



General Assembly

PROVIS IONAL

A/S-16/PV.1
15 December 1989

ENGLISH

Sixteenth special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 12 December 1989, at 10 a.m.

Temporary President: Ms. ATTAH (Nigeria)
later: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)
(President)
later: Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam)
(Vice-President)

- Opening of the session by the Temporary President, the Chairman of the delegation of Nigeria
- Minute of silent prayer or meditation
- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations
- Credentials of representatives to the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly
 - (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee

/...

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

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

- Election of the President
- Statement by the President
- Statement by the Secretary-General
- Organization of the session
- Adoption of the agenda
- Address by Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia
- Address by Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe
- Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa [7]
 - Address by Mr. Vasil Tupurkovski, Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

ITEM 1 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

OPENING OF THE SESSION BY THE TEMPORARY PRESIDENT, CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION OF NIGERIA

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure, I declare open the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly.

ITEM 2 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

MINUTE OF SILENT PRAYER OR MEDITATION

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda, I should like, in keeping with the established practice, to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/S-16/3, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General in which he informs the Assembly that one Member State is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

I remind delegations that under Article 19 of the Charter

"A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years."

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of this information?

It was so decided.

ITEM 3 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

CREDENTIALS OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SIXTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(a) APPOINTMENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that a Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session and that it shall consist of nine members, to be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President.

With a view to expediting the work of the special session, and in accordance with precedents, I propose that the Credentials Committee consist of the same members as those appointed for the forty-fourth session, namely: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, China, Colombia, Malawi, the Philippines, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and Zaire.

If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

It was so decided.

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Members will recall that at the 1st plenary meeting of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly the Temporary President proposed that, as the sixteenth special session would be held within the period envisaged for the forty-fourth session and in order to permit the special session of the Assembly to use the limited time available to it for consideration of the substantive question before it, the Credentials Committee of the forty-fourth session should be authorized to examine and report not only on the credentials submitted for representatives to the forty-fourth regular session but also to the extent possible on those submitted for representatives to the special session. The Assembly decided to authorize the Credentials Committee to proceed accordingly.

(The Temporary President)

The Credentials Committee has submitted two reports to the General Assembly (A/44/639 and Add.1) by which the Committee reported that it had accepted the credentials of representatives of Member States participating in the present sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, it being understood that credentials in proper form of representatives to the present session for whom only provisional credentials have so far been submitted will be communicated to the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

The two reports of the Credentials Committee dealing with the credentials of representatives to the sixteenth special session have already been approved by General Assembly resolutions 44/5 A of 17 October 1989 and 44/5 B of 11 December 1989.

May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to take note of the fact?

It was so decided.

ITEM 4 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly. In this connection it has been proposed that the President of the forty-fourth session, His Excellency Major-General Joseph Nanven Garba of Nigeria, be elected by acclamation as President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session.

I take it that the Assembly adopts that proposal?

It was so decided.

The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I extend my sincere congratulations to Major-General Joseph Nanven Garba and invite him to assume the presidency.

I request the Chief of Protocol to escort the President to the podium.

Mr. Garba took the Chair.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank all the members of the Assembly for their continued confidence in me and for electing me to preside over this very important special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. In convening this special session the General Assembly has accorded the question of apartheid the highest possible priority on its political agenda.

The global campaign against apartheid has entered a new and decisive phase and has been given a tangible and constructive impetus by the fact that this special session, the first ever on apartheid, is being held at all. While I am highly honoured to preside over this special session, the entire exercise will be totally meaningless to me personally, and indeed to the international community, if at the end of it all we fail to send, unanimously, a clear and unambiguous message to Pretoria that apartheid must end.

In this global situation, when numerous anachronistic régimes, ideological facades and political barriers are crumbling, the apartheid system cannot escape being dismantled in its turn.

Having served as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid over the last five years I cannot but express a sense of deep satisfaction and my belief and acknowledgement that the United Nations, in deciding to hold this special session, is finally determined to pronounce itself with one voice and in no uncertain terms on this protracted issue.

This special session is not a session for recriminations. It is not a session for acrimony or divergence of opinions. Indeed, it is not a session aimed at cataloguing the well-known evils of the apartheid system. Rather it is a session that is in consonance with the prevailing global atmosphere of peace and the

(The President)

lessening of tension. It is a session which we, as responsible members of the international community, are determined to use as a vehicle for ending apartheid - a crime against our collective conscience and dignity. It is a session that offers us an opportunity collectively to express our long-overdue consensus on how best to eradicate apartheid.

This special session should therefore be seen as a joint venture between the international community and the entire people of South Africa, a venture in which the international community, by lending its voice, ideas and impetus to the apartheid debate, is offering co-operation and assistance that should contribute in a concrete and meaningful way to the immediate resolution of the complex problems and issues emanating from the policy and practices of apartheid.

Furthermore, it is an excellent opportunity for the international community categorically to reaffirm its stand and while acknowledging that in South Africa some recent developments have taken place which may be deemed positive they fall woefully short of what is expected of the authorities in Pretoria. Those developments, while addressing peripheral questions, have failed to touch the foundations of the apartheid system.

More importantly, this special session is being held at a time when the proliferation of global efforts to end conflicts through negotiations is gaining currency and ascendancy. South Africa and the crisis in that country can in no way be an exception to this new reality. This special session must therefore reiterate the fact that, as in other conflict situations around the world, a conjuncture of circumstances exists which if exploited by a show of demonstrable readiness on the part of the authorities in Pretoria, and indeed on the part of the entire South African people and ourselves, their friends and allies, could lead to an end to apartheid through negotiations. This conjuncture of circumstances would call for

(The President)

all South Africans to get together and negotiate an end to the apartheid system. These same circumstances would make it incumbent on all of us to render every support necessary to help enhance that negotiation process.

This special session is about change: change of the unacceptable system that today exists in South Africa. It is about the change in the lives of millions of people in southern Africa who daily live with the destructive consequences of apartheid. It is about change that will bring enduring peace and security and thus social progress and development to the entire southern African subregion. This special session is about embarking on the process of creating a new South Africa - a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

In convening this special session the international community is offering its hand once more in partnership to the authorities in Pretoria and to all South African people in order to start a positive process of change. This, I am convinced, is done in absolute good faith and in furtherance of the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

(The President)

There is something that this special session can never be purported to be. This session is not an attempt to usurp the rights of South Africans. It is not about, or tantamount to, Members of the Assembly arrogating to themselves the right to determine the fate or outcome of domestic affairs of a particular Member State of the Organization. Far from all this, we have a duty which we are bound by honour and morality to perform; a duty to end apartheid peacefully and through negotiations; a duty collectively to absolve ourselves from the harsh judgement of history.

If the South African authorities are irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional social and economic system, then they should have no fears about the outcome of this special session. If, indeed, it is true that apartheid is no longer the South African Government's policy, why then, I ask, does discriminatory legislation like the Group Areas Act and oppressive laws like the Internal Security Act remain unrevoked on its statute books? The truth is that the recent letter on the special session by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Secretary-General raises more questions than it attempts to answer. This special session, therefore, remains very vital indeed.

If there is a compelling factor, a clear message, that this session must convey, it is that Pretoria can no longer repackage with impunity the tenets of apartheid while further denying the majority of the South African people their long-deserved equality. It is that Pretoria must refrain from cosmetic reforms and take substantive steps towards fundamental changes which, through negotiations, will lead to the peaceful eradication of apartheid in all its forms and the establishment of a truly democratic, non-racial society in South Africa. It is this vision which requires the whole-hearted support of all.

(The President)

The international community must not only assist the people of South Africa in fulfilling their just and noble aspirations but act in unison and in a decisive manner to induce Pretoria to end a system that has been the cause of profound embarrassment to our civilization and of so much suffering to the people of southern Africa. Let us go from this sixteenth special session to support the establishment of a more humane South Africa; a South Africa in which the dignity of each and every person is restored, respected and guaranteed; a South Africa which is committed to the maintenance of peace and security and the promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General of the United Nations wishes to address the General Assembly at this time. I call on him.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The issue that the General Assembly is addressing today has been of unremitting concern to the United Nations since its inception. Throughout all the twists and turns of international affairs over the past four decades the point of principle involved in the issue has remained absolutely clear. No ambiguity has lurked in, nor has any dissent been caused by, the proposition that the racial discrimination entrenched in the system of apartheid violates one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and is, therefore, totally impermissible.

The proposition has been reaffirmed in a large number of resolutions and has become an integral part of the jurisprudence of the United Nations. The International Court of Justice has stated in very clear terms that

(The Secretary-General)

"To establish ... and ... enforce, distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and limitations exclusively ... on grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which constitute a denial of fundamental human rights is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter."

(International Court of Justice, Advisory Opinion, 21 June 1971, para. 131)

I need hardly refer to the various international legal instruments, beginning with the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which are, and will remain, germane to any consideration of the issue at the international level. As we look back at the history of the question from the vantage point of today, it is quite apparent that the categorical position adopted by the United Nations has neither stemmed merely from sentiment nor been influenced by ulterior political considerations. On the contrary, it is squarely based on the universally shared perception that the institution of apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security and that to permit or condone it would be to strike at the very root of the justice and stability of international relations envisaged in the Charter.

Considering the legitimacy and intensity of the international concern, the plea advanced by South Africa that the question of its racial policies falls essentially within its domestic jurisdiction has not been acceptable to the United Nations.

Over the years the United Nations has explored whatever avenues have been open towards a pacific settlement of the problem. Appeals have been addressed to the South African authorities, negotiations attempted, commissions of inquiry instituted and contacts pursued between the South African leaders and the Secretary-General.

(The Secretary-General)

A particular effort that needs to be mentioned relates to the recommendations by a group of eminent persons established by the Secretary-General in 1964 for the purpose of examining methods by which the South African situation could be resolved. That group recommended the formation of a national convention fully representative of the people of South Africa so that the people could be consulted and the future of their country decided at the national level. Moreover, it urged that an amnesty be granted to all opponents of apartheid, whether on trial, in prison, under restriction or in exile.

Had those recommendations been accepted at the time, South Africa would have been spared the tragic and costly confrontations that have since taken place. The recommendations of the expert group remain, in essence, as valid today as they were at the time they were presented to the Security Council 25 years ago.

We should all be clear about our objectives. Our efforts must continue to be directed towards the complete dismantlement of apartheid. Current laws that deny the participation of a majority of the population in the political process or allow the authorities to interfere arbitrarily with the privacy, freedom and conditions of life of families and individuals must be abrogated and replaced by a system of laws that ensure justice for all without regard to race or colour.

We have now reached a stage at which the prospects of a negotiated solution of the problem are far more hopeful than at any previous time. Currents of positive change in international life as a whole are bringing about a better understanding of issues that had long remained subjects of fruitless polemics and contentious stalemate.

As far as the present problem is concerned, the realization seems to have dawned at long last that the days of racial supremacy are over. Indeed, in the region of southern Africa developments during the course of this year have provided grounds for guarded optimism that peaceful and fundamental change is now possible.

(The Secretary-General)

The tripartite agreements signed earlier this year have brought about the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and a halt to cross-border raids. The Namibian question, which had long been an issue of contention between South Africa and our Organization, is now well on its way to a peaceful and permanent settlement. The Namibian people have exercised their right to self-determination through national elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations. The co-operation that has taken place between South Africa and the United Nations in conducting those elections and the respect shown by the parties concerned for their obligations under the United Nations plan give hope for the future of the region. But more needs to be done.

A reassuring step would be the complete termination, without danger of recurrence, of policies directed against the stability and security of neighbouring States. We have seen the results of these policies - 1 million refugees and 4 million internally displaced people. A United Nations study estimates that the cost to member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has been over \$60 billion and 1.5 million lives.

Twenty years ago the United Nations General Assembly endorsed the Lusaka Manifesto, in which Africa offered a hand of co-operation and friendship to South Africa if it would undertake to dismantle apartheid. Tragically, that opportunity was lost. This year the Organization of African Unity has repeated that offer through the Harare Declaration, which called again for a peaceful settlement of the situation in South Africa. It is my hope that a formula for a just solution will soon emerge that will assure for all the people of South Africa a peaceful and harmonious future.

In my view the present time is opportune for increased efforts in overcoming the obstacles that impede the dismantling of apartheid. At the international level we must continue to do all we possibly can to induce the South African Government

(The Secretary-General)

to bring an end to its racial policies. Within South Africa support must be given to initiatives for a dialogue between the Government and the acknowledged leaders of the majority of the people of South Africa. Of course, a prerequisite to such a dialogue must be the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and all opponents who are under detention, and the return of those in exile. Equally important is the need for the creation within the country, through other positive measures, of an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

The presence here at this special session of the General Assembly of the Heads of State of Zambia and Zimbabwe underscores the sense of urgency which the people and Governments of southern Africa continue to attach to the ending of apartheid in South Africa. I hope this session will strengthen all efforts towards a negotiated solution to this long-standing problem and the early end of a system that has cost far too much suffering.

ITEM 5 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

ORGANIZATION OF THE SESSION (decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989)

The PRESIDENT: On the basis of the practice of previous special sessions, I should like to propose that the Chairmen of the Main Committees and the Vice-Presidents of the forty-fourth session serve in the same capacity at the sixteenth special session.

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

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Accordingly I should like to inform the Assembly that the following Chairmen are present at this special session: the Chairman of the Special Political Committee: Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; the Chairman of the Second Committee: Mr. Ahmed Ghezal of

(The President)

Tunisia; the Chairman of the Third Committee: Mr. Paul Desire Kabore of Burkina Faso; the Chairman of the Fourth Committee: Mr. Robert Van Lierop of Vanuatu; and the Chairman of the Fifth Committee: Mr. Ahmad Fathi Al-Masri of the Syrian Arab Republic.

On the basis of the practice at previous special sessions, it is proposed that the Chairmen of the Main Committees who are not present at this special session may be replaced by members of their delegations. Accordingly the following replacements have been communicated to the Secretariat: for the Chairman of the First Committee: Mr. Andres Aguilar of Venezuela; and for the Chairman of the Sixth Committee: Mr. Thomas Hajnoczi of Austria.

The following States will serve as Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly at this special session: Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, China, Congo, Costa Rica, France, Gambia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Luxembourg, Morocco, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Sudan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Zimbabwe.

I should like to remind members that by its decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989 the Assembly recommended that an ad hoc committee of the whole of the sixteenth special session should be established. The task of the ad hoc committee of the whole would be to hear non-governmental organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid and to prepare a draft declaration to be considered by the Assembly in plenary meeting.

May I take it that that proposal is adopted by the Assembly?

It was so decided.

(The President)

Concerning the election of the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the sixteenth special session, who will also be a full member of the General Committee, following consultations it has been proposed that The Honourable Dame Ann Hercus of New Zealand be elected Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole.

As I hear no objection, I declare The Honourable Dame Ann Hercus elected by acclamation Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the sixteenth special session. I congratulate her on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf and wish her well in the important and onerous responsibilities that she has just assumed.

The General Committee of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly has now been fully constituted.

In accordance with General Assembly decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989, it is proposed that the representative of the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity be permitted to participate in the discussion in the plenary Assembly.

May I take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Also in accordance with General Assembly decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989, it is proposed that non-governmental organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa be heard in the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole.

May I take it that that proposal also is acceptable to the Assembly?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: In view of the large number of representatives who have already inscribed their names on the list of speakers, it is proposed that the schedule of plenary meetings be from 9.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. for the morning meetings, and for the afternoon meetings from 3 p.m. until the list of speakers for that meeting is exhausted.

May I take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Furthermore, in accordance with General Assembly decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989, it is proposed that owing to time constraints the length of the statements, with the exception of those by Heads of State or Government, be limited to 15 minutes. A white flashing light will be activated at the rostrum to let speakers know that the 15-minute limit has elapsed.

May I take it that the Assembly agrees?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I might add that if the white flashing light does not stop speakers from continuing past the 15-minute limit, I may remove them bodily.

ITEM 6 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda of the sixteenth special session appears in document A/S-16/1. In order to expedite our work the Assembly may wish to adopt the provisional agenda in plenary meeting without referring it to the General Committee.

May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it, then, that the General Assembly adopts the provisional agenda as it appears in document A/S-16/1?

It was so decided.

ADDRESS BY MR. KENNETH D. KAUNDA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Zambia.

Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour and privilege of welcoming to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, and of inviting him to address the Assembly.

President KAUNDA: It is a matter of distinct honour and great pride for me to see a distinguished son of Africa presiding over this special session of the General Assembly. Your country, Nigeria, Mr. President, together with the other front-line States, is in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. May your presidency see us through to a successful conclusion of our deliberations.

This session has been specially convened to address the vexing problem of the evil system of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. In

(President Kaunda)

this regard, I wish to take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to the General Assembly for its decision to convene this special session. It gives the international community an opportunity once again to focus on the issue of apartheid, that abominable and despicable system in South Africa under which millions of people throughout the region continue to suffer and die.

When I last addressed the Assembly, in 1987, I reaffirmed Zambia's faith in the United Nations. I wish once again to reiterate that faith and to pledge our continued support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. We continue to believe that the United Nations provides the necessary - nay, indispensable - forum for the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and disputes, as well as for the promotion of international co-operation and economic and social development.

Recent developments in international relations have enhanced the image and credibility of the United Nations as an instrument for the preservation and promotion of international peace and security. Far from the United Nations being seen as a club for endless discussions, there is now renewed public confidence in our Organization. This welcome development has been due in part to a number of significant successes achieved by the world body through the collective efforts of its Member States and the active leadership provided by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. Let me commend him most sincerely for his determined efforts to bring peace to conflict areas of the world and, in particular, for his special role in the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia.

The period before the elections in Namibia was difficult and challenging. Despite the initial setbacks arising from practical deficiencies in logistical support, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), under the firm

(President Kaunda)

leadership of the Secretary-General, performed commendably. We pray for the peaceful and successful transition of Namibia to national independence so that the people of that country may soon freely determine their own destiny and prepare for the challenges of nation-building and development.

The world is currently witnessing dramatic political changes with far-reaching ramifications. Indeed, the winds of change are blowing throughout the world. Super-Power rapprochement has produced a force which is breaking down barriers erected to block the winds of change. These changes are significant, for they reflect the noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the promotion of international peace and security and the realization of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(President Kaunda)

It is a matter of profound regret that the winds of change have yet to blow in the direction of South Africa. South Africa will need its own perestroika before the winds of change begin to blow in its direction. True to its character, the apartheid régime continues to maintain its campaign of disinformation in order to pre-empt the concerted international effort to ensure the eradication of its system of apartheid.

There is no need for me to define or explain in detail the nature of apartheid. Its reality is well known and has been extensively documented world wide. Suffice it for me to say that apartheid is based on the denial of that fundamental bond that unites all humanity, namely, that all of us, despite the various races to which we happily belong, are in fact equal children of the same God in whose image we are all created.

Nothing better illustrates that denial of human equality than the policy of the South African Government both to exclude the black majority from the exercise of political power and to use that power to oppress and exploit them purely for the reason that they are black.

As the General Assembly is well aware, the South African Government has, a matter of official policy, created artificial divisions within its society based on race and has used those divisions as a basis for granting or denying political, economic and social rights and opportunities, with the non-white population being denied those rights and opportunities that the white population takes for granted, whether they concern land, housing, education or, above all, the vote.

A social system based on the denial of basic human rights and extreme inequality would inevitably give rise to problems anywhere in the world. Where that denial of rights and that inequality are artificially based on racial grounds, serious conflicts are bound to arise sooner rather than later.

(President Kaunda)

That is the predicament in which South Africa finds itself today. The tragedy is that the crisis has been self-imposed by the Government itself.

The Assembly has rightly characterized and condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity. For us in southern Africa apartheid represents State terrorism and is the source of the existing tension, unrest and conflict in the region. It has assumed a regional dimension and its spill-over effects have revealed themselves in the form of acts of destabilization against neighbouring and other independent States in southern Africa. Such acts have had serious consequences for the peace, stability, security and development of the region.

A report commissioned by the United Nations Steering Committee on the United Nations Plan of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 has quantified the cost of destabilization. The number of people who have died in the region as a result of war has reached 1.5 million, of which over half are children under five years of age. The largest number of deaths, 900,000, have occurred in Mozambique. Angola takes second place with 500,000 people dead. In addition, 50 per cent of the populations of Mozambique and Angola have been displaced from their homes or rely on food support for their survival. The number of those wounded, maimed, mutilated and malnourished runs into millions.

In terms of economic losses the story is equally alarming. The total regional cost of destabilization is now estimated to be running at around \$10 billion a year, or of the order of 40 per cent of the achieved regional gross domestic product. Over the period 1980 to 1988, the cost is estimated at \$60 billion - far in excess of the total aid received by the region.

The independent African countries in southern Africa and the liberation movements in South Africa have always been ready and willing to engage in genuine

(President Kaunda)

negotiations with the South African régime. It will be recalled that for 50 years the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) engaged in peaceful protest against injustice and resorted to armed struggle only after it was banned in 1960. That was because all that time the black majority hoped that the white minority would in a reasonably short time see sense and create a political environment in which all South Africans, irrespective of their colour, would be allowed to participate fully in the affairs of their country.

(President Kaunda)

Alas, these peaceful protests by the oppressed people of South Africa were met with brutal repression, mass arrests and imprisonment. With such vicious reaction by the South African authorities, how, we wonder, were the people of South Africa to liberate their motherland? For the black South Africans it was a choice between perpetual bondage in which there was no difference between life and death and recourse to armed resistance. As one black victim of apartheid recently told me, the choice for the black leadership was to die either on their knees as slaves of apartheid or on their feet as its opponents.

Our readiness to negotiate with successive South African Governments was first documented in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, adopted in 1969. In that Manifesto the leaders of eastern and central Africa decided to engage the South African authorities in serious negotiations to bring about a peaceful end to apartheid. To us, the Lusaka Manifesto has over the last two decades remained a reference point in the struggle against apartheid. Over this period many other ideas have evolved, all of which have been aimed at drawing up a broad-based document which would serve as a blueprint for bringing about the desired change in South Africa.

The changing circumstances in South Africa spurred the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to conclude that a conjuncture of circumstances existed which, if there were a demonstrable readiness and willingness on the part of the Pretoria régime to engage genuinely and seriously in negotiations, could create the possibility of ending apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality could be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.

(President Kaunda)

It was against this background that the OAU Declaration on the question of South Africa was adopted in Harare last August. As the Assembly knows only too well, this Declaration has already been adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I wish to state emphatically that this Declaration is the single most important international document ever elaborated on the question of South Africa since the Lusaka Manifesto.

I now wish to outline the main elements of the Harare Declaration, which is divided into five parts.

Part I contains the preamble setting out the principles generally recognized and accepted by the international community. This part of the Declaration, inter alia, recognizes the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can be achieved only when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial society.

Part II of the Declaration is a statement of principles for the establishment of a new constitutional order. This part stresses, among other things, that all South Africans shall have the right to participate in the Government and administration of the country on the basis of universal suffrage, exercised through one person, one vote, under a common voters roll, and that all shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights. This part of the Declaration also stipulates that a democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and shall pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

(President Kaunda)

It is important to stress here that, as the Declaration states, agreement by South Africa to the principles enunciated in this section of the Declaration will constitute the foundation for an internationally accepted solution which will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the community of nations.

Part III of the Declaration contains a list of what South Africa should do in order to create the necessary climate for negotiations. These are the pre-conditions for negotiations that we have repeatedly stated. They require that South Africa should: first, release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them; secondly, lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; thirdly, remove all troops from the townships; fourthly, end the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and, fifthly, cease all political trials and political executions.

Let me stress here that, while we welcome the recent release of eight political prisoners by South Africa, that act in itself is inadequate. South Africa must therefore unconditionally release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, so that they can participate in the negotiations for a free and democratic South Africa. As the Declaration states, the fulfilment of the measures I have outlined earlier should precede the negotiations.

(President Kaunda)

Part IV of the Declaration contains guidelines to the process of negotiations based, inter alia, on the following: first, discussions should take place between the liberation movements and the South African régime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding cease-fire; second, negotiations should proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing, among other things, on the principles enunciated in the Declaration; third, having achieved agreement on the principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up a new Constitution; fourth, the parties should define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order; fifth, the parties should agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of drawing up and adopting a new Constitution, govern and administer the country, and effect the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections; sixth, after the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities would be deemed to have formally terminated; and, seventh, the international community, for its part, would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa.

The final part of the Declaration sets out the programme of action on the necessary measures to be taken by the international community, measures which, in the interim, before a climate for negotiations is established, would be necessary to secure South Africa's co-operation. One important measure is to intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa and, in this regard, to work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and for the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo.

In our view, the Harare Declaration provides a realistic plan for bringing apartheid to a peaceful end and for replacing it by democracy. The international

(President Kaunda)

community should support negotiations along these lines in order to help bring democracy to South Africa and peace to our region. For our part, we have already started to encourage dialogue by supporting efforts by the liberation movements to meet their compatriots of all races and political orientations from South Africa in order to exchange views and narrow the gulfs that currently separate them.

Last August, in anticipation of South Africa's good conduct in Namibia, I took the opportunity to meet the then Acting State President of South Africa, Mr. F.W. De Klerk. As I have publicly indicated, I found him to be an honest man. However, I am not sure whether he will be able to analyse correctly the situation in his country in the context of the aspirations of the black population. I am also not sure that, assuming he succeeds in analysing the situation correctly, he will be able to reach the right conclusion and implement it. The internal forces opposed to change that he faces are quite formidable.

The five-year plan announced by the National Party earlier this year illustrates the dilemma of South Africa: its inability to face the reality. The plan does not address the issue of apartheid or the question of power relations. It is premised on group rights rather than individual rights. It therefore perpetuates the very elements - basic elements - of apartheid that we are trying to see eliminated. The world should ignore this plan because it does not address the central issue, democracy, which is really what the black grievance is all about. The rest of the matters are only consequences of this.

As I have already stated, we welcome the recent release of some political prisoners; but, as I have said elsewhere, one political swallow does not make a political summer. In the meantime, and until South Africa agrees to meaningful negotiations leading to the establishment of democracy, sanctions should continue

(President Kaunda)

and be tightened. This is the only realistic way of dealing with apartheid. In this regard, let me reiterate Zambia's strong condemnation of the recent arrangements to reschedule South Africa's external debt.

There can be no peace or stability in southern Africa until apartheid is eradicated. The oppressed people of South Africa are doing everything possible to end apartheid. In this struggle against injustice they need the unqualified support of the international community. To this end I wish to make this appeal to the Member States of the United Nations: until South Africa complies with the resolutions and decisions of this Organization, the international community should step up its isolation of the racist régime. In this respect, I appeal to the countries violating the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa to cease their collaboration. The collaboration of States and organizations with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields has contributed to the instability in southern Africa.

(President Kaunda)

Similarly, I wish to appeal for strict observance of the oil embargo against South Africa. The sale of oil to racist South Africa strengthens its military capacity to strike at any part of the region. The United Nations should work for the tightening of the oil embargo against South Africa.

We also make a special appeal to the international community to support the peace initiatives now under way in Angola and Mozambique. In this regard, we call on the United States of America to cease all its support for UNITA in Angola so that the peace plan initiated by the Angolan Government may yield fruit. South Africa must end its support for the RENAMO bandits, who have caused so much suffering among the innocent people in Mozambique.

Our commitment to the attainment of peace and stability in southern Africa cannot be compromised. We remain fully committed to the eradication of apartheid in South Africa, so that the people of that troubled country may exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and nationhood in a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Let me now conclude my address. The situation in South Africa and the international climate are now both favourable to the peaceful ending of apartheid. The question that remains is: Will South Africa respond to the call of the international community to end apartheid and allow democracy and peace to prevail in that country? It remains to be seen.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Zambia for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President MUGABE: Mr. President, the Zimbabwe delegation has had an opportunity to convey to you its felicitations upon your election to preside over the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I cannot, however, let this important occasion pass without expressing my own delight at seeing you preside over this special session. We from the front-line States have, over the years, worked closely with your great country, Nigeria, to achieve the very same objectives to whose attainment this special session intends to contribute.

I also wish to take this opportunity publicly to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) team in Namibia, on a job well done. The peoples of Africa, especially those of us living in the southern half of the continent, feel greatly indebted to him for the steady hand he has shown during the last eight historic and often tempestuous months in Namibia. We now look forward to his piloting the "Steamship Namibia" safely into independence harbour during the remaining part of the voyage.

(President Mugabe)

Today we are witnessing extraordinary developments on the world stage, changes only the wildest of dreamers amongst us could have dared to predict. But, as the Berlin walls of this world come tumbling down, in apartheid South Africa high-voltage electric fences are going up on its borders with us. The fences are being erected to protect apartheid. Forward bases continue to be constructed or upgraded for aggressive purposes, and new dissident battalions are being put together in readiness for the destabilization of neighbours, including the soon-to-be Republic of Namibia. And while elsewhere the peoples are on the march towards a new order of greater freedom and cohesion, in South Africa apartheid continues to divide, imprison and kill wantonly, with killer gangs on the increase.

(President Mugabe)

African leaders meeting in Harare in August this year provided Mr. De Klerk with a navigational manual, called the Harare Declaration, by which to found freedom, justice and progress. This manifesto for peaceful negotiations in South Africa has been on the table for the last four months. Since then it has been endorsed and adopted by the non-aligned countries and welcomed by the Commonwealth nations in Kuala Lumpur. It is our hope that the special session will throw its weight behind this historic document in favour of peace.

The special session has been called to address apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. This is a timely theme, as some among us might be confused by recent noises about reform into believing that apartheid is dead or dying. The reverse is the reality. Apartheid is very much alive. True, some petty apartheid regulations and practices that unduly interfere with the running of a modern economy and unnecessarily tarnish the self-image and political control of the minority régime have been modified or repealed. Yet the very bedrock on which white minority supremacy is built, as embodied in the Group Areas Act, which is based on the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act and the bantustan policy, has hardly been addressed. And each time De Klerk has been quizzed about these core pieces of legislation, he has hedged and ducked. He talks confusedly about his commitment to group rights and maintaining "our own" schools and so on. But these are well-known code words for maintaining apartheid. He is opposed to the democratic principle of majority rule, which he dismisses as "majority domination", and argues for "minority veto", which he ironically calls "power sharing". Mr. De Klerk's signals have been equivocal. While he has released some eight prominent political prisoners, Nelson Mandela and hundreds of other political activists are still incarcerated. He meets with some Church leaders and yet shuns leaders of the liberation movements. It has been acts of deception right through.

(President Mugabe)

How can we trust South Africa when five years after the signing of the Nkomati agreement it has not respected this solemn and binding treaty and continues to sponsor RENAMO and its murderous and destructive activities in Mozambique? Since 1980 the physical destruction caused by South Africa in the region - according to a report published in October this year by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, entitled "South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Front-line Resistance to Apartheid" - has been estimated at over \$60 billion. In that period thousands of people in the region have lost their lives as a result of deliberate decisions taken in Pretoria. Between 1980 and 1988 thousands more of the people of Angola and Mozambique have been forced to seek refuge in other countries or have been displaced internally. And, as the last United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report on the region has shown, nearly a million little Angolans and Mozambicans under the age of five have died needlessly, since 1980 because of the destabilization activities of South Africa.

Recently we have read that herds of elephants have been wiped out in southern Angola by UNITA at the instigation of South Africa. This extermination campaign has turned the area into what one observer has described as a veritable "sterile lifeless green desert". Besides the extermination of animals, there has been the assassination of political opponents by murder squads. Africa is astounded by the mute reaction of some countries, especially Western countries, to the recent revelations of how South Africa abused its diplomatic bag to deliver explosives to murder its opponents in foreign countries. We are sure that if this had been done by some poor developing country there would have been an immediate outcry in the international media, and indeed reprisals might well have been taken against that country.

(President Mugabe)

While to date developments towards the independence of Namibia have been quite encouraging, we need, however, to view these developments in their proper perspective. South Africa did not wake up one morning and, like Saul on the road to Damascus, see the light and undergo a sudden conversion. South Africa was forced out of Namibia by pressure. The war in Namibia proved too costly in financial and political terms. South Africa was badly beaten at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola and its mounting casualty list had become politically unacceptable. Furthermore, international sanctions, especially the action of the international banks, had adversely affected its financial position. To this must be added the resistance inside Namibia, plus the pressure exerted by democratic forces in South Africa itself, whose total effect forced Pretoria to withdraw south of the Orange River.

It would be disastrous if we were ever to entertain the illusion that Pretoria had undergone a sudden conversion and therefore should not be put under pressure any more. If anything, more pressure may well be needed in the future to keep Pretoria moving forward, however reluctantly. Some of the pressures that produced the conditions favouring the Namibian independence process have already been undermined.

To begin with, and thanks to Israel's shameful collaboration with Pretoria, it now appears that Pretoria has regained its supremacy in the skies over southern Africa through its acquisition of the Jericho-type intermediate-range strategic missiles, which are capable of hitting all our capitals. Thus the strategic gains of Cuito Cuanavale have been negated by Israeli support. Israel has chosen to travel such a low road by propping up the defences of racism. Secondly, international bankers have, unfortunately, relaxed pressure on Pretoria by agreeing

(President Mugabe)

to reschedule its foreign debt. Finally, some powerful friends of South Africa are already working hard to have existing sanctions measures lifted and are using the powerful media machines to whitewash apartheid and present every minor adjustment by De Klerk as if it were a fundamental political reform.

(President Mugabe)

The challenges facing the General Assembly at this special session are formidable indeed. It must define the stage that we are at in our struggle against apartheid. It must restate our goal in South Africa. Most important, it must show how we can get there. We believe that the Harare Declaration has a well-thought-out position to guide us all towards a peaceful, just and prosperous South Africa. I therefore ask this body to endorse and adopt the principles outlined in that document. That document invites the United Nations urgently to examine the monitoring mechanisms in force, with a view to making sanctions more effective. There are too many loopholes in the present monitoring mechanisms, as revealed by the recent report of the Group of Eminent Church Persons on the activities of the transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia. The Committee against Apartheid must lead the way in this task. As a member of that Committee, Zimbabwe intends to play a constructive role in this regard. Our call for additional sanctions against Pretoria is motivated by a desire to bring South Africa to the negotiating table and keep it there until apartheid is eradicated.

The new South African leader must clearly demonstrate that what he is up to is not the preservation of apartheid in a repackaged and rearranged form. He must now set the country on a meaningful course, which can be brought about only through negotiations between Pretoria and the genuine representatives of the South African people. Only the commencement of such negotiations can be considered a decisive first step towards change in South Africa. But the negotiations cannot begin under conditions in which the state of emergency and associated restrictions on political activity continue - conditions in which political parties remain banned and in which Pretoria employs assassination squads to eliminate opponents of apartheid. South Africa must, therefore, first create a climate conducive to the commencement

(President Mugabe)

of negotiations, and this requires at least the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees and an end to the practice of imposing restrictions.

The neighbours of South Africa are closely watching its actions in Namibia - in particular, its attitude in the negotiations for the enclave of Walvis Bay. Equally important to their judgement is South Africa's continued support for RENAMO and UNITA. This is the litmus test by which we shall make up our minds whether or not Mr. De Klerk wants peace and normalization in our region. Africa has shown its preference for peaceful negotiations in resolving conflicts in southern Africa. The rest is up to Pretoria. It is by its actions, and not by its words, that we shall judge Pretoria. For now, there has been too little of the former but too much of the latter - talk, talk, and more talk. In the meantime, we ask, in the name of common humanity and morality, for the General Assembly's support for those struggling for decency and freedom in South Africa. It is my hope that we shall get this support from all representatives.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 7

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to remind members that, by its decision 44/408 of 13 November 1989, the Assembly recommended that the list of speakers in the debate should be closed today at 6 p.m.

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt this recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names in the list as soon as possible.

ADDRESS BY MR. VASIL TUPURKOVSKI, MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Vasil Tupurkovski, Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Vasil Tupurkovski and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. TUPURKOVSKI (Yugoslavia): We are pleased to see you, Sir - the representative of non-aligned Nigeria, which has always been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid, and a man of vast diplomatic and political experience - presiding over this extremely important special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Let me, therefore, express my delegation's conviction that under your wise guidance the General Assembly will succeed in achieving its goals at this session.

The fact that this special session of the United Nations General Assembly has been convened is telling proof of the gravity of the situation facing the countries of southern Africa and of the importance that the international community attaches to the eradication of apartheid. The system of racial discrimination and segregation that persists in South Africa despite the long-standing efforts of the world Organization and other forums causes the resentment and indignation of the entire international community. More than four decades after the adoption of the

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights the Government of South Africa continues systematically to turn a deaf ear to the calls of the international community to guarantee to the South African majority population even the basic human rights.

It is therefore obvious that the vast majority of the international community consider this special session of the General Assembly a unique opportunity to launch broad-based action with the aim of bringing pressure to bear on the régime in Pretoria to put an end to the obnoxious system of apartheid. Yugoslavia - the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries - along with all other non-aligned countries, considers the policies and practices of apartheid an insult to human dignity. Apartheid cannot be reformed and must be unconditionally and immediately eliminated.

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

Today, at the threshold of the twenty-first century, when mankind is making efforts to overcome the accumulated antagonisms of the past and create the pre-conditions for entering a new era of co-operation and prosperity, the policies and practices of apartheid are an anachronism that harks back to the darkest pages of human history.

The contrast between the existence of apartheid and the current trends in international relations, characterized by abandonment of confrontation in favour of the emerging processes of understanding and dialogue, is obvious. The overall positive international climate of the past two years has been reflected also in developments in southern Africa. The process of the termination of the colonial occupation of Namibia by South Africa has been almost completed and we look forward to seeing independent Namibia take its rightful place in the community of nations. Various important actions have been initiated to alleviate the grave consequences of South Africa's policy of destabilization in the region have been initiated. Unfortunately, these dynamic and positive developments have so far met with no adequate response in South Africa itself. In such conditions, the paradox of the persistence of apartheid, which is the root cause of the long-lasting, deep crisis in southern Africa and which poses a constant threat to international security, is more striking than ever before.

Although there has been a change of leadership in South Africa, and in spite of its attempts to create an impression that it is ready to undertake major reforms, no concrete steps have yet been taken to indicate that there exists genuine readiness on the part of the régime in Pretoria to put an end to apartheid. The release after long captivity of a number of political prisoners, prominent fighters against apartheid, is a positive sign, but it is by no means sufficient proof of the commitment to fundamental changes.

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

There is abundant evidence that the situation in South Africa remains basically unchanged. The state of emergency has practically turned into a permanent state of affairs. The activities of anti-apartheid organizations, primarily the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), are still banned. The media are subject to strict censure. The majority population is still subjected to the most brutal repression and deprived of its fundamental political and human rights. The magnitude and severe consequences of the continuance of such practices are also demonstrated by the fact that the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations are constantly seized of this situation and that this special session has been convened.

While trying to convince the international community of its readiness for genuine change, in order to reduce the international pressure to which it is exposed, the régime in Pretoria continues to employ all the instruments that ensure the maintenance of its domination over the majority and strict racial segregation within the society. But, despite all its efforts to curb the opposition the racist régime faces ever stronger resistance at home and increasing isolation at the international level. The growing resistance testifies to the determination of the majority population, despite the sacrifices it has to make, to preserve its dignity and fulfil its legitimate right to self-determination and to live in freedom. The national liberation movements, the ANC and PAC, supported by trade unions, those in religious circles and part of the white population, continue their just struggle for the complete elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a new system in South Africa based on democracy and respect for fundamental human rights.

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

The efforts of the international community aimed at bringing about the final elimination of the policy and practices of apartheid have a long history. To that end numerous resolutions and declarations have been adopted by the United Nations, and international conventions have been concluded. Yet the policy and practice of apartheid still persists.

The non-aligned countries have for decades been in the forefront of all activities aimed at eradicating apartheid. At their ninth summit Conference the non-aligned countries reiterated that one of their priority objectives was the urgent and complete elimination of this evil of the present-day world. At its meeting in Belgrade the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries endorsed in its entirety the Declaration of the Organization of African Unity Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa adopted at Harare last August.

This document constitutes a platform for the negotiations between the majority population and the régime in Pretoria, which should lead to the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial society based on democracy and freedom. Therefore it deserves to be fully supported by the entire international community at this special session of the General Assembly. The fact that the liberation movement of South Africa, the vast majority of its population, the whole of Africa and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have rallied behind this platform of peace and negotiation should be understood as being of paramount importance. It is now the turn of the régime in Pretoria to respond positively to this constructive approach, particularly since the General Assembly has unanimously agreed, at its current forty-fourth session, on the basic conditions for the opening of the process of negotiation, that is: the lifting of the state of emergency, the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

detainees; the lifting of the ban on all individuals and political organizations opposing apartheid and the repeal of restrictions on the press; withdrawal of the troops from black townships; and the cessation of all political trials and political executions. Only after the implementation of these measures will it be possible to ensure the necessary conditions for initiating a genuine process of negotiation between the racist régime in Pretoria and the representatives of the majority population.

Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, believes that the realistic basis for this programme of action aimed at reaching a political solution to the apartheid problem deserves full endorsement by the international community as a whole. Therefore, there is no doubt that the role of the United Nations in this respect is of crucial importance. That is why the non-aligned countries consider that the current special session of the General Assembly provides a unique opportunity for the international community to bring pressure to bear on South Africa, through concerted action, to accept the process of negotiation leading to the definite and complete elimination of apartheid.

Yugoslavia, in its own name and as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, wishes to underline once again that, for the sake of the people of South Africa and peace and stability in the region, in Africa and in the world as a whole, the abhorrent policy of apartheid must be unconditionally and completely eliminated. We are encouraged by the fact that this opinion is shared by the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations.

However, we believe that until the complete elimination of apartheid becomes a reality it is essential to continue to pursue all the efforts aimed at intensifying pressure on the régime in Pretoria. Past experience has shown that that is the

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

only way to exert influence on the ruling circles in South Africa. In this context, we are still of the view that comprehensive sanctions remain an important option of the international community in its endeavour to put an end to the policy of apartheid, which poses a constant threat to international peace and security.

The general climate of relaxation in international relations and particularly the recent developments in southern Africa provide perhaps a historic opportunity to launch the process of the definite elimination of the system of apartheid, rightly proclaimed a crime against humanity.

(Mr. Tupurkovski, Yugoslavia)

The United Nations has a responsibility to do its utmost to ensure that this opportunity is not missed and that the people of South Africa at long last realize and enjoy their inalienable right to live in a society based on equality, without racial segregation, and that a united and democratic South Africa joins the world community of equal nations. The non-aligned countries, for their part, will continue to do whatever is in their power to see that this goal may be achieved as soon as possible.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Tupurkovski, Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. GHAFAR (Malaysia): It is indeed a pleasure to greet you, Mr. President, and to pay a tribute to you on your skilful stewardship of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It gives the Malaysian delegation added pleasure to see you, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, presiding over this special session, which is indeed the crowning achievement of the work of the Special Committee, of which you have been the driving force and source of inspiration.

The convening of this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid is testimony to the international community's continuing strong support for the campaign against the inhumane system that prevails in South Africa. It is a demonstration of our protest against the violation of the political and human rights of the black majority people of South Africa. It is our indictment of the minority racist régime for treating its majority population as a distinct deprived sub-class in their own homeland. It is, above all, an expression of the firm

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

support of the international community for the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for the restitution of their God-given rights.

We are gathered here today to remind ourselves that in spite of the international community's efforts over these past four decades this evil system of apartheid remains unabated in South Africa; in fact it has become entrenched in its laws, its regulations and its mores. There is not the slightest doubt that this corrupt system has proved to be far more tenacious than expected. It has proved to be a far more nimble adversary than we had reckoned with and, like a chameleon, far more adaptive to the changing situation.

The apologists of the system have made much about the "positive changes" that are taking place in South Africa. They claim that these changes, or the so-called reforms, reflect the changing nature of the régime and therefore would augur well for the transformation or evolution of the system. They further claim that the régime is responsive to the need for change and as such should be encouraged to effect the desired transformation of South African society without the necessity for tougher sanctions. Indeed, they argue that increased sanctions would hurt the black majority much more than the white minority, for whom they are intended. They seem to intercede on behalf of the Pretoria régime when they argue for more time to be given to the régime to work out the country's complex political and social arrangements.

In the view of my Government these appeals for understanding are misplaced. Concern or sympathy should be placed not on the side of those who perpetuate the evil system of apartheid but on its victims, who are dehumanized by it. Malaysia fully shares the view that the few changes that have taken place or are being effected in South Africa are much too little to make any significant impact on the lives of the black population. They are not even cosmetic in nature, since

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

they do not address the question of freedom, which the people of South Africa rightly and justly deserve as a basis for a durable solution to the problem.

I dare to say that these changes are a clever ploy which represents nothing short of a tactical shift in South Africa's overall strategy to blunt the thrust of the international campaign against apartheid. They are intended to take the wind out of our sails. To all intents and purposes they serve to deflect the international fury against the policies and practices of apartheid. By diverting attention to the purported measures of reform, the régime hopes to create a semblance of confidence in the minds of the international community that it is at least mindful of the latter's repeated calls for a change of policy.

My Government is fully aware of this latest strategy of pacification by South Africa. It is therefore my Government's submission that we must never allow South Africa or its apologists to change the issue or deflect the thrust of the debate on apartheid. We know full well the extent of the destructive effects of the Colour Bar Act, the Native Lands Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the policy of bantustans, and the separate educational system. These institutions of apartheid remain intact, with no sign of their being repealed or replaced with more humane laws.

The truth of the matter is that the so-called reforms in South Africa are merely a facade to mask a continuing system of exploitation and segregation based on race. There has been no fundamental change at the core of the apartheid system. This special session must tell the South African régime clearly and bluntly that apartheid cannot be refurbished, modified or transformed. In short, it must be totally and absolutely eliminated. The white racist régime in South Africa must be ostracized and condemned.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

In the face of the stubbornness of the Pretoria régime it is imperative that the international community intensify the campaign for the dismantling of the evil system. It is clear that the political, diplomatic and economic pressures being exerted by the international community have had a significant impact on Pretoria. This is particularly true in respect of sanctions imposed against the régime.*

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

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

The various reports that have been prepared on the subject, including those by the United Nations, the Commonwealth and various international organizations, all indicate that sanctions have hurt the South African régime and have been instrumental in compelling it to make the concessions that we have seen, including those on the question of Namibia.

However, with the connivance of some of its trading partners it has been partly successful in frustrating the internationally imposed sanctions, particularly on oil, on imports of which it is highly dependent. It has also been rather successful in getting round the arms embargo, again with the collusion of certain arms-producing countries. What is particularly disturbing is the report that there has been increasing military collaboration between South Africa and a few of these countries, including collaboration on the development of advanced military aircraft, submarines, missiles and, possibly, nuclear weapons. These trends must be arrested immediately if we are to ensure the overall impact of sanctions in the campaign against apartheid.

There should be greater vigilance on the part of the international community, particularly the United Nations, on these circumventions of sanctions against South Africa. Breaches of sanctions should be monitored and publicized and the violators asked to answer for their actions. In this regard, there is merit in the proposal to expand the work of the Committee of the Security Council established under resolution 421 (1977) so that it may monitor more actively breaches of the arms embargo against the Pretoria régime. Among other things, the Committee should be given more teeth, for instance by the establishment as a matter of priority of a monitoring group to assist it in its work. It should also conduct more frequent hearings, including public ones, as has been suggested by some members of the Committee.

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

If the international campaign against apartheid is to be successful there must be a series of measures covering the short and medium terms as well as the long term. In the short and medium terms, efforts should be focused on ensuring full co-operation and compliance by the international community with the current body of sanctions measures. At the same time, greater efforts should be made to cover all existing loopholes.

In this connection, I should like to refer to the agreement reached by the leaders of the Commonwealth at their summit meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989. In a comprehensive statement on southern Africa, the Commonwealth leaders, with the notable exception of one, stressed that this was not the time for any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures. With the exception of that one member, they agreed that such measures should be tightened, and decided, inter alia,

"To develop new forms of financial pressure on the Pretoria régime by seeking to intensify and extend financial sanctions, in particular by calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit terms to 90 days; and calling on relevant Governments to make trade credits harder to get by taking South Africa 'off cover' with official government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes;". (A/44/672, para. 10 (a))

The Commonwealth Heads of Government, with the exception of the one member, also agreed to establish

"an independent agency to review and report on South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicize factual information on financial flows to and policies towards South Africa." (ibid., para. 11)

(Mr. Ghafar, Malaysia)

My Government believes that only a sustained and co-ordinated effort on the part of the international community to bring pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime will influence its policies in the direction that we desire. There should therefore be no let-up in our efforts during the critical years ahead. The international community should not allow itself to be sidetracked by South Africa's seeming flexibility of approach in its dealings with the nationalist opposition groups or its overtures vis-à-vis the front-line States under its current leader, De Klerk. Nothing that has been said or done by Mr. De Klerk justifies any optimism on our part that apartheid will soon be dismantled.

In the long term it may be necessary for the international community to think of other more drastic measures to ensure the jettisoning of the apartheid system, should it prove to be as stubborn as it appears to be. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions backed by the full authority of the Security Council, as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations ought to be imposed. My Government stands ready to give its support to such measures should the current level of sanctions prove to be inadequate. It will also be ready to support the convening of future special sessions of the General Assembly on apartheid.

In a world where men everywhere are free, apartheid constitutes the ultimate humiliation of the black man in South Africa, where he is being treated as an outcast in his own homeland. It is an affront to human decency, dignity, a sense of fair play and justice. It has to be stopped.

Clearly, the time has come for the international community to mobilize the entire arsenal of political, diplomatic and economic pressure at its command in a systematic campaign to bring to an end Pretoria's arrogant, irresponsible and brutal exercise of power.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): My Minister for External Affairs, Shri I. K. Gujral, has asked me to convey to the President, Mr. Garba of Nigeria, and to the Assembly his profound disappointment at not being able, despite his keen desire to do so, to participate personally in the deliberations at this important special session of the General Assembly, and to assure all members of his strong support of any measures that the Assembly may adopt to expedite the eradication of apartheid from South Africa.

It is fitting that the special session on apartheid should be held under Mr. Garba's leadership. His name has become synonymous with the struggle against apartheid during the last several years. Under his chairmanship the Special Committee against Apartheid has succeeded in generating and increasing awareness among the international community of the evils of the apartheid system. We have full confidence that, given his personal commitment and contribution to the struggle against apartheid, the special session will reach a purposeful conclusion.

This is the first time that a special session of the General Assembly is being devoted to the issue of apartheid. I hope it will also be the last; the winds of reform and resurgence blowing across the world should ensure that. The Pretoria régime must, in reason and justice, bow to international pressure and the growing resistance of the people of South Africa. Apartheid, an anachronism at the best of times, is a pernicious relic of an out-dated world order and has no place in the present and emerging scheme of things. But apartheid, as we have seen for ourselves, will not disappear of its own accord. Our desire to see it eradicated has to be matched by concerted efforts by all of us towards this objective.

India, on its part, has consistently opposed the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa for its inhumanity and for the persistent threat it poses to peace and stability in the region. The struggle for our own independence owed a great deal to the experience gained by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa in the organization and conduct of resistance campaigns against unjust racist laws of the time. It was therefore only natural that India should have been the first to come to the United Nations to internationalize the campaign against racial discrimination. That was 43 years ago. Since then we have had the privilege of working alongside our African and other colleagues in the effort to root out apartheid and restore to that part of the world the rights its people claim and are entitled to.

Last month saw the elections taking place in Namibia under the United Nations independence plan. We are glad for the well-deserved victory of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in those elections and hope for the early emergence of Namibia as an independent State. The people of Namibia have long struggled and are now well on the way to casting aside the yoke of colonialism. We look forward to welcoming an independent Namibia as the one hundred and sixtieth Member of the United Nations early in the new year.

The Namibian dream is nearing realization. The vast majority in South Africa too have a dream, a dream of being able to live in their own country in freedom and dignity. As Nelson Mandela, a crusader in the valiant struggle of the South African people, said a quarter century ago:

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

If the ultimate sacrifice of the oppressed - as exemplified in those words of Nelson Mandela - is to have any meaning, apartheid must become a thing of the past. Our experience tells us that such determination will one day achieve its objective.

It is tragic that the racist Pretoria régime continues to obstruct realization of this dream. It continues to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the South African people. Under the renewed state of emergency it has persisted in repressive measures. Innocent people, including children, are detained without trial for long periods and those who are brought to court are not assured of a fair trial. How can they expect fairness of a judiciary which is part and parcel of the apartheid system - a system in itself unfair and unjust, and clung to by an illegal régime?

Apartheid's depredations are not confined within the borders of South Africa alone; its violence spills over into the whole region. The Pretoria régime's military aggression against and destabilization of its neighbours, according to a recent United Nations study, cost the southern African region \$10 billion in 1988 and over \$60 billion, not to mention the lives lost, in the first nine years of the current decade. Pretoria's policy of destabilization is part of a calculated strategy to entrench the economic dependence of the front-line States on South Africa. Permitting such a policy to continue is only permitting injustice, exploitation and aggression to continue. There is thus every justification for us here in this world body to work together to bring such injustice and aggression to an end.

The Pretoria régime has recently taken a few steps calculated to give the impression of moving towards the long-delayed and long-demanded change, but these actions fall far short of the expectations of the majority in South Africa and of the international community. Indeed, they fall far, far short of what is required

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

to be done. Some political prisoners have been released, but most, including Nelson Mandela, are not yet free. Some public beaches have been desegregated, but most of the racist segregation laws, including the infamous and all-important Group Areas Act, remain intact. Some changes have been stipulated in the national security system, but the state of emergency is kept in place. Some peaceful demonstrations have been permitted, but political activity remains banned and dissent remains a criminal act on Pretoria's statute books. In short, while a few cosmetic changes have been taken, the ugliness of apartheid remains unremedied. Indeed, the people of South Africa themselves have rejected these measures as nothing more than attempts to reform and reshape apartheid to make it more palatable to them and, more importantly, to the international community. The Conference for a Democratic Future, which met in Johannesburg last week and brought together prominent anti-apartheid groups, adopted a declaration noting that the Pretoria régime was not interested in a democratic South Africa or in genuine negotiations. The declaration added that the régime was only buying time to reorder the forces of minority domination.

There can be no compromise with apartheid. Tinkering with apartheid is like making patchwork repairs to a crumbling monument: the obsolescence and decline of the structure and the corresponding inadequacy of the repair measures are apparent. Neither reform nor fine-tuning will do. Apartheid is evil and abhorrent and must be eradicated. Nothing short, nothing less, would be acceptable - either to the people of South Africa or to us.

The people of South Africa have long been committed to peaceful change. It was only when lawful modes of expressing opposition to the apartheid policy were closed that they chose to defy the unjust laws - but in a manner that avoided any recourse to violence. When the racist régime used force and violence to crush this opposition, it became necessary for the people to resist such violence and defend

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

themselves. Their long-standing preference for a solution by peaceful means was reiterated in the Declaration adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at Harare in August this year.

For a peaceful transition to take place the Pretoria régime must first demonstrate its readiness for real change and create a climate conducive to genuine and serious negotiations. This would require lifting the state of emergency; unconditionally releasing Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, as well as detainees; lifting the ban on political activity by individuals and political organizations; repealing the restrictions imposed on the media; terminating all repressive measures; and ending violence all around. The Pretoria régime must unequivocally affirm that the objective of such a negotiating process would be the eradication of the apartheid system and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage exercised through one-person, one-vote, under a common voters' roll in a united and non-fragmented South Africa within a specified time frame.

The international community can ill afford any let-up in its pressure on the Pretoria régime. On the contrary, it has to intensify this pressure in order that apartheid's inevitable, if delayed, demise is hastened. Sanctions must be strengthened and more effectively implemented. That sanctions have worked has been demonstrably proved by their effect on the South African economy. Indeed, enforcement of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions may be the only effective way to persuade the Pretoria régime to giving up apartheid peacefully.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

In conclusion I should like to reiterate India's traditional commitment to the struggle of the people of South Africa for the eradication of apartheid. The Prime Minister of India Shri V.P. Singh, in his very first broadcast to the nation, on 3 December, declared, "We are committed to fighting apartheid in South Africa". We are with the people of South Africa in their quest for freedom and justice, for equality and dignity, for their legitimate rights which they have been denied all these years. Archbishop Desmond Tutu once asked, "Are you on the side of goodness or the side of evil?" Our own experience in India during our freedom struggle places us squarely in the camp of the adversaries of apartheid. All of us must unambiguously undertake to work together to put an end to it. This we owe to our brethren in South Africa, and indeed to our own conscience.

Mr. BONDEVIK (Norway): The Norwegian Government had the privilege of being present at the Conference for a Democratic Future for South Africa, held last week in Johannesburg. We felt privileged because of the importance of that conference: more than 4,500 participants representing approximately 2,000 organizations made decisions of the utmost importance to a future democratic and non-racial South Africa. The participants agreed on the basic principles for negotiations, endorsed the Harare Declaration and arrived at a common position on a number of other important issues concerning the future society of South Africa. To use the words of the recently released leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Walter Sisulu, the conference was the most important gathering in South Africa since the People's Congress some 35 years ago.

It is our hope that this willingness to negotiate a new future for South Africa can yield results. Let us not forget that in spite of our efforts the situation in South Africa is basically unchanged. A large number of political prisoners remain in South Africa's gaols. The principal liberation movements in

(Mr. Bondevik, Norway)

the country are still banned. The nation-wide state of emergency has been extended for a third consecutive year. It has now become part of everyday life in a vast network of laws, regulations, practices and attitudes that characterize the apartheid State that has grown up in recent decades.

The oppression of the majority has, however, not succeeded in stifling political dissent and protest. The continued resistance has made it clear that the authorities are facing a formidable and ultimately unwinnable challenge.

Confronted with the unrelenting determination of the majority population to overcome apartheid, the South African Government has taken some steps in the right direction. For the first time in many years it has allowed protest marches. It has released Walter Sisulu and other leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. The Government has also proclaimed its intention to abolish the Separate Amenities Act. That should be welcomed, just as we welcome any move away from racism. But the fundamental corner-stones of apartheid still remain in place. It is consequently imperative that international pressure on South Africa be maintained. We therefore urge other countries to emulate the measures introduced by the Nordic countries.

Moreover, South Africa's destabilizing policy in the region has for many years been a cause of deep concern. Though South Africa's designs on the region still remain unclear, the welcome developments in Namibia have contributed to an easing of tension in southern Africa. I call on South Africa to continue to act in good faith so the people of Namibia can enjoy the national independence for which they have struggled for so many years. Likewise, I urge South Africa to assume a constructive approach towards the front-line States.

(Mr. Bondevik, Norway)

Still, there can be no doubt that peace and security in the region are dependent on the elimination of apartheid. That is yet another reason why that inhuman system must be eradicated. We express our solidarity with all the front-line States and assure them of our continued support in countering the destructive consequences of apartheid.

That is the background against which this sixteenth special session of the General Assembly is being held. Our aim is to make serious efforts to end the unacceptable situation in southern Africa resulting from apartheid, through negotiations based on the principles of justice and peace for all. It is our hope that this can be achieved by an exchange of views on all aspects of apartheid as well as through combined efforts to arrive at a universally acceptable declaration. At this critical juncture it is vitally important to arrive at an agreed position on apartheid which can be supported by the international community as a whole. It is only through concerted international action that decisive pressure on the South African Government to dismantle apartheid can be kept up. The winds of change that are now sweeping the world and offering a new future for millions of people can clearly not leave South Africa unaffected.

Enormous obstacles still stand in the way of the free political activity that is needed to get negotiations about a new political arrangement in South Africa off the ground. At the core of the problem is a system which through subjugation and repression has created a privileged class traditionally bent on retaining minority control at all costs. It has now become increasingly clear that this is no viable option. The new South African Government under President De Klerk seems to have acknowledged that fact by expressing a willingness to negotiate a new dispensation for South Africa. Its commitment to a truly democratic and non-racial future South Africa is, however, less clear.

(Mr. Bondevik, Norway)

It is not for my Government to present a blueprint for post-apartheid South Africa. For us, the essential requirement is that apartheid be abolished in all its forms. It must be replaced with a democratic, non-racial society with equal rights for all people and with guarantees that nobody shall be oppressed. A first step would be for the South African Government to show a genuine willingness to enter into negotiations with the true leaders of the majority. It is paramount that the climate necessary for negotiations be created in order for negotiations to take place. We believe that the Organization of African Unity Declaration adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989 constitutes a useful platform in that respect. To that end we agree that the present Government should, inter alia, end the state of emergency and repeal all repressive legislation, release all political prisoners unconditionally, lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons, and cease all political trials and executions.

(Mr. Bondevik, Norway)

The policy of attempting to abolish apartheid through a dialogue with South African authorities has been tried repeatedly without success. The limited progress so far is not attributable to dialogue, but rather to continued international pressure combined with domestic protest. That has forced the Government to allow a series of multiracial demonstrations against apartheid in a number of cities. It was international pressure that was instrumental in achieving the release of eight political leaders of the black majority, and it was international pressure that paved the way for the recent announcement to abolish the Separate Amenities Act.

While there is broad consensus that international pressure must be maintained, there have been suggestions that the South African Government be given the time and scope to follow up on its rhetoric. It has been indicated that the new Government needs some time to prove its sincerity. Such an idea would of course have advantages if it could promote a climate conducive to change, based on assurances that the Government would respond in kind. A deadline might even be set by which the Government's actions could be judged. But we are not convinced that such a strategy would work. We favour instead a two-pronged approach whereby changes are encouraged while international pressure remains firmly in place.

Norway has for several years actively sought to implement comprehensive measures to combat apartheid. Thus, our national legislation bans practically all economic relations with South Africa. It includes a general ban on imports and exports, the carriage of crude oil by Norwegian vessels to South Africa, the granting of loans and investments, as well as other measures. Our measures have been closely co-ordinated with the other Nordic countries.

Further to those restrictive measures, I would like to stress the need for positive support for those who suffer the effects of apartheid. South Africa's

(Mr. Bondevik, Norway)

neighbours find themselves in a particularly precarious situation. To ensure sustained development independent of South Africa's economic power, Norway has for several years offered assistance to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and to the SADCC countries. The Norwegian Government has also made it clear that we are prepared to consider increasing our assistance to the SADCC countries in the event of further South African reprisals against those countries. We have followed the positive developments in Namibia closely and have taken an active part in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group operation. In September this year, we hosted an informal donors' consultation on Namibia in co-operation with the United Nations Development Programme to sensitize donors to the needs of an independent Namibia. Norway stands ready to assist the new Government of Namibia in furtherance of greater well-being for all Namibians.

Norway also provides humanitarian assistance to liberation movements, refugees and other victims of apartheid. Our support to victims of apartheid has increased considerably during the last few years. Norway will continue its assistance to organizations and individuals in need of such support, as well as to the front-line States, the SADCC countries and SADCC co-operation.

Lastly, I conclude this statement on a more optimistic note than I would have thought possible only a few months ago. Our optimism is guarded, however. The obstacles to a South Africa free from apartheid and racial discrimination cannot be underestimated. But the latest developments give reason to hope that the political change now unfolding all over the world will also reach the tormented land of South Africa. Let this special session be the last on the road to a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Through concerted international action we can play our part by keeping up pressure on the South African Government.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.