thought I had to make this statement.

In accordance with the decision taken at the 2793rd meeting, I invite the representatives of Guyana, Sierra Leone and South Africa to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Insanally (Guyana), Mr. Obazeh Kargbo (Sierra Leone) and Mr. Manley (South Africa) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria and Tunisia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria) and Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 3 March 1988 from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Special Committee I have the honour to request, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to be invited to participate in the Council's consideration of the question of South Africa."

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. There being no objection, it is so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/19573, a letter dated 1 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Guyana to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/19574, a letter dated 3 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/19576, a letter dated 3 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is Mr. Helmut Angula, Permanent Representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at the 2793rd meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANGULA: Allow me first of all to extend our congratulations to you, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. Your country, Yugoslavia, has the best of relations with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), as a consequence of your admirable policies of non-alignment and unreserved solidarity and support for the struggle of peoples under colonial domination. We wish you a successful tenure of office.

In the same vein, I should like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Vernon Walters of the United States, who so ably carried out the work of the Council as its President during the month of February.

Once again the Council is called upon to discuss the serious situation in South Africa and the consequences of the policies of apartheid of the Pretoria régime. The international community, and Africa in particular, has received with consternation and indignation the news of further Draconian measures, announced on 23 February 1988, by the Boer régime, restricting 17 anti-apartheid and other democratic organizations inside South Africa, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), which has won national as well as international recognition as the most representative front uniting most of the democratic and progressive forces inside South Africa. The apartheid régime has also placed restrictions on the movements and actions of several opponents of apartheid.

The latest move by the Pretoria régime to clamp down on the only available means of peaceful protest is further proof of the falsehood of the supporters and apologists of the racist régime and its claim that Botha and his henchmen were committed to "reform" in South Africa. These and other repressive measures already taken by the Botha clique against organizations dedicated to peaceful and non-violent form of struggle expose once more the notion that apartheid repressive measures are directed against what they call "external and subversive forces".

(Mr. Angula)

Apartheid as a political doctrine is anti-human and therefore anti-democratic. It has been rightly internationally condemned as a crime against humanity. It is intolerant, violent, sinful and therefore incapable of human consideration. Its perpetrators are really criminals who enjoy tormenting their victims. After incarcerating leaders and activists of the liberation movements, they have now come down heavy-handedly upon organizations that openly advocate and are committed to peaceful change in South Africa. Even the church has not escaped racist brutality. The truth is that the white supremacists find it hard to exist without violence. In other words, it is not in the nature of the South African régime to survive without brutal repression and terrorizing the democratic forces and the masses of the people.

The racist attitude towards the African people was best stated by one of the relatives of Piet Retief, one of the Boer Trek leaders who in 1876 explained the reasons for the Trek as follows:

"There are shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves" - and I underline "our slaves" - "and yet it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such lengths as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and colour, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrine in purity".

Such is the extremism of the Boer mentality, past and present. And representatives have heard here how the representative of the Boer régime yesterday treated this recognized and lofty international body with contempt. I am sure they can now imagine how its policy and army treat the African people in South Africa, in Namibia and in the neighbouring African countries.

(Mr. Angula)

The racist régime of South Africa has over the years unleashed all kinds of Fascist and brutal methods ever known in human history against the black majority in South Africa and Namibia in the protection of white privileges. The oppressed masses of the people have, however, risen to the occasion, determined not only to remove those privileges but also once and for all to do away with the system of racist supremacy and create a free non-racial and democratic society. They have clearly demonstrated that no amount of repression will stand in their march to that noble goal. The recent imposition of restrictions on the peaceful and democratic forces in South Africa by the Botha régime is bound to fail, as did the imposition of the state of emergency, the military occupation of the townships, the detention of tens of thousands of opponents of the apartheid State and the muzzling of the media. All those brutal actions against the people are clear manifestations of a régime that is desperate and frustrated by conditions of its own making.

SWAPO of Namibia joins the international community at large in strongly condemning the racist régime for its latest assault on the peaceful and democratic forces in South Africa.

The Security Council is meeting for the fourth time in a period of five months on charges against racist South Africa. That is to say, almost every month this body must meet to deliberate on the apartheid crimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and southern Africa as a whole.

We all know that no progress has yet been made on the implementation of resolutions 601 (1987) and 602 (1987) of October and November 1987 respectively. A small number of the members of this Council indeed do share in the responsibility of preventing this Council from taking effective measures against the criminal apartheid régime. Certain delegations in this Chamber are ever itching to cast a negative vote on draft resolutions at hand, in defence of the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Angula)

Indeed, it is those negative votes that continue to spell death and destruction in southern Africa.

Approximately two weeks ago my people suffered another terrible massacre at the hands of racist South Africa. The racist army planted a bomb in a bank in northern Namibia which exploded, killing 27 innocent people and wounding more than 90 others.

Our nation is mourning and burying its dead, not only victims of racist South Africa's policy of illegal occupation and regional hegemony but also victims as the direct result of the policies of linkage and negative votes in this Security Council Chamber.

SWAPO has accepted, as did South Africa - at least so we are told - the holding of United Nations organized and supervised elections in Namibia; yet, the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) seems to be still a long way off, 10 years after its adoption.

(Mr. Angula)

The desire of our people for internationally organized elections in Namibia remains firm. The United States has no business making our freedom conditional on issues outside Namibia's borders. Why is it bad that elections should be held in Namibia when they are taking place in the United States? Can the United States representative tell this Council why his country wants elections in Nicaragua and Panama, but objects to the United Nations carrying out its mandate in Namibia? Can he please tell us? Our people want to know. Our people have been hounded by the policy of linkage. How many more years must we continue to suffer before these friends of Pretoria make up their minds?

In the meantime, while demands are placed on Angola to dispense with the friendly Cuban forces, racist South Africa carries out unimpeded military attacks against that sister country on a daily basis, causing untold suffering for that newly independent African nation. The southern part of Angola continues to be ravaged by the racist troops of aggression and occupation. Angolan people - men, women and children - are daily murdered in cold blood. The social and economic infrastructure of that country has been and continues to be destroyed by the racist army. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola are violated every day by the Pretoria régime. Certainly, there are those who cheer for and support such naked aggression. How can we conclude otherwise, when the friends of Pretoria shamelessly tell the international community about the so-called genuine security interests of the racist South African régime? Such so-called security, as we have come to know over the years, means that the blood of the African peoples, including and in particular that of the peoples of Namibia and neighbouring African countries such as Angola, is spilled in their own land by the racist aggressors. What logic is this? Whatever has happened to international law and order?

(Mr. Angula)

History has taught us that the racist rulers in Pretoria today represent the hegemonistic ambitions of their Boer ancestors, who attempted back in 1881 to conquer Angola. In fact, a group of them occupied a portion of Cunene province, conniving with the Portuguese colonialists in their war against the Angolan people. The heroic revolutionary struggle of the Angolan people, which culminated in the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, shattered the wild dreams of the racist rulers and their imperialist allies, who today continue to support them, no matter how blatant, fascistic and indefensible their policies and actions in southern Africa are. It is common knowledge that virtually all independent African States in the region are victims of racist aggression and destabilization, whether through direct military attacks or through armed bandits, such as those of UNITA and RENAMO, which are nothing other than instruments in the service of Pretoria's hegemonistic agenda. We know that Washington has again joined Pretoria in this campaign against the African people.

Our simple question to the friends of Pretoria is this: How long are they going to continue their shameful association with the delinquents, criminals and rapists in Pretoria, whose fascist mentality and political bankruptcy make them historical outcasts in a civilized world? When are they going to realize that the African people are human beings of flesh and blood just like other human beings, no matter what colour skin they have? When are they going to realize that African blood has been spilled too long by those apostles of apartheid, with their direct or indirect support and connivance?

The racist régime of South Africa has been allowed for too long to commit murder and destruction in South Africa and Namibia and in the region as a whole. It is high time the international community took firm action in support of humanity. We are here today to demand the imposition of comprehensive mandatory

(Mr. Angula)

sanctions against the racist rulers in Pretoria. Specifically, we call upon the United States Administration, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany to rethink their policies of protecting the apartheid régime in this Chamber through their negative votes, which have always prevented urgently needed action by the Security Council, which is charged with the defence of humanity and the maintenance of international peace and security. For every delay, by commission or omission, means more death for our people, who only demand the right to determine their own future and to live in freedom, justice and peace.

In conclusion, we take this opportunity to express our militant and fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress of South Africa, in their legitimate struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Their struggle is our struggle, and we will march with them, hand in hand, until final victory is achieved.

The struggle continues; victory is certain.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Angula for his recognition of the policies of my country and for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Lesaoana Makhanda, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at the 2793rd meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKHANDA: I wish the Council grace and peace.

The delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the custodian of the genuine and true aspirations of the discriminated-against, the oppressed, the exploited and the dispossessed, but the resisting African majority, expresses its appreciation for the invitation extended to it by the Security Council.

(Mr. Makhanda)

I should like to extend our warmest congratulations to you, Sir, and to your delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. My delegation is pleased to see a distinguished diplomat from a principled country with which we have been closely associated for many hard and difficult years presiding over the deliberations of the Council on an issue that has challenged the whole of mankind for 40 years. The principled stand taken by your country, Yugoslavia, in other similar situations of struggle in our region of southern Africa has led to hope, and ultimately to total independence, for those you have helped. We do not think we will be an exception. I am confident that your great diplomatic skills and long experience in such matters will guide the Council's deliberations to a successful conclusion.

(Mr. Makhanda)

My delegation would also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vernon Walters, Permanent Representative of the United States of America for the able manner in which he directed the proceedings of the Council last month. Moreover, we wish to express our appreciation for the unconditional support he and other permanent members of this Council gave to a statement of December 1987, contained in Press Release SC/4965, asking for clemency for the Sharpeville Six: Mojaleta Sefatsa, Reid Mokoena, Oupa Diniso, Duma Khumalo, Don Mokhesi and Miss Theresa Ramashomola, whose relatives are here with us today.

I am not going to bore the Council with the details of why we are here. The Permanent Observer of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) set forth those details very well yesterday, and I believe in a convincing manner. My delegation shares the views he expressed, and so has another compatriot of ours, from Namibia, who spoke just before me.

Our common position was made even more explicit and specific by Major-General Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; Mr. Kargbo, Chairman of the African Group for this month, and Mr. Sarre, a member of the Security Council. All of them asked for concrete action and warned that violence may escalate if no action is taken by this Council.

The South African authorities, on the other hand, told this body that "we reject your accusations with contempt and invite you to do your damndest". (S/PV.2793, p. 16)

In 1969 my organization, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), launched a peaceful demonstration against the hated pass laws. Some 69 of our people were shot dead. There are people today living in Sharpeville who can testify that some of those who were killed were shot only after they had been injured and lay helpless on the ground. After that horrendous act, the Pan Africanist Congress of

(Mr. Makhanda)

Azania and other organizations were banned - for being non-violent. The international community chastised the racist authorities in Pretoria. Life continued as usual among the oppressors in my country.

Come 1976, there was again a peaceful protest against some of the racist régime's regulations, this time mostly by students - a perfectly healthy development in any civilized society. Over 800 of those students ended up brutalized, massacred and murdered - 800 children killed in a matter of weeks. They were in their school uniforms - not military uniforms, not in camouflage: they were in their school uniforms.

A year later, in 1977, 18 black organizations were banned for doing nothing but helping the African community recover from the trauma of 1976 through self-help projects, literacy campaigns and other support services. Our President, Zephania Mothopeng, who was instrumental in such schemes, was sentenced to 30 years in gaol two years later, in 1979. Steve Biko was brutally killed in the same year that the black organizations were banned. All those organizations were engaged in efforts to ensure a peaceful transformation of the black community.

Again the international community chastised the racist authorities in Pretoria - and life continued as usual among the oppressors and their apologists abroad.

The events of 24 February 1988 are merely a repetition of the 1977 and 1960 eras. Any half-wit analysing this period and seeing the action or actions taken or not taken by this body could, without any doubt, afford to say exactly what Mr. Albert Leslie Manley of racist South Africa said yesterday,

"we... invite you [the Security Council] to do your damndest" (ibid.)

The Security Council never took any punitive action when defenceless, unarmed, peaceful men, women and children were shot while demonstrating. The Security

(Mr. Makhanda)

Council never took any punitive action when siblings in short pants or gym dresses, carrying school-bags, were shot dead while marching peacefully. Witness the way Hector Pietersen is dressed in the picture that has come to symbolize the Soweto national uprising.

Does one need to be a genius to know that no action will be taken since the violation by the racist régime in Pretoria is, in the eyes of those that may have power and responsibility, not as grave as, for example, the nationalization of some multinational corporations by a developing country? Had the latter taken place, not only would sanctions be invoked, but military action would surely be under serious consideration.

In some people's scheme of things, material things have a much greater value than human life, especially if that life is housed within a dark-shaded body. How otherwise can one explain the hordes of unarmed, neo-Nazi extremists marching publicly, without any fear of being even reprimanded by the authorities in a country that is in a state of emergency? But a peaceful group of unarmed - nay, cassock-clad and Bible-carrying - clergy is intercepted and broken up by police, and the leaders are detained in gaol; the only metal items on the bodies of these religious leaders are the crucifixes hanging and visibly displayed on their chests.

With regard to six young persons - one of them a young lady whose mother, Julia Ramashamola, is here with us today - it has been determined by all courts in my country that none of them had in any way physically contributed to the death on 3 September 1984 of a local councillor, Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, but that they happened to be part of a crowd that had an intention to kill. Because of that they are guilty of murder and have to hang. The State brought no evidence that the deceased died from action inflicted by any person in that crowd. Dlamini could have died from a heart attack, but six young people have to hang to vindicate the

(Mr. Makhanda)

obnoxious evil that is apartheid. One just has to hold Mrs. Julia Ramashamola's hand to feel the anxiety that is slowly destroying her nervous system, to realize how traumatic the apartheid evil is. The evil that is apartheid is real. Are these six young lives worthless because they are housed in some dark-shaded body? Are we witnessing the old racist position that held that "if anything goes wrong, catch yourself any nigger and lynch him"? Apartheid is real. It is brutal. By its inaction, the Security Council contributes to the lynching that goes on in racist South Africa.

(Mr. Makhanda)

The Azanian people cannot sit idly by and watch this evil multiply. Inaction is ungodly; it is evil itself. The Azanian people are a God-fearing people. We are therefore bound to act, and we must; thus the establishment of the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee after the banning last week of 17 organizations and individuals.

By invoking comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, this body would contribute enormously to the eradication of the evil system of apartheid. The Council can make mandatory the already existing measures that have been taken by the European Economic Community and the United States, supported by Japan and other countries, and agreed upon generally.

We believe that if the Council can do that, instead of Mr. Albert Leslie Manley's saying "we ... invite you to do your damndest", (S/PV.2793, p. 16) he might say "Help us eradicate this scourge, this evil, this crime against humanity." Only then, we believe, can we turn our swords into ploughshares.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Makhanda for his recognition of the policies of my country and his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): Allow me first, Sir, to offer my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I am confident that the Council's deliberations will richly benefit from your broad diplomatic experience and great leadership skill, and I assure you of my delegation's full co-operation as you shoulder your important responsibilities.

At the same time, I wish to express my appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Vernon Walters, for the excellent manner in which he led the Council's work throughout the month of February.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

On 24 February the international community was stunned by the news of South Africa's latest act of repression: the prohibition of all political activity by South African organizations which have been leading the non-violent struggle against apartheid. As a spokesman for one of those organizations reportedly declared, "The lights are finally going out in South Africa on the last vestiges of freedom to criticize or resist in any way the suffocating tentacles of apartheid".

But we all know that even if a sense of calm and order may well result from these latest Draconian measures, it will only be a fragile and short-lived illusion.

Astonishingly, the Government of South Africa refuses to acknowledge what is clear to all the world: that the source of its domestic troubles is the abhorrent and dehumanizing system of apartheid. It is the Government's own policies of apartheid, which pervade every aspect of the social, economic and political life of the country, that incite uprisings among the oppressed majority, provoke the hostility of the neighbouring African States and arouse the outrage of the international community.

Nevertheless, Pretoria continues in desperation to take one futile measure after another to suppress popular discontent. Since reimposing a state of emergency almost two years ago, it has arbitrarily arrested and detained countless thousands of its citizens, including many children and young people. And it has tightened its restrictions on the media in a vain attempt to conceal from the rest of the world the atrocities committed by its authorities. The new prohibitions announced last month can only be interpreted as yet another sign that the very foundation upon which the apartheid régime is founded is faltering.

Upon learning of this latest desperate attempt to stifle the voices of truth, peace and freedom, our Foreign Minister, Sousuke Uno, issued a strong statement condemning these new measures. On this occasion my Government reiterates its demand

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

that South Africa rescind its most recent prohibition and decide in good faith to address the true source of the problem, the system of apartheid.

My country has repeatedly insisted that South Africa take concrete and fundamental measures to abolish apartheid and present to the international community a credible timetable for the achievement of that goal. These measures must include the lifting of the state of emergency; the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees, including, in particular, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; and the dismantling of the Bantustan system. Further, South Africa must refrain from military incursions into neighbouring territories, and must grant Namibia its rightful and long-overdue independence.

The international community must be resolute in putting political and economic pressure on South Africa until these goals are achieved.

Japan, for its part, is exploring all possible avenues to that end. The range of political and economic measures it has taken against South Africa is well-documented. But, in addition, Japan is making active efforts to promote political dialogue with regional leaders, including black leaders in South Africa. Japan is extending educational and training assistance to young black citizens of South Africa and Namibia, and it is providing assistance to the neighbouring African States, which are experiencing grave economic difficulties as a result of South Africa's domestic and regional policies.

When will the white minority rulers in Pretoria realize that peace will not be restored to their troubled land unless they abolish their repugnant policies of apartheid; that the course of aggressive acts and repression will only lead to further bloodshed and possibly outright civil war?

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

When will South Africa come to its political senses and acknowledge that the days of apartheid are numbered? For, as history has demonstrated throughout the ages, freedom and human dignity cannot be suppressed indefinitely; ultimately, justice will prevail.

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Since this is my first statement in the Security Council in March, I would ask the representative of the United States, Ambassador Okun, to transmit to Ambassador Vernon Walters our congratulations on his excellent, positive leadership of the Security Council's work in February.

We welcome you, Mr. President, not only because of our personal friendship but also because of the strong bonds between our two countries. Your well-known diplomatic skills and the energy you have displayed in the short time that has passed since you assumed your post augur well for our work.

This is not a time for speeches. Hence, I shall not prolong this statement by repeating the position of my Government, which condemns the apartheid régime as a crime against mankind. Our position is well known and, in application of it, we have co-sponsored initiatives on this subject, including some in the Council itself.

I wish to focus on recent events in South Africa. In that connection, I should like to read out the following communiqué issued by my Government on 1 March 1988:

"Given the further harsh measures of repression taken by the Government of South Africa, namely, the ban on all peaceful political activity by 18 extraparliamentary organizations representing a broad sector of the black community of South Africa, the brutal police intervention to disperse a demonstration calling for the repeal of those measures and the arrest of Archbishop Tutu of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Stephen of the Catholic Church, the President of the Methodist Church and 20 other religious leaders who were at the head of the demonstration, the Government of Argentina expresses its strong condemnation of those arbitrary measures, which are aimed

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

at perpetuating the unjust apartheid régime and hence at infringing basic human rights." (S/19574, annex)

The facts described in the communiqué that I have just read out are well known to the members of the Security Council, despite the inadmissible measures adopted by the Government of South Africa to silence the press. We believe that this august body must speak out on the subject, because these are actions which cannot be disregarded.

The policy of apartheid has serious consequences within South Africa itself, but, in addition, they gravely disturb peace and security in southern Africa, as the Council unanimously pointed out in resolution 473 (1980) - to cite only one example. We believe that the Security Council should not hesitate to put into effect all the measures available to it to ensure the complete, final eradication of this policy, as a matter of urgency.

The international community has adopted a position clearly repudiating apartheid. That unequivocal position is reflected in many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. South Africa, however, has disregarded these appeals. That proves that it does not suffice to issue appeals to the Government of South Africa. Indeed, the Pretoria régime, far from recognizing its obligations to put an immediate end to its heinous and totally inadmissible policy of racial discrimination, has chosen to adopt measures to perpetuate apartheid. We, like the other countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are convinced that the way to oblige the Government of South Africa to put an end to its odious, anachronistic apartheid régime is to expand the mandatory sanctions provided for in resolution 418 (1977). Hence, my delegation is prepared to co-sponsor a draft resolution on those lines.

(Mr. Delpech, Argentina)

Before concluding, I wish to refer to the statement made at our meeting yesterday by the representative of the Pretoria régime. Without prejudice to the clear statement that you have made today, Mr. President, I must draw attention to the inadmissible lack of respect revealed in the remarks by that representative for the authority and dignity of the Security Council. His statement must simply be rejected with indignation.

The offensive language used in the statement confirms once again our long-held conviction that the time has come for the Council to adopt measures that will compel the Government of South Africa to respect the will of the international community. The Council must not cease its efforts to put an end to the ignominious policy of apartheid.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words he addressed to me.

Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): Allow me, Sir, to begin by expressing my delegation's warm and sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are all the more pleased to see you in the presidency since you represent a country maintaining manifold friendly relations with my own. My delegation is certain that with your long diplomatic experience and political wisdom you will lead our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Vernon Walters. In directing the work of the Council for the month of February he again gave us proof of his rich experience in many fields, his renowned linguistic skills and his great wisdom.

The de facto ban on 17 South African organizations and on the country's largest trade union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the

(Count York von Wartenburg,
Federal Republic of Germany)

restrictions imposed on several of their leaders by the South African Government have prompted the international community of States to deal once more in the United Nations Security Council with the situation in South Africa. As the Federal Government has repeatedly stated, South Africa's situation had been completely unacceptable even before the new repressive measures were taken by the South African Government on 24 February 1988. The state of emergency, the high level of violence, the continuing loss of life, the arrest of thousands of South Africans, including children, the restrictions imposed on the media, the increasing repression and polarization and the manifold miseries that characterize the daily life of the South African people imply an intolerable violation of fundamental human rights and are hence totally incompatible with the relevant principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

My Government's clear and unambiguous rejection of apartheid, as well as the demand that apartheid be dismantled without any undue delay by peaceful means and through a dialogue involving all relevant groups of society, has been set forth time and again in detail, including here in the Security Council. My delegation therefore would like to restrict itself today to a few remarks on the most recent measures of repression, which have already been vigorously condemned by the Federal Government and the other members of the European Community in their Declaration of 25 February 1988.

The most recent measures taken by the South African Government and the ban on all political activities imposed on various organizations and on several of their leading personalities, as well as the brief detention of Archbishop Tutu and other religious leaders by the South African police, reflect a new quality of repression

(Count York von Wartenburg,
Federal Republic of Germany)

and, from various points of view, constitute a momentous milestone for the development of South Africa.

First, the South African Government has made it clear through its action that it apparently lacks the moral power and the will to achieve the goal, avowed by it time and again, of introducing more democracy and of bringing about a peaceful, orderly transition to a South Africa free of political discrimination. Any Government that puts a de facto ban even on organizations which make it their aim to overcome the policy of apartheid by peaceful means or are dedicated to rendering humanitarian aid to political detainees and their relatives must be judged to be not willing to translate into reality the reforms that are needed in South Africa.

(Count York von Wartenburg,
Federal Republic of Germany)

The ban on any political activity of organizations professing peaceful aims imposes the conclusion that it is the intention of the South African Government systematically to suppress voices which are either critical or felt to be compromising, and to divide the South African society by use of force. As the Federal Government has stated time and again - most recently, the Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the occasion of his visit to Mozambique a few weeks ago - all groups of South African society must through their authentic leaders be involved in the negotiations needed for the dismantlement of apartheid.

Should it be the intention of the South African Government to make a distinction between obsequious groups of the black population, on the one hand, and critical groups, on the other; should the South African Government only pursue the goal of co-opting a few obsequious groups of the black population while perpetuating its suppression of major parts of the black population; should the South African Government intend to set up a new system of patronage, which in the final analysis could only prove to be an extended system of apartheid - should all that be the case, such attempts are doomed to failure from the very beginning. Such attempts would not and could not be accepted by either the Federal Government of Germany or the international community as a whole. As we have stressed on various occasions, apartheid is incapable of reform; it can only be abolished in its totality.

Secondly, through the most recent restrictive measures the South African Government has not only reinforced the system of oppression but also once again revealed its repressive and totalitarian character. The South African Government cannot be ignorant of the fact that by these measures any and all peaceful political activity has been denied to the overwhelming majority of the South African population. Moreover that majority has been deprived of any prospects of the speedy beginning of a reform process. The South African

(Count York von Wartenburg,
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Government has apparently disregarded the fact that its policy will necessarily lead to new tensions and internal unrest. If, therefore, in the months ahead a new cycle of violence should arise responsibility for that development will, as Federal Foreign Minister Genscher stated on 26 February, rest basically with the Government. But the repressive measures taken by the South African Government are not restricted to the oppressed black majority within South Africa; due to South Africa's policy of destabilization, they also affect the populations of its neighbouring States. It is therefore important that the international community clearly speak its mind about the latest developments in South Africa and give its support to neighbouring countries.

Thirdly, by its action the South African Government has once more demonstrated that it ignores all international exhortations and warnings. The Federal Government has called upon the South African Government time and again to institute at long last an unconditional dialogue with the authentic leaders of the various population groups. The South African Government must know that the patience of the Federal Government is not inexhaustible. We urge South Africa not to insist on its most recent repressive measures and to respond positively to the appeal made by the Member States of the European Community in their Declaration of 25 February 1988.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of March. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my pleasure on behalf of the Arab Group, of which Tunisia has the honour of holding the chairmanship this month, to extend to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are sure that your

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

wisdom and competence, and the attachment of your friendly country to the causes of justice and liberation, guarantee the success of our work.

I should like to pay tribute to the competence and skill with which your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Walters, conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

Permit me to convey my gratitude to all the members of the Council for having permitted me to participate in this discussion on the item on its agenda, the question of South Africa.

The Arab Group wishes again to express its condemnation of the unjust white-minority régime in South Africa. It wishes to denounce the policy of apartheid perpetuated by that régime, a policy considered a crime against mankind and a serious threat to international peace and security.

The Security Council is meeting at a time when the white-minority régime in South Africa is at the height of its policy against the indigenous population of the country and the neighbouring Territory of Namibia. Over the last few years that régime has continued its acts of repression and daily brutalities against two peoples that have lost their right to self-determination, dignity and a decent life. It has thus challenged all the peace- and justice-loving countries of the world and the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The state of emergency imposed by the racist régime in the summer of 1985 over part of the territory is still in force and has been extended throughout it. It has involved the death of hundreds in the course of violent clashes with the security forces and the detention of thousands, including many young persons and children. At the same time there have been some very serious developments entailing the establishment of radical movements that have contributed to the campaign of terrorism and murder undertaken by the racist régime, resulting in the murder of a number of black political fighters and militants and the disappearance of others.

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In addition to these events, the Bantustans have been strengthened and the green light has been given to their authorities for the repression of liberation activities and for the deportation of blacks so as to isolate them and neutralize their cause.

The South African régime has not confined itself to arbitrary measures imposed domestically; it has also engaged in destructive raids against neighbouring African countries with a view to intimidating and punishing them for the support and assistance they have been giving to the anti-apartheid forces, just as its twin, the Zionist entity, has been doing in the Middle East.

International public opinion has vigorously condemned the white minority régime's persistence in unjust acts and perpetuation of apartheid as a political and social institution deriving from its cultural bankruptcy, in an attempt to extend its hegemony over southern Africa. International public opinion demands appropriate measures to deter the South African régime; it appeals to all peace-loving countries to lend greater moral and financial assistance to the black majority and support its struggle, under the leadership of its two liberation movements.

The unlimited powers conferred by the racist régime on its repressive forces have led to the isolation from the whole world of the zones where incidents took place and prevented local and foreign media from having access thereto and publicizing these events and the fate of the political prisoners.

The ban imposed by the South African régime last week on 17 organizations and 18 eminent personalities, black and white, who oppose apartheid, in order to prevent them from performing their noble humanitarian work when they distinguished themselves by their peaceful approach of dialogue and consultation is an act of desperation and further evidence that South Africa is continuing its intransigence and perpetuating its arbitrary racist policy, rejecting all initiatives for

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

peaceful change in its policy and, consequently, disregarding the international community's appeals and ignoring United Nations resolutions.

While categorically condemning the South African régime for the ban it has imposed on the activities of peaceful organizations and eminent personalities in order to escalate its racist policy, the Arab Group wishes to pay tribute to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. The Arab Group supports them in their legitimate struggle to bring about a democratic society where all groups in South African society will be equal, without regard to colour, race or religion. The determination of peoples to achieve liberation will undoubtedly prove victorious.

In the face of the intransigence of the apartheid régime in South Africa and Namibia, and its acts of aggression against neighbouring African States, it is the international community's duty, in particular that of the Security Council, to take the necessary measures to deter that odious régime and force it to refrain from carrying out its inhuman practices and policies, which are contrary to law and justice.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his recognition of the policies of my country and for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is His Excellency Mr. Oscar Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba), Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for this opportunity given to me, as Acting Chairman of the Special Committee of 24, to speak in the Security Council on the critical situation facing our Organization with respect to South Africa.

Also, I wish to say how pleased I am to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council on this occasion. The commitment assumed by the glorious people and Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in connection with the cause of decolonization, and your outstanding contribution to the work of the United Nations in this and other areas, are well known to everyone. Your personal dedication to and support for anti-colonialism, as well as your opposition to apartheid, are established facts. As an active member of the Special Committee of 24, you have long demonstrated your qualities of leadership, your sound judgement and your diplomatic qualities.

I wish to express the Special Committee's appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Walters of the United States, for the manner in which he guided the debates on the subjects before the Council in February.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

The two evils that exist in South Africa and Namibia, apartheid and racist oppression and inhumane treatment and suffering visited upon the peoples of the region by the Pretoria apartheid régime, are on the increase, even at this moment when we are meeting to consider this situation. As we deeply deplore the difficult situation of all those who are being victimized by this perverse régime and most vigorously condemn the South African Government's intransigence, we wish also to highlight the international community's solemn responsibility to adopt effective measures to contribute to the restoration of the legitimate rights to freedom and self-determination of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

Those peoples are struggling, and many thousands have sacrificed their lives, for the very principles on which the United Nations is based: the equality of peoples and the right of men and women of all races to live in dignity and enjoy fundamental human and political rights.

Recently the situation in South Africa has deteriorated dramatically, as reflected in the mass arrests and brutal repression culminating in the humiliating detention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other religious leaders and the banning of 17 organizations peacefully opposing apartheid. Those events show unambiguously that racist Pretoria has not the least intention to heed the international community's appeals for peaceful change in South Africa and Namibia.

Our Organization, and in particular the Security Council, has time and again adopted decisions and formulated various plans of action to put an end to this intolerable situation. Yet those decisions and plans continue to be dead letters owing to the South African apartheid régime's intransigence and its flagrant contempt for the will and express wishes of the international community, and to the collaboration, support and assistance it receives from certain Governments.

At its forty-second session, after detailed consideration of the questions of Namibia, decolonization and apartheid, the General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions and decisions clearly setting out the course of action that must be followed to put an end to the anomalous situation in southern Africa: the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of Pretoria. For its part, the Special Committee of 24 is convinced that only through the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions can we break the current impasse and make progress on the path to freedom. As the principal body

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responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council must take immediate action to implement without further delay the measures repeatedly recommended by the General Assembly.

Notwithstanding the repeated unanimous appeals of the international community to end the violence and repression against the inhabitants of Africa and the calls for the immediate, unconditional release of persons arbitrarily detained or imprisoned, South Africa continues to defy the will of the international community with intensified application of its inhumane, unjust laws. Nelson Mandela and numerous compatriots have been languishing in prison for 25 years. The immediate release of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners is a prerequisite for a just and peaceful solution of the problem of South Africa. Therefore, the Organization must demand that South Africa immediately put an end to these imprisonments.

Its palpable contempt is a clear reflection of the temerity of the racist régime - the principal adversary of the United Nations - in continuing to do everything in its power to block the promotion of the cause of human dignity, equality and justice.

It is utterly clear that the international community has the duty to increase its assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and their liberation movements and to secular and non-secular organizations in South Africa, which are waging a valiant struggle in defence of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the very kind words he addressed to my country, to my people and to me personally.

(The President)

The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States for the month of March. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): Allow me, Sir, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States for the month of March, to congratulate you most cordially upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to express my confidence that your well known professional qualifications, extensive diplomatic experience and knowledge will definitely ensure the success of the work of this all-important body. I should like also to convey to you our deep satisfaction at seeing you - a most distinguished representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with which our countries maintain relations of friendship and close all-round co-operation and jointly participate in efforts to ensure international peace and security - presiding over the work of this Council.

I take this opportunity to extend our gratitude to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Vernon Walters, Permanent Representative of the United States of America, for his able guidance of the Council in February.

The Security Council has been convened to consider the situation in South Africa, where racism and colonialism are a matter of State policy. The latest deterioration of the situation came with the 24 February 1988 decision by the racist Pretoria régime to ban the political activities of a number of mass democratic organizations; this was followed by new measures of repression. The ban affects 17 organizations, including the largest black trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the United Democratic Front, which comprises hundreds of organizations with a membership of some 2 million black

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Africans and members of other ethnic groups. The ban extends also to the activities of 18 black leaders. They cannot engage in any activity deemed political, and cannot even call for sanctions.

For the purpose of maintaining the abhorrent system of apartheid, the racist Pretoria régime is bent on crushing every peaceful and mild form of opposition to its policies. However, the massive repression, violence and heavy restrictions under the continuing state of emergency have proved insufficient to suppress popular anger and protests. As has been reported, the apartheid régime is now considering further legislative measures to silence totally its opponents from all quarters, black or white. The South African Parliament is considering the "Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill" to restrict organizations and individuals who receive foreign funds for activities which in the opinion of the racist régime may endanger public safety.

The socialist countries resolutely condemn this act of the racist régime; it is only the latest in the long list of crimes perpetrated by Pretoria against its own people. These actions have dealt a serious blow to the prospects for a political settlement of the crisis generated and aggravated by the racist régime and its policy of apartheid. Once again, they demonstrate the gravity of the threat to international peace and security posed by racist South Africa, and point to the urgent need for its greater international isolation and for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

It has become more than evident that the continuing denunciation of the apartheid régime is not enough in itself. The time has come for practical steps to be taken. For that reason we support the universal call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime which, under the present circumstances, is the only available peaceful means of eradicating the system of apartheid.

The policy of State terrorism, repression and banning will not break the will of the South African patriots. Their selfless struggle in defence of their inalienable rights has always enjoyed, and will continue to enjoy, the whole-hearted support and solidarity of the socialist countries. We have no doubt whatever that it is their noble cause that will prevail in the end, and we believe that the United Nations, and its Security Council in particular, is duty-bound to take all the necessary measures to ensure the triumph of this cause.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana): In its continuing policy of aggression against the people of Namibia, the racist régime in South Africa has conceived and implemented further measures to preserve the atrocious system of apartheid. The international media this past week have been extensive in their reports of the latest acts of repression. Echoing the screams of the unfortunate victims, these dispatches have aroused the international community and obliged it to take note of the deteriorating situation in the region.

These disturbing developments have prompted the Security Council to convene in order to consider their implications for international peace and security. At this time the Council is especially fortunate to have you, Sir, the able and

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distinguished representative of Yugoslavia, as its President. Representing as you do a non-aligned country whose record on the issues of colonialism and apartheid is well established, you undoubtedly have brought to this debate the understanding and resolution which are so necessary for dealing with the distressing situation that now prevails in South Africa. I wish you all success in your task. A word of sincere appreciation must also be extended to your immediate predecessor in office, Ambassador Vernon Walters of the United States of America. Finally, I must express my profound gratitude to the Council for allowing me to participate in the discussion of the important issue of which it has been seized.

In the wake of the latest occurrences in South Africa, my own Government has issued a public statement condemning Pretoria's unwarranted brutality against those who, by legitimate and non-violent means, are resisting the apartheid monster.

"These developments [in our view] confirm that the Pretoria régime has no interest whatsoever in peaceful change in that country, and highlight the hollow nature of that régime's rhetoric of reform. The steps taken reflect desperation and manifest the contempt in which the white racist rulers hold the oppressed majority of South Africa." (S/19573, annex)

The full text of our statement has been conveyed to the Secretary-General, and I understand that it has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The statement reflects the concern and indignation which the recent actions of Pretoria's rulers have evoked among our people.

We would hope that all freedom-loving nations will speak up to denounce the sudden and harsh restrictions which have been imposed on the South African masses. A virtually permanent state of emergency now exists throughout the land, effectively stifling all opposition to the practice of apartheid. Some 17 established organizations and other individuals have, it is understood, been

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banned from engaging in activities which are considered by the Pretoria régime to be critical of its policies. These bodies include the Church, organized labour and many other important sectors of public opinion. The protests which they have made cannot in any way be deemed violent and are merely a form of civil disobedience to highly unjust laws. The campaign, in the circumstances existing in South Africa today, can only be praised for the restraint and responsibility which have characterized it so far.

The response of the authorities, however, has been the use of force clearly aimed at quelling any demonstration of resistance. The severity of the retaliation has astounded the most cynical observers inured to the practice of violence by the Botha Administration. One can only conclude that the régime is firmly engaged on a path which it hopes will bring further violence, bloodshed and instability. That was in fact the view expressed in a petition recently circulated by a group of respected clergymen, including Archbishop Tutu and the Reverend Boesak. For those South Africans it is clear that Pretoria is not prepared to accept non-violent or peaceful change and will seek instead to perpetuate its domination over the hapless majority by unrelenting coercion.

The auguries for an improvement in the lot of the oppressed are therefore not very encouraging. The indications are that for the future the forces of repression will be strengthened rather than reduced. In two recent by-elections in the Transvaal province the far-right Conservative Party is reported to have made significant gains. That element is well reputed for its strong opposition to any kind of liberalization for the black population in South Africa. Should its influence become ascendant, one may expect even greater fury in the persecution now being waged by the advocates of apartheid. Oppression would then be even more firmly entrenched, and therefore correspondingly more difficult to eradicate. In acting to stifle all anti-apartheid groups and individuals, the Pretoria régime

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has made it clear that it will not tolerate dissent from any quarter. Proposed legislation aimed at restricting the flow of funds from abroad to aid the opposition struggle is certain, if eventually passed, to diminish the voice of protest and the capacity of the oppressed to resist the power of their oppressors. Addressing the Council yesterday, the régime's spokesman asserted that its only motive in advancing such Draconian laws is to preserve internal order. He referred to "ill-fitting ideologies" (S/PV.2793, p. 14) which cannot be accommodated in South Africa. This contemptuous phraseology can only be translated by this Council to mean that the fascist dictatorship that now rules the country will not accept any system that differs from its own. In the teeth of such arrogance this Council has no alternative to rejecting the régime's defence and to reaffirming the right of the anti-apartheid movement to make known its disapproval of one of the most inhuman tyrannies with which the world has ever had to contend. The Council must therefore urge the rulers in Pretoria to heed the general outcry which has been raised against their vicious abuse of power.

It is, of course, doubtful whether the régime will accede to further entreaties from this body. The words of South Africa's spokesman confirm our belief that it has in fact no intention of so doing. The time has therefore come, we believe, for the application of sanctions which could serve as an impetus to change.

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We should consider the strengthening of existing measures and apply whatever additional ones are deemed necessary. It may be, after all, the only language which Pretoria will understand and which will convince it that the international community cannot condone the barbarity with which it treats the black population of South Africa.

In the final analysis, however, in our view, it will be the determination and daring of the oppressed men, women and children which will bring their tormentors to their knees. The enslaved will throw off their chains and claim the freedom and independence which have been so long denied them. The international community, and the Council in particular, must therefore give them full comfort in the days ahead by making it abundantly clear that apartheid has no place in our society of nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Guyana for his very kind recognition of the policies of my country and for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will take place on Monday, 7 March 1988, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.