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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 13 December 1989, at 9.30 a.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)
later: Mr. FEYDER (Luxembourg)
(Vice-President)

- Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa [7]
(continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 9.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr. SOTIROV (Bulgaria): On behalf of the delegation of Bulgaria, I have the honour of warmly congratulating you, Mr. President, and expressing my conviction that under your guidance the General Assembly will fulfil the very important task of adopting a unanimous and effective approach to dealing with the urgent problem of the final abolition of apartheid.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always followed with great attention and concern events in the southern part of the African continent and stresses again its position that the system and policies of apartheid are the core of the complicated conflict. These policies have brought enormous suffering to the peoples in southern Africa. The acts of destabilization and aggression against neighbouring African States have become a constant source of tension and a threat to international peace and security.

The anachronism of the apartheid system becomes particularly striking against the background of the general improvement of the international situation and the growing confidence and dialogue between States. The very notion of an institutionalized racial discrimination is in itself an affront to the common moral values and aspirations of the modern world. The sadder and more disturbing fact, however, is that the people of South Africa have been for decades confronted with the evil of apartheid. That is why the Bulgarian delegation shares the view that unless it is eradicated the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace cannot be achieved or stability and development in Africa attained.

(Mr. Sotirov, Bulgaria)

The Bulgarian delegation welcomes certain positive steps taken by the South African Government that will undoubtedly help establish an atmosphere of confidence and bring the country closer to negotiations on its future. However, these steps are but the beginning of a long road that Pretoria must quickly traverse. The abolition of certain racist laws and the granting of some freedom of political expression still do not amount to a dismantling of the system of racial segregation enforced for decades. It is indeed ironic that these measures are being taken against the background of the preservation of the pillars of the apartheid system. Obviously political freedom is unthinkable under the conditions of bans and limitations imposed upon a number of political and other organizations and the continuing state of emergency. Obviously one cannot talk of freedom if the black majority has been deprived of practically all fundamental rights and freedoms.

It is quite clear that the broadly advertised reforms cannot go beyond the framework of cosmetic measures and are not designed to penetrate to the roots of the system of white-minority domination. The propaganda campaign of the Pretoria régime and the censorship it has imposed cannot obscure the actual situation in the country.

(Mr. Sotirov, Bulgaria)

It is our firm conviction that apartheid can be neither reformed nor changed: it should be eradicated. That is a task requiring the concerted efforts of the entire international community. In this respect the United Nations has done much to elaborate concrete measures aimed at forcing the apartheid régime to put an end to that disgraceful phenomenon. It is our view that no one can deny the positive effect of sanctions, which have resulted in a gradual softening of the South African Government's policy at home and towards neighbouring States, and that the continued pressure together with international support for the selfless struggle of the Namibian people and the growing political, economic and social crisis in South Africa have forced the Pretoria régime to negotiate a political settlement of the problem of Namibia's independence.

It has indeed been encouraging that even States which until recently maintained active trade and economic relations with the racist régime have in one way or another admitted the need to exert pressure on it. Considerable, albeit selective, measures have been adopted for limiting contacts with Pretoria in different fields.

The Bulgarian delegation is convinced of the need to maintain and strengthen co-ordinated measures aimed at encouraging the Pretoria régime to eradicate apartheid. Such an approach would be indicative of the determination of the international community to do away with the system of apartheid once and for all. It would also give added impetus to the mass democratic movement in South Africa and stronger faith in its ability to build a new society through peaceful means.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria truly admires the actions of the mass anti-racist democratic movement in South Africa, which is gaining many new followers despite the repressive measures of the apartheid régime. The national

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liberation movements of the people of South Africa, recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) play an important role in those efforts. We welcome the Peace Plan of the African National Congress on the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic State in South Africa, adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa in Harare last August and endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which is another proof of the firm commitment of that Movement to spare no effort in bringing about peace and stability in the region. We are convinced that the peace plan could serve as a constructive basis for negotiations: therefore its key elements could be incorporated in the final document of this session.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready to contribute further to the joint efforts aimed at transforming the southern part of Africa from a knot of conflicts into a region of peace, security and co-operation.

Mr. WALKER (Jamaica): I have been afforded the opportunity to address this special session of the General Assembly because, regrettably, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had an unfortunate fall and was unable to leave Jamaica.

The convening of this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa represents the timely fruition of an important non-aligned initiative launched by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries a year ago in Nicosia, Cyprus. This was endorsed and ratified by the General Assembly in December 1988 and by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their ninth summit conference held in Belgrade in September of this year.

Jamaica is particularly honoured at having been selected by the Heads of State or Government in Belgrade as part of the special group of non-aligned countries

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designated to represent the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at this special session. We naturally regard our selection as a tribute to the role which my Government has played in the world-wide campaign and struggle for the total and irrevocable elimination of apartheid in South Africa, as well as for the eradication of its destructive consequences in the region.

As we commence our deliberations, it is fitting for us to recall that the non-aligned initiative behind the convening of this special session was inspired by an acute awareness of the need to expedite and intensify the international campaign for the dismantling and abandonment of the odious system and practice of apartheid without further delay and for concrete and immediate steps to be taken by the Pretoria régime towards genuine negotiations with the black majority for the establishment of a just, democratic and non-racial society based on majority rule.

This special session of the General Assembly must therefore seek to maintain the pressure on Pretoria and to keep the apartheid issue at the forefront of international attention and concern, having regard to the immense suffering and misery being experienced by the oppressed majority, the appalling destruction which it has wreaked on lives and property in the region and the constant threat which it poses to regional and international peace and security. Another compelling factor is, of course, the clear recognition, within the international community, of the growing vulnerability of South Africa's apartheid economy to external pressures and sanctions and consequently the extent to which they have had a most discernible impact on the course of action being pursued by the Pretoria régime.

At the regular session of the General Assembly which a few weeks ago concluded its annual debate on the policies of apartheid, the action taken by the Pretoria régime in granting unconditional release to eight political prisoners and in permitting a series of multiracial demonstrations against apartheid in a few cities

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was viewed as a measure of response to the effectiveness of the internal anti-apartheid resistance, as well as to the intensification of external pressures against the apartheid régime. While the main pillars of the apartheid system still remain in place, the Pretoria régime has shrewdly sought to influence external political opinion through the adoption of a series of measures designed to give the monstrous apartheid system a humane face.

This special session must continue to expose the ugly realities of apartheid life in South Africa, which for the millions of black South African citizens constitute existence in a police state, while for the white minority the perpetuation of apartheid in essence represents the continuation of what has come to be regarded as the world's most comfortable lifestyle, built on an abundant resource of cheap black labour.

The point must therefore be made that all the basic racist institutions and legislations, such as the segregated Parliament, which excludes the black majority, the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts, which permit separate and unequal education and health facilities and allow local officials to segregate public areas by race, and the Population Registration Act, which pigeon-holes every South African by race, remain in force as grim features of the apartheid system.

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Moreover, Nelson Mandela continues to languish in prison, along with thousands of other political prisoners of conscience, while the Pretoria régime shamelessly and cynically uses the issue of his much demanded release as a means of extracting political concessions from its internal opponents. One hopeful sign is that on BBC radio this morning I heard that President De Klerk had had a meeting with Mr. Nelson Mandela. Let us hope that this is an indication that change is being brought about.

It is against the backdrop of the terrible happenings in South Africa that we must test and judge what the President has been saying recently. Despite his pronouncements, few changes of significance have been implemented since Mr. De Klerk assumed the presidency. Admittedly, he has given permission for the staging of a few mass marches and authorized the release of a number of political prisoners. What he has yet to do is to dismantle the basic apartheid legislation, which is at the heart of the ongoing political crisis in South Africa.

Throughout all the talk of reform and change President De Klerk has not wavered from his party's doctrinal insistence that all South Africans be divided into four groups - white, coloured or mixed race, Indian and black - as defined in the Population Registration Act, a classification instituted to justify white privilege and condone black exploitation. It is also instructive to note that De Klerk has called for a "great indaba" - a meeting of representatives to negotiate South Africa's future - but has steadfastly refused to include the African National Congress of South Africa, a principal opposition group in South Africa, so long as, in his view, it continues to espouse violence, as if to suggest that the root cause of all violence and instability in South Africa and the entire region does not reside in the apartheid system itself.

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The strong probability remains that Mr. De Klerk's stated intention of including blacks at all levels of South African politics and his much publicized grand vision of power sharing, in which blacks and whites would decide the nation's future by consensus, is nothing more than a clever formula designed to allow the white minority to retain an effective veto over whatever meaningful changes are demanded by the black majority. Also left unclear is whether any coming together for dialogue within the existing status quo would amount to anything other than talk of vague promises, since it is clearly recognized that the only system at hand to translate words into action is the racist segregationist Parliament dominated by the white minority, from which the black majority has been totally excluded.

It is precisely for these reasons that the vast majority of South Africans - including, I might add, certain members of the white minority who have been sympathetic to the cause of the anti-apartheid resistance - while welcoming with guarded optimism the few positive steps which have been taken, remain doubtful and largely sceptical about Mr. De Klerk's commitment to real change.

Jamaica frankly rejects the assumption that evolutionary or gradualist reforms carefully doled out in small portions will bring about realistic change or satisfy the legitimate demands and aspirations of the anti-apartheid majority.

The special session of the General Assembly must therefore send a clear and unmistakable message and signal to the Pretoria Government that it must immediately embark upon the steps necessary to create a proper climate conducive to genuine negotiations. These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of the ban on all individuals and political organizations and the repeal of restrictions on the press, as well as the withdrawal of the

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troops from black townships and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

Another important task of the special session is carefully to examine and assess the extent of the extremely damaging and destructive consequences of South Africa's apartheid policies on the entire region of southern Africa. In this connection, the Jamaican delegation welcomes and commends the extremely valuable and detailed report and study published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, entitled "South African Destabilization - The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid". The report makes very compelling reading, inasmuch as the figures cited starkly reveal the grim, evil and inhumane features of the apartheid system and the extent and depth of human misery and suffering which it has brought to the entire region. The effects of Pretoria's regional aggression through the export of violence and its deliberate destruction of economies and lives in neighbouring States in order to ensure the continuation of its apartheid system are described as being so vast that they are almost impossible to comprehend on a rational or emotional level.

The principal observations and conclusions of the report confirm that South Africa's military aggression and destabilization of its neighbours cost the region \$10 billion in 1988 and over \$60 billion and 1.5 million lives in the first nine years of this decade. This enormous human and economic cost is a direct result of a calculated strategy designed to entrench the economic dependence of the front-line States on the Pretoria régime, a dependence which is most lucrative for South Africa, and at the same time an attempt to make these States politically submissive to their powerful southern neighbour. The study also asserts that destabilization has been the principal cause of economic setbacks for the region and that in 1988 the region's output would have been over 40 per cent higher in the

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absence of a hostile South Africa. It also bears out what we have long suspected to be the case, that the ultimate goal of destabilization has been to create costs so exhausting that the front-line States will have no choice but to accept apartheid, or at least a modified version of it.

Not suprisingly, the report further confirms that the two countries that have borne the brunt of South Africa's aggression are Angola and Mozambique, the only Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) States with direct access to the sea. Another major sufferer has been Malawi.

The report also details the devastation caused to the economies of other front-line States, including Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. It provides vivid and incontrovertible testimony to Pretoria's aggressive designs in the region over the years and also underlines apartheid's destructive and destabilizing effects in southern Africa.

In reference to the massive human cost, which is virtually incalculable, we have before the special session most compelling recent evidence from the Support Group of Eminent Women to Southern Africa, which under a mandate of the General Assembly and under the auspices of the Centre against Apartheid, only last month visited Zambia, Zimbabwe and Namibia to see the conditions of refugee women and children, all of them victims in varying degrees of apartheid's devastation. The special session of the General Assembly will hear the findings and recommendations of the Group from its co-ordinator, Mrs. Lisbet Palme. Jamaica is pleased that the Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, Senator Lucille Mair, is one of those who undertook that mission, designed further to inform the international community of and alert it to the consequences of South Africa's destabilization policies.

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Jamaica therefore strongly endorses the recommendations and policy options contained in the report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa for urgent support by the international community in providing global economic and security assistance for the independent States of southern Africa, including measures designed to assist in vulnerability reduction, human survival and rehabilitation, human resources development and defence capability. We also agree that support in the security area should be aimed, as an interim goal, at curtailing South Africa's military and economic capability to do massive damage to its neighbours.

It remains obvious, however, that without concerted international pressure to force South Africa to abandon and dismantle its discredited apartheid system, security and stability will not be restored. It is this system that constitutes the principal threat to lasting regional peace.

As has been widely recognized, South Africa's military and political disengagement from Namibia and its current posturing as peace-maker and reformer has come about as a consequence of the severe economic costs that Pretoria has incurred through its military expedition, through internal anti-apartheid resistance and external pressures which have severe effects on the economy and reduce South Africa's ability to borrow from financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund. Despite the present euphoria over the successful outcome of the electoral process in Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization's well-deserved victory at the polls, the issue of Namibia's survival as an independent State cannot, however, be guaranteed and will remain in doubt as long as apartheid survives.

Jamaica therefore believes that the international community should not be deluded by Pretoria's reformist gestures, but instead should put South Africa on

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notice that it will not tolerate any indefinite delay in the commencement of genuine negotiations with the leaders of those groups demanding a peaceful end to the apartheid system in South Africa. Apartheid cannot be reformed: it has to be eradicated - root and branch.

Clearly, this is not the time to relax the pressure on South Africa; and Jamaica strongly endorses the intensification of economic, financial and other sanctions against Pretoria, such as those called for by the Commonwealth leaders and those endorsed by the General Assembly, as a means of forcing the régime to come to the negotiating table without delay.

Apartheid has rightly been condemned and outlawed by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. We believe that the lack of concerted and collective action on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council has allowed South Africa to defy the political will of the international community to challenge effectively the apartheid system. Its urgent demise and destruction must involve the efforts of the entire international community, including in particular the efforts of the permanent members of the Security Council who have been entrusted with primary responsibility for international peace and security.

Only in this manner will the international community be viewed as sending a credible, effective and unmistakable signal to South Africa which the régime cannot afford to ignore.

The PRESIDENT: At this stage I should like to remind representatives that the Assembly took a decision yesterday to limit statements to a maximum of 15 minutes. I appeal to them to abide by that decision.

Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic): At the outset, Mr. President, permit me to wish you every success in your high office. We regard you as an acknowledged and worthy representative of your country, the Federal

(Mr. Neugebauer, German
Democratic Republic)

Republic of Nigeria, with which the German Democratic Republic maintains close and friendly relations. We respect you also as an outstanding representative of Africa. The German Democratic Republic delegation will do its utmost to ensure that this special session will meet its goals.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid and the members of its Bureau for their dedicated work, notably in preparing this special session. We owe equal gratitude to you, Sir, for the commitment you have shown in presiding over the Special Committee against Apartheid over many years. We feel that credit should also go to the staff of the Centre against Apartheid, headed by the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris.

The German Democratic Republic, which you know personally from your official visits, is now going through a crucial stage in its development. In a self-confident and resolute manner, the people of my country are making use of their political rights. We aim with all our power to do away with all hindrances and to take constructive and well-thought-out steps towards sweeping changes and reforms leading to a renewed socialist society where true democracy can be experienced by every one every day. My country is indeed opening up to a world in which interdependence becomes ever more obvious.

The German Democratic Republic's coalition government formed on 18 November has presented a government programme that aims at a profound renewal of the country and also makes it very clear that in the future it will remain faithful to the ideals of anti-fascism, anti-racism, peace and socialism.

My country attaches great importance to the settlement of conflicts by exclusively peaceful means. Foreign policy activities of the German Democratic Republic's coalition government within the United Nations system are increasingly

(Mr. Neugebauer, German
Democratic Republic)

marked by respect for differing interests, willingness for co-operation among equals in all fields and the search for agreement or consensus. We are deeply convinced that reasonable solutions can also be found to complex issues if there are political will and a readiness to compromise, and if the interests of all sides involved in the conflict are taken into account.

One recent example of this is the successful implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. It is remarkable that the elections to the Constituent Assembly - the free expression by the Namibian people of its will - proceeded without any major disturbances. We congratulate the Namibian people on that and wish the political parties and their representatives at the Assembly great success in drafting a Constitution. May this process be marked by political wisdom, national reconciliation and a readiness to compromise in the interest of an independent development of the future State and for the benefit of the Namibian people. The United Nations and its United Nations Transition Assistance Group's peace-keeping operations, in which the German Democratic Republic participated, surely deserve credit for the free and fair conduct of the elections.

A Namibia that is politically independent, democratic and free from racial discrimination will, as we see it, carry great moral weight in the continuing struggle for the final eradication of apartheid; and it may be assumed that the increased prestige of the United Nations as a peace-maker will also help solve the problems in southern Africa as a whole. The convening of this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is indeed a very timely and constructive move in this context.

(Mr. Neugebauer, German
Democratic Republic)

Apartheid has proved to be an evil for humanity in every respect, an evil that must be eliminated. The political, social and economic marginalization of the non-white majority, practised now, as before, through institutionalized racial segregation, is an obstacle to the social advancement of the country and also an external threat. It is a breeding-ground for tensions and violent conflicts in the region, a strain on international relations and a risk to peace. Military actions and political and economic destabilization of the African front-line States must be superseded by co-operation and security for all. But with apartheid still in place, stability and peaceful development cannot be achieved either in the region or in South Africa itself.

With great attention and appreciation, the German Democratic Republic has followed and supported the activities of the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa. It is encouraging that realistically-minded representatives from various sectors of the white population are seeking to establish contacts with members of the anti-apartheid movement. There is increasing evidence of discussions and exchanges of views as well as joint reflections on the future among them. That gives rise to the hope that common sense will gain more and more ground.

Thanks to the unswerving efforts of the democratic anti-apartheid movement, quite a lot has been set in motion in South Africa. Walter Sisulu and his companions are free. Now the call to free the staunch patriot Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners must ring even louder throughout the world.

What can be noted are certain gestures from Pretoria - however hesitant they may be - that indicate a loosening of the apartheid system. Yet, they are by no means sufficient. The complete abolition of apartheid is on the agenda. Constructive conceptions from the African National Congress of South Africa and the democratic mass movement are on the table: the establishment of a democratic and

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non-racial South Africa where everybody, irrespective of race, creed, colour or origin, may enjoy equal civil and political rights. The Pretoria government should finally see the signs of the times.

My country supports the demand for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa by way of negotiation, believing that that is the only reasonable option. For the creation of a climate in which a constructive dialogue can be conducted, it seems absolutely necessary to lift the state of emergency; to release, unconditionally, Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners, as well as those detained illegally; to lift the ban on political organizations opposing apartheid; to withdraw troops from black townships; and to stop all legal proceedings instituted for political reasons, and capital punishment for political prisoners.

It is up to South Africa's people itself to decide the fate of the country and its political structures. Through appropriate endeavours on the basis of a common stand against apartheid, the international community can see to it that negotiations will indeed be started. The German Democratic Republic has always fully supported United Nations efforts to help eradicate apartheid. Like so many other States, my country will continue to extend solidarity to the peoples of southern Africa aspiring to self-determination, the enjoyment of human rights, and independence.

As long as apartheid has not been uprooted, the international community will have to press for its elimination. Concerted actions based on the draft declaration before us will certainly meet with the approval of my delegation.

Sir Crispin TICKELL (United Kingdom): It is a pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding over these proceedings. We appreciate your many skills and can think of no one better, above all, to preside over this session on apartheid.

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

Earlier in this debate, the representative of France expressed the views of the 12 member States of the European Community on the question of apartheid. Her statement underlines the abhorrence of apartheid felt by the Twelve: it is fully shared by the British Government. But because of the particular importance we attach to that issue, we wish to add our own voice to the debate.

It is fitting that the General Assembly should devote a special session to that subject. On no other issue is the United Nations as united as it is in its opposition to apartheid, which of itself constitutes an affront to human dignity. Apartheid arouses indignation and abhorrence throughout the world. In maintaining it, South Africa has no allies, no friends, no supporters and no defenders, least of all my own Government. Not a single speaker in this debate has found justification for apartheid. It is a system which is as bizarre as it is morally unsustainable.

There are signs that that message has at last begun to get through to the South African authorities. In last September's election, over 70 per cent of white South Africans voted for change. President De Klerk's new government is formally committed to change and to negotiations on the future of South Africa. There is a growing recognition that the system must change. Indeed, it has already begun to change. Recently, there have been encouraging signs of recognition that negotiations are the only means of bringing apartheid to a peaceful end and of resolving South Africa's basic problems.

Although Mr. De Klerk has only been in office a few months, he has already taken a number of steps in the right direction. In October, he ordered the release of Mr. Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, a step long urged by the United Nations. He has allowed mass demonstrations, which have included tangible manifestations of support for the African National Congress. He has announced a

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

commitment to end the Separate Amenities Act. Beach apartheid has come to an end and new, free settlement areas have been announced. Most recently, Mr. De Klerk has taken the decision to dismantle the national security management system.

Those are significant steps. We welcome them and we believe that the international community should give them due acknowledgement. But of course they are inadequate in themselves. There is a long way to go before South Africa can take its rightful place in the community of nations. As my Prime Minister said earlier this year, the South African Government will be judged not by what it says but by what it does. The focus must shift to the structure of apartheid itself and to creating the conditions of free political activity required for serious negotiations to begin. That will require political courage from Mr. De Klerk and from all those committed to the peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems. Today's meeting between Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela may prove an important step in that direction.

Of course, a debate in New York cannot solve South Africa's problems. No outside organization or Government could do so. The task is for the South African people itself. It goes without saying that we all want to see a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa. But it cannot be for outsiders to lay down what should or should not be included in a post-apartheid constitution. There are many forms of democracy, as this Assembly well demonstrates, and the South African people must be allowed to choose a system that suits it best. But the United Nations and the international community as a whole have important roles to play. That is not to elaborate a settlement plan for South Africa along the lines of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) - South Africa is not, after all, Namibia - but to encourage all the parties in South Africa to enter into negotiations on their common political future.

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

Mr. De Klerk has publicly committed himself and his Government to negotiations. As for the opposition groups, we welcome the strong preference inherent in the Declaration adopted by the Organization of African Unity in Harare last August for the path of a negotiated and peaceful settlement. It is in this area that the General Assembly must weigh its actions particularly carefully. The outcome of this special session should be a strong and unanimous signal to all concerned of the need to sit round the table and solve differences by negotiation. We shall not achieve this by endorsing the position of one side or the other, nor by presuming to dictate in advance to the people of South Africa what the outcome of their negotiations should be. Rather our aim should be to ensure that everything we do or say enhances rather than hinders the prospect of negotiations.

We should encourage all those involved to demonstrate flexibility and a spirit of mutual accommodation. There are a number of ways in which negotiations might come about. The British Government believes that the most promising route is offered by the possible negotiating concept drawn up by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, the validity of which was reaffirmed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October. Among other measures the negotiating concept calls for the South African Government to make a number of commitments, including removing the military from the townships, providing for freedom of assembly and discussion, suspending detention without trial, releasing Mr. Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, and lifting the ban on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress and permitting normal political activities. These commitments would be matched by an undertaking from the African National Congress and others to enter negotiations and suspend violence.

The South African Government has taken the first steps down this road. We must now encourage it to proceed further, using all the powers of peaceful

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United Kingdom)

persuasion at our disposal. As and when Mr. De Klerk takes the necessary steps, we believe it would then be right to lift some of the measures imposed by the international community so as to acknowledge progress and encourage South Africa to proceed further down the path of dialogue.

In the view of my Government the great strength of the negotiating concept worked out by the Eminent Persons Group was the emphasis it placed on simultaneous commitments in the context of a suspension of violence by all sides. We have brought diplomatic pressure on the Government of South Africa to adopt that concept and we call on others to do so too. We believe that it offers the best chance of bringing about the negotiations we all want to see.

For its part the British Government will continue to use all the means of peaceful persuasion at its disposal to encourage the South African Government to advance change and continue down the path towards dialogue. Meanwhile, we shall continue our substantial programme of assistance to the victims of apartheid in South Africa. This includes expenditure of some 10 million pounds a year in South Africa itself. We shall also continue our support for South Africa's neighbours in order to help them reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. This support already totals some 1.1 billion pounds since 1980.

But if the international community is to contribute to the process of change it must retain influence in South Africa. Attempts to isolate Mr. De Klerk and his Government are not the answer, nor are sanctions - for the reasons that I have explained many times in the Assembly and in the Security Council. They certainly weaken the South African economy and in doing so they increase misery and poverty, in particular among the most vulnerable parts of the community. But their political effect is to increase resistance to change rather than to encourage it.

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

For its part the British Government will continue its engagement in South Africa. We are committed to work for peaceful change and towards a new joint, stable and prosperous society. There are many positive ways in which the international community can contribute to this process. We shall do so throughout to the best of our ability.

Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure to express our satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over this special session, in keeping with General Assembly resolution 43/50 G, devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

The General Assembly has repeatedly voiced its conviction that the policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa is in flagrant violation of the purposes and the principles of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international legal instruments. The General Assembly has branded apartheid as a crime against humanity.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in its 14 October 1989 report, entitled "South African destabilization: the economic cost of front-line resistance to apartheid", highlighted the fact that the policy of destabilization pursued by racist South Africa has caused the death of more than one and a half million people in southern Africa and cost the front-line States \$60 billion in losses between 1980 and 1988. This exorbitant price paid by the neighbours of South Africa was exacted through a deliberate strategy aimed at keeping the front-line States under the economic tutelage of South Africa. The report maintains that the ultimate goal of the policies of the apartheid régime in southern Africa is to force the front-line States to go on footing an armaments

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab
Republic)

bill that is beyond their means until such time as they concede defeat and realize that they have no alternative but to accept apartheid or a modified version thereof. The Economic Commission for Africa found that that policy is the main reason for economic recession in the region.

The report confirms that the apartheid régime and its clients in the region, such as the RENAMO gang fighting in Mozambique and the UNITA gang in Angola, seek the destruction of economic targets such as the energy and transport infrastructures. Sales of electricity produced in Cabora Bassa in Mozambique have been lost due to repeated sabotage of power lines. This damage has cost Mozambique \$576 million in lost revenue over a period of nine years in addition to the losses incurred as a result of the destruction of the railway line to Malawi. Malawi has been compelled to re-route 90 per cent of its foreign trade commodities through South African ports which are far away from its territory. The upshot of all this is that the country's economy has been destroyed. This policy has also led to the emigration of a great number of the inhabitants and an adverse effect on agricultural production.

On the other hand, Zimbabwe has been forced to deploy 12,500 soldiers along the border with Mozambique in order to defend itself against the incursions by the RENAMO gang supported by the racist régime. The resultant excess defence spending by Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1988 has been estimated at \$3 billion. Extra transport costs borne by Zimbabwe have been estimated at \$800 million.

The report calls upon the international community to intervene more firmly against the racist régime of South Africa. It recommends that this question be studied with a view to the protection of the borders between South Africa and the front-line States and the deployment by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity or the Commonwealth of neutral forces in that region.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab
Republic)

In keeping with its consistent principled stance against apartheid, Syria reiterates its unwavering support for every action or measure that would contribute to ridding the victims of apartheid of that scourge which, to us, is the vilest evil that besets mankind. We also reaffirm our complete solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid, in keeping with our belief in the unity of the Arab-African struggle against a common enemy. Just exactly as our African brethren suffer at the hands of the racist régime in South Africa, our Arab people in the occupied Arab territories suffer at the hands of the brand of apartheid practised by racist Zionism in occupied Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories.

The Ninth Non-Aligned Summit forcefully condemned the growing collaboration between the two racist régimes, in South Africa and occupied Palestine. The summit also noted the similarities between the practices of repression engaged in by the two régimes, such as the "iron-fist" policy and the search-and-destroy methods those two régimes resort to inside South Africa, against the front-line States, inside Palestine, in southern Lebanon, and in the other occupied Arab territories. The non-aligned summit called upon all countries to stop all forms of co-operation with the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes in the nuclear field, given the adverse consequences for peace of such co-operation. The Summit also drew attention to the need to implement United Nations resolutions that denounce the ongoing nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa and highlighted the grave consequences for international peace and security inherent in such collaboration in the areas of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The news media have carried reports of the scandal of that collaboration between the two racist régimes. The NBC network revealed, on 25 October 1989, that Israel is actively helping the racist régime of South Africa to produce a

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab
Republic)

long-range missile in exchange for enriched uranium from South Africa for the production of nuclear warheads. Neither régime has been able to deny the veracity of the report. Their failure to do so cannot be attributed to any lack of trying on their part. They have used every trick in the book to dissemble the facts of that collaboration, which poses a very grave threat to the security and safety of the Arab and African peoples as well as international peace and security.

At its forty-fourth session, the General Assembly has adopted resolution 44/27 F, entitled "Relations between South Africa and Israel", which condemns Israel's collaboration with the racist minority régime of South Africa in the military and nuclear fields; in resolution 44/27 I entitled "Military collaboration with South Africa", the General Assembly expresses its serious concern at the increasing number of violations of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and strongly deplores Israel's continued violation of the arms embargo and its collaboration with South Africa in the military, nuclear, intelligence and technology fields.

The two apartheid régimes, of Pretoria and Tel Aviv, will never desist voluntarily from their racist practices and will not change their racist policies out of their own free will. They must be deterred and must be forced to abandon those racist practices and policies through the imposition of effective sanctions on both of them. The optimum and surest way of bringing about the liberation of the peoples of South Africa and the occupied Arab territories and putting an end to their prolonged suffering at the hands of both régimes is the imposition of mandatory sanctions on the two régimes in line with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

This is a fact that was reaffirmed by the General Assembly in operative paragraph 4 of its resolution 43/50 C, when it decided

"once again that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations would be the most appropriate, effective and peaceful means to bring apartheid to an end and to discharge the responsibilities of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, which are threatened and violated by the apartheid régime". (A/43/50 C, para. 4)

In this respect, we support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which call for a detailed consideration in a Security Council meeting of the totality of the policies of intimidation pursued by South Africa and the acts of State terrorism practised in South Africa and the region as a whole, with a view to the adoption of appropriate measures including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime in Pretoria. Though the Security Council has not yet managed to adopt such comprehensive mandatory sanctions, for reasons which are known to all, most of the States Members of the Organization have voluntarily adopted sanctions, either selectively or comprehensively, against South Africa. In this respect, I wish to point out that the Syrian Arab Republic, which is engaged in combating Zionist racialism in our Arab region, has always been in the forefront of the countries that support the struggle of the South African people against apartheid. We have fully implemented all United Nations resolutions which call for boycotting that régime and breaking every tie with it.

We strongly condemn South Africa's policy of apartheid, as we consider it to be the worst type of racial discrimination. We also condemn the destabilization policy pursued by that régime in the region in defence of its survival.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab
Republic)

Participation in the efforts of the international community to free South Africa from racial persecution and establish a democratic State there is a duty that must be shouldered by all humanity. We look forward to the day when apartheid will disappear from the face of the earth and the peoples of South Africa and Palestine will recover their inalienable rights and human dignity.

Mr. NWACHUKWU (Nigeria): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to thank the members of the Assembly for once more giving Nigeria the honour of having you, Sir, Preside over the General Assembly at this special session devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences. We are also grateful to them for giving my country the leadership of the Special Committee against Apartheid for over 20 years. We commend all the members of the Special Committee for the excellent job they have done so far.

Let it be recalled that Nigeria first called for the convening of this special session at the ministerial meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in Nicosia in September 1988. This call was reaffirmed at the forty-third session of the General Assembly. We are pleased that the special session is now being held. Our call was informed by a deep appreciation of the need to remind the international community of the continuing havoc which apartheid has wrought on the lives of the non-white majority population of South Africa.

Recent events in Namibia have shown what the international community, united in commitment and political will, can do to advance the cause of human dignity and freedom. Namibia, after decades of illegal occupation by South Africa, is now on the threshold of independence. This positive development rests, in large measure, on the relentless struggle of the Namibian people and the determination of our Organization to rid Namibia of South Africa's illegal rule. We express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) for so far discharging their responsibility creditably in Namibia.

The United Nations has been in the forefront of the international campaign against apartheid. It is common knowledge that no issue has received such

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

sustained attention over the years as apartheid. Nor has any other issue generated more intense passions than this evil and inhuman system.

Our expressions of righteous indignation have not been translated into collective action to eradicate the evil of apartheid. Apartheid has endured this long because some key members of the international community, by acts of omission and/or commission, have permitted that system to thrive. None the less, the peoples and non-governmental organizations of these key Member States of the United Nations have demonstrated solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa, in spite of the positions of their Governments.

We are now at the crossroads. We have reached that point where those who have long supported apartheid must accept that the system, based on the myth of racial superiority, can no longer survive. South Africa cannot be an exception to the universally accepted democratic principle that power derives from the people, expressed through free exercise of their fundamental rights. So long as apartheid exists, it will also deny all South Africans, black or white, any claims they may have to peace, freedom, progress and social justice. Indeed, no nation can be at peace with itself when some of its people remain subjugated.

The southern Africa sub-region has experienced enormous destruction and suffering as a result of the existence of apartheid. Our brothers in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe have had to put up with unbearable human and economic suffering occasioned by the apartheid régime in South Africa. Since 1980 the sub-region has lost a total of 1.5 million lives. Of these casualties, 925,000 were defenceless infants and young children. The cost of South Africa's aggression and destabilization between 1980 and 1988 is estimated at \$60 billion. In addition, there exists, as part of an acute situation of human

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

misery, an endemic refugee problem. The psychological damage will for ever remain unquantifiable.

The sacrifice and the deprivations of the brave peoples and Governments of the front-line States have been matched only by the courage and indomitable will of black South Africans themselves. It is this unspeakable suffering of the victims of apartheid that the international community cannot ignore. Imagine a little child who cannot dare to dream of freedom solely because of the colour of his skin; imagine the youth turned into a rebel because he refused to succumb to the irrationality of the apartheid system; imagine the agony of the South African woman torn from her family and exposed to the violence of apartheid; imagine the old and infirm who are thrown to the mercies of the elements, after the vitality of their youth has been drained by the exploitative apartheid system. It is to these victims that we should listen, rather than to the cynical rationalization of the beneficiaries of the apartheid system.

Whilst we hesitate to compare the harrowing experiences of the Holocaust to the cruelties of the apartheid system, we often wonder whether that system would have lasted this long had the victims been of a different race. Would the same moral amnesia which some sections of the international community have deliberately exhibited have persisted if the tables had been turned, and the oppressed had become the oppressors? How is it that States which are known for the defence of freedom and human rights now turn a blind eye to the invidious and blatant form of denial of human rights and freedom manifested in apartheid?

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

These are questions which our people, all peoples of good will and, indeed, the South African people ask in their quiet reflection on this irony of history. They are questions that strike at the core of the values this body upholds and that are the reason for this special session.

My delegation believes that the international community still holds the key to the solution of the apartheid problem and this is our reason for supporting intensified international pressure on the racist régime. Contrary to assertions in certain quarters, there is conclusive evidence that sanctions and the arms embargo, limited as they have been, have worked. Why then should we abandon the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime when it is the pressure of those sanctions that has contributed significantly to the minimal movement towards change which we are now witnessing?

It is tempting to misinterpret recent events in South Africa and to succumb to the feeling that real change is taking place in that country. The actions of the present racist régime, like the earlier ones, are, in our view, purely cosmetic. The so-called reforms have already been totally rejected by the victims of apartheid - the oppressed peoples of South Africa themselves - and we must accept that verdict. If the Pretoria régime is genuinely committed to change, it should immediately lift the state of emergency; release, unconditionally, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees; lift the ban on all anti-apartheid organizations; grant clemency to all those on death row for politically related activities and halt violence as the State policy. To this end I commend the Harare Declaration to the Assembly for adoption.

The De Klerk Administration must take a bold leap into the future, heal the wounds and remould the South African nation. It should begin by dismantling the institutions and structure of apartheid and by repealing such legal pillars of the

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

system as the oppressive security legislation, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act and the Bantustan policy.

Throughout history, the advent of freedom and liberty has always been greeted with relief and enthusiasm. The current events in Eastern Europe are a lesson to us all. South Africa must not be an exception to the global upsurge of this democratic and liberal fervour. It must join the rest of humanity in the present movement towards freedom, democracy, justice and equal rights for all peoples.

The need to remove the scourge of apartheid through the establishment of a free democratic system in South Africa has reached a point where the protagonists must face each other at the negotiating table in an atmosphere of equality and mutual respect. Never has there been greater need than now for all the liberal and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa to join hands in their efforts to rid their country of the unjust system.

Nigeria welcomes the recent meeting of the conference for a democratic future for South Africa. We endorse the call to all anti-apartheid supporters to take to the streets to protest the total unacceptability of apartheid and minority rule in South Africa.

Nigeria also welcomes the movement of a significant number of people within the South African white community to distance themselves from the oppressive and unjust legalized racism of which the South African majority have, for so long, remained a victim. Nevertheless, it is a matter of grave concern to Nigeria that, in this day and age, assassination squads within the South African police have been responsible for the disappearance and murder of leaders, black and white, of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. We know that the incumbent Administration has instituted a police probe into this sordid affair, but it is our considered opinion that the evidence of organized murder and assassination is so damaging that

(Mr. Nwachukwu, Nigeria)

only an impartial judicial inquiry will allay the fears of the international community that organized assassination of opponents has not become an official policy of the apartheid régime.

For 43 years, the United Nations has dealt with the question of apartheid. Let us resolve, as we enter the last decade of this century, that this degrading and inhuman system will be finally and decisively dismantled. Let us affirm at this session that we will not relent in our efforts until this goal is achieved. From the experience of post-independence, Nigeria and Africa are confident that the sins of the oppressor will not be visited on their children. We Africans regard white South Africans as our brothers and sisters with whom we shall share not only a common continent but a common humanity.

In the twilight of the twentieth century, apartheid remains an affront to mankind - a blot on human civilization. We are convinced that a new South Africa will rise at the dawn of this coming era. We want to see a South Africa whose energies are harnessed to efforts for the regeneration and progress of our common African home. We call for the birth of a new African continent unburdened by prejudice, cant and exploitation; an Africa that plays a vital and important role in the shared human global environment.

Our generation, this generation of mankind, must not allow any part of the human race to remain in bondage at the dawn of the twenty-first century. We want to build a world united by common ties of humanity, economic interdependence, political and social justice - a world where all peoples, irrespective of race, can march in harmony towards a common goal of political liberty, a world where all men are free and equal.

Mr. BONGO (Gabon) (interpretation from French): I should like, before addressing the central topic of this session, to commend you, Mr. President, for

(Mr. Bongo, Gabon)

the dedication and skill with which you have led the Special Committee against Apartheid, which plays a remarkable role, especially in disseminating information and in denouncing the racist régime of Pretoria. Your election to the presidency of this special session bears witness to this.

I also wish to pay a very special tribute to Mr. Perez de Cuellar for his constant devotion to the cause of peace and security in the world.

This sixteenth special session of the General Assembly is being convened precisely at a time when the present climate of détente encourages the settlement of different regional conflicts by peaceful means.

(Mr. Bongo, Gabon)

Namibia's imminent accession to independence is an indication of the renewed effectiveness of the United Nations and of the trust newly placed in it. This shows how decisive the initiatives of the Organization can be in attaining and safeguarding the ideals of peace, justice, freedom and equality that are set forth in its Charter. The convening of the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is a revealing illustration of this, and Gabon - a tireless defender of human rights - is deeply gratified.

The situation in South Africa remains disquieting. Indeed, although the Pretoria régime has on many occasions announced its willingness to change, there have thus far been no substantive initiatives in response to the desire of the black majority to exercise fully its civic and political rights. The extension of the state of emergency, the fact that Nelson Mandela and hundreds of other persons are still imprisoned, and the prohibition of anti-apartheid organizations all confirm that the South African Government's real intention is to destroy any attempt to oppose that odious system.

The continuation of this policy, based on the negation of the unity of human values, can only arouse indignation and unanimous condemnation on the part of the international community. No Government that respects the principles of the United Nations Charter can have a clear conscience if it co-operates with the racist régime of South Africa. Apartheid therefore constitutes an insecurity syndrome in international relations. In other words, it is a factor that disturbs the peace and security of the world. All resolutions of the United Nations reflect this. Gabon supports these resolutions completely and, in particular, agrees that it is because of the cruelty of that régime that the United Nations has often described it, with evocative conciseness, as a crime against mankind. This means that apartheid cannot be absolved for any reason whatsoever; it can only be punished.

(Mr. Bongo, Gabon)

I should like, on behalf of my country, to reaffirm forcefully our constant condemnation of apartheid and solemnly denounce the Pretoria régime, which is oppressing the majority population and denying that population its most basic rights, thus condemning it to live in sub-human conditions in its own country. It was in this context that Gabon, in 1981 and 1986, participated in the international conferences on sanctions against South Africa. We completely support the Declaration and the Programme of Action on Southern Africa adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Harare last August.

In the same context, my country signed, in 1966, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; in 1980, the International Convention on the Elimination and Repression of the Crime of Apartheid; and in 1986, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. All of these actions demonstrate Gabon's resolve to do all in its power to help to eradicate apartheid - that affront to human dignity and to the universal conscience, which, in order to survive, uses cynicism to the extreme by its political and economic destabilization of its neighbours.

The Republic of Gabon wishes to reaffirm its solidarity with the front-line countries, which, every day, are paying a high price for the establishment in South Africa of a free, democratic society, a society free of racial discrimination. How could we fail to support any initiative aimed at the dismantling of this anachronistic régime? The Government of Gabon, for its part, supports the introduction of sanctions against South Africa, which deliberately continues to violate the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. As is reflected in the recent report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the sanctions that have been imposed on the country of apartheid have undoubtedly produced results. Within white South African society itself more and more voices are already calling for an

(Mr. Bongo, Gabon)

end to the system of apartheid. Timid reforms have been the response. They are not enough to meet the legitimate aspirations of the black majority.

Given this new factor, it would therefore be appropriate to invite the forces of change, both inside and outside South Africa, to maintain and increase their pressure on the South African Government, since the policy adopted by the new leaders in Pretoria must be translated into facts.

I want to pay tribute to all the freedom-fighters who have marked the history of South Africa with their courage and their bloodshed. Gabon is more than ever convinced of the validity of sanctions that have been adopted. Need we recall that the reluctance of some to implement these sanctions encourages the proponents of apartheid in their irrational and unreasonable position, which is contrary to the course of history and to African wisdom? We cannot repeat often enough the fact that, above and beyond its racial and cultural diversity, South Africa constitutes an African entity.

A convinced proponent of dialogue - the President of our Republic, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo - is following with great interest the changes that are under way in South Africa. He is convinced that account must be taken of any element that could contribute to laying the foundations of a dialogue free of mutual fear. My delegation, deeply concerned by the persistent intransigence of the racist South African régime, demands of Pretoria that it establish a climate conducive to negotiations, including the liberation of all political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the state of emergency and of all other restrictive measures. Only in these conditions will the different racial components of the country be able to consider their shared destiny in a climate of confidence and calm.

(Mr. Bongo, Gabon)

In this year of the bicentennial of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and at a time when the Berlin wall is being dismantled, is it not time also to break down the wall of apartheid? These are all factors that the international community should take into account in particular in order that it may press forward and speed the process of the total and definitive elimination of apartheid. By standing up to racist South Africa collectively and constantly, the United Nations will exert its influence to the utmost and will surely prompt South Africa to come to its senses. It seems to me that this is the best way of meeting the challenge that the policy of apartheid poses to the conscience of the world. My country is convinced that the United Nations, which enjoys the confidence of all its Members, will find the way of achieving this end.

Mr. MARSHALL (New Zealand): It is particularly appropriate that you, Sir, with your long experience as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, should have been chosen to preside at this special session of the General Assembly. Your presidency is all the more appropriate, given Nigeria's long-standing strong commitment to the dismantling of apartheid.

The task ahead of the General Assembly at this special session on apartheid is an important one for all members of the Assembly.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

It gives us all an opportunity to focus exclusively on apartheid and on those policies of the Government of South Africa which have for too long been part of the international agenda.

New Zealand has long held that apartheid is an affront to human dignity. The fundamental problem in South Africa is apartheid - the denial to the majority of black people by the minority white régime of basic human and political rights. For far too long this has been the root cause of instability in South Africa and insecurity in the whole region.

The vast majority of people in South Africa are against apartheid. They want it abolished because it is evil and inhuman. They want what so many of the rest of us have long taken for granted - the right to control their own lives, to live in dignity and without fear, the right for all children to grow up with the same hopes and opportunities which for so long only the children of white people have been allowed. They are calling on the international community again to support them in their struggle against the apartheid system.

Since we came into office in 1984 the New Zealand Government has taken steps actively to reduce our country's links with South Africa. We have given effect to all the measures against South Africa recommended by the Commonwealth, and to all the sanctions, both mandatory and voluntary, resolved by the Security Council. There is no New Zealand investment in South Africa. There have been no diplomatic relations with South Africa since the South African Government, seeing the writing of our attitudes on the wall, closed its office in Wellington in 1984. We have instituted a broad range of prohibitions on dealings with South Africa. Most difficult of all for a people whose major opponents in our most popular sport were South African rugby players, we have instituted a vigorous anti-sporting-contacts régime. We are prepared to go still further on economic sanctions if that is

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

necessary. We are waiting for the De Klerk Government to signal clearly its commitment to the abolition of apartheid.

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers has been asked to meet again in April, by which time the present South African Administration will have had six months in office. New Zealand is conscious of that deadline and of the commitment of the Kuala Lumpur summit meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government to strengthening sanctions against apartheid. We, therefore, have not ruled out further sanctions, extending those already introduced. If, after the April meeting of Commonwealth Ministers, there has not been the necessary movement by the De Klerk Government, New Zealand Ministers will be considering those further measures.

A number of participants in this special session have noted that we live in changing times. The point they make is that Botha has gone and that De Klerk represents a new approach. Like many New Zealanders, I have closely followed South African politics for a long time, and I am, frankly, doubtful. I shall believe the change not when it is promised but when it is there for all of us to see. The South African propaganda machine has for years produced many false promises.

Perhaps the current developments, which have produced a climate of expectation, do represent a genuine advance. However, more than 3,000 South Africans are still in gaol for political activity. More than 70 are on death row, and more than 800 remain under restriction. Many organizations opposed to apartheid remain banned or restricted, and all those other fundamental pillars of apartheid remain firmly in place. These pillars by now scarcely need to be named. They have stood for so long as an affront to human dignity that they have become part of our international consciousness - the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

Even more to the point, the De Klerk Government has yet to address the most fundamental issue - black political rights - the very essence of what has brought us all here. Above all, therefore, we shall be looking, very closely, for the Government of South Africa to move clearly and unequivocally on this matter of political rights.

As the draft text of the Special Committee against Apartheid so admirably points out, we are not in the business of modifying apartheid. We have not come here to tinker or to work at the margins. We are here to see apartheid abolished. But we are not unreasonable. We do not expect an immediate and unplanned total abolition. There is no effective gain in establishing unrealistic goals. We all have to live in the real world. Rather, in the terms of the draft text of the Special Committee against Apartheid, we look for an end to apartheid through negotiations.

There is clearly still a huge psychological barrier to be negotiated by the South African minority in contemplating the possibility of life after apartheid. In considering a potentially traumatic transition to a new South Africa, they might look around them, not least to the Namibian experience. The successful completion of elections in Namibia last month, under United Nations supervision, is a tribute to the perseverance and determination of the Namibian people to attain fundamental democratic rights. The high percentage of voter turn-out for the elections was a remarkable achievement, a clear demonstration of the importance the Namibian people attach to attaining democratic rights. New Zealand, along with the rest of the international community, rejoices with and congratulates the people of Namibia, and we await with a great deal of interest the country's independence Constitution.

The United Nations has had more than its fair share of disappointment and critics over the years, but let us now give credit where it is due. The United Nations played a critical role in managing the independence process, particularly

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

in ensuring that the Namibian elections were free and fair. The Namibia experience shows us what can be achieved through concerted international effort. New Zealand made its contribution to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group by the provision of a police contingent and a group of engineers attached to the Australian Defence component.

The Organization of African Unity has, in its recent Declaration on South Africa, set out the principles on which it believes the new South African nation should be built. We endorse those principles, articulating as they do basic rights and freedoms of individuals in a democratic State. We welcome, in the preamble to the Declaration, the preference expressed for a peaceful process towards the elimination of apartheid.

The principles of the Harare Declaration have been reflected in the Special Committee's draft document. The contents represent a major contribution to the current discussion. We congratulate the drafters on providing us with such a valuable foundation on which to base our consideration of the next important moves in South Africa. The balance of the document is something with which we very much agree, particularly in its emphasis on negotiations.

Through this process New Zealand looks forward to the day when we can embrace a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa. Perhaps that day is not far off. When apartheid has been eliminated all South Africans can look forward to a world free from economic, social and cultural sanctions.

As over recent years we have welcomed the newly independent nations of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola and are soon to welcome Namibia, so shall we all welcome a new Government of all the people of South Africa. South Africans and New Zealanders will also then be able to watch the two great Rugby teams of the world, the New Zealand Rugby team playing against a non-racial side representing the new South Africa. There will then no longer be a need for Pretoria's agents to try to

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

undertake in our open and democratic society surreptitious cheque-book sporting arrangements, no longer any need to lie about organizing rebel sporting tours.

None of us see sanctions as an end in themselves. We do not want them; we would prefer not to have to apply them. But today, now, they remain necessary.

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

New Zealanders believes that the tightening of measures against South Africa by the international community over the last few years has played a crucial part in encouraging President De Klerk's recent more positive moves. I do not have any doubt that those measures, particularly the financial and economic sanctions, have been a major factor behind South Africa's recent adoption of a good-neighbour regional foreign policy.

The high cost of Pretoria's destabilization tactics of the past, coupled with the strain on the economy caused by sanctions, has surely by now given Pretoria serious cause for reflection. Now is not the time to reduce those measures. The pressure has to be maintained. Any weakening on our part now would run the risk of sending to Pretoria the wrong signal, a signal suggesting perhaps that the very modest, even superficial, changes that have taken place might in some way meet our demands.

We are well aware that South Africa - a master of gesture politics - may consider that instead of dismantling apartheid it will try to go just far enough to satisfy those who will accept something that meets minimum criteria. That approach will not work. New Zealand, like the rest of the international community, is looking at South Africa's moves with care. Our principal criterion for the validity of the De Klerk measures will be the judgements made by the black South African people themselves.

New Zealanders wish this particular session, even more than the General Assembly's usual sessions, success in its discussions. The issue is of vital importance for us all, not least as a standard for the implementation of human rights throughout the world. The cause is just. Its resolution is long overdue.

We say to Mr. De Klerk: Let 1990 be the year in which apartheid is finally brought to an end. Let 1990 be the time when all the peoples of South Africa are

(Mr. Marshall, New Zealand)

free at last as equal partners in a new nation. Let 1990 be the year when all the children in South Africa are born equal. And let 1990 be the year in which your country starts to rejoin the international community and the human race.

Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (interpretation from French): The first words of my statement at this special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid will be words of tribute to a man whose courage, faith and dignity command our admiration and respect; a man who, all by himself, embodies a symbol - the symbol of the heroic struggle of the black people of South Africa against domination, oppression and injustice; the symbol of black consciousness.

That man, as the Assembly will surely have guessed, is Nelson Mandela, whose sacrifice should be an inspiration for the resistance of the people of South Africa, for the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and of Africa as a whole. That man is the perfect example of the axiom that no struggle can be waged without sacrifices but that those sacrifices will not be in vain. Dead or alive - what does it matter? That man has already made history. Dead or in captivity, Nelson Mandela is already a martyr to the struggle of his people. And martyrs never die. The force of their thinking and their genius, the power of the ideas and convictions they embody always survive them, immortalizing their struggle. Indeed, many public places and schools in my country already are named for this illustrious fighter.

For more than 40 years this odious system, negating human dignity and human rights, has persisted in South Africa.

Allow me to take stock at this stage by engaging in a brief historical retrospection, in order to ensure that with the passage of time, and with the manipulations of which the supporters of apartheid are such masters, we shall not forget - as we sometimes do - where we came from, where we stand and where we are going.

(Mr. Djermaakoye, Niger)

In 1948, upon the victory of Mr. Malan's Radical Nationalist Coalition and the emergence of a purely Afrikaner power in Pretoria, the word apartheid gained sudden and negative notoriety in the international arena. In its draft Constitution published in 1942 in the two Afrikaans-language dailies - Die Burger of Cape Town and Die Transvaaler of Johannesburg, Mr. Malan referred to territorial segregation and inequality between whites and non-whites in the following terms:

"The attitude of the whites towards coloured people will be inspired by the spirit of Christian paternalism, the former being placed over the latter".

Article 11 of the statute of the National Party formulates the thesis of separate development of the European and non-European races in the following terms:

"The Party views itself as the Christian trustee of the European race and makes this principle the basis of its policy towards the non-European races.

... It will give the non-European races an opportunity for development on their territory in accordance with their aptitudes and natural capacities and will guarantee them just and reasonable treatment by the Administration of the country, but it is absolutely opposed to all mixing of the European and non-European races."

So the Party says: we must either adopt the policy of equality, which amounts to the suicide of the white race, or commit ourselves to the course of apartheid, by which the character and future of each race is protected, without clashes between one another's interests and without having to fear that some may regard the existence or development of others as a threat.

But even better than the official statements of the Nationalist South African leaders, the legislative arsenal they have put in place since 1948 gives the true picture of apartheid: its concern to preserve the identity of the Volk, the Afrikaner people, by embodying in the institutions a whole set of elementary

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concepts and feelings; its rejection of all genetic mixtures - a rejection embodied in the 1949 law prohibiting interracial marriages and the 1950 law prohibiting interracial intimate relations.

In September 1949 the Reverend J. W. Vorster, speaking to the Congress of the National Union of Afrikaner Students in Cape Town, stated that he had just read Mein Kampf and had been struck by the reconstruction of the German nation achieved by Hitler. Listen to what he told them:

"Hitler's Mein Kampf shows the way to greatness. It constitutes an example for South Africa. Hitler gave the Germans a vocation. He gave them fanaticism, which enabled them to stand up to everyone. We must follow his example because only sacred fanaticism such as that will make it possible for the Afrikaner nation to fulfil its vocation".

(Mr. Djermakoye, Niger)

I could have concluded my statement at that point, but since I have some time left, let me continue. Here are the established facts. They are hard facts, facts that are irrefutable, and it is because of them that many observers consider the doctrine of apartheid to be the evil racist totalitarianism of our time. Does it not serve to glorify the "chosen people", the Afrikaner people, as if they were charged with a mission to be carried out by the Christian State; a conviction rooted in the neo-Darwinian theories of the hierarchy of races, of wars against black tribes, Anglo-Boer wars, and in a very special interpretation of the curse on the children of Ham in the Bible?

These are the true social, cultural and political dimensions - but above all the historical dimensions - of the real problem of apartheid, because only by looking thus at the past are we able to see clearly.

This historical digression tells us above all that apartheid had, first and foremost, a colonial basis. When the Boers came to South Africa they did not discover a terra nullis, an empty space, but a territory occupied by native black populations, which indeed - need I forcefully and proudly stress here again - had valiantly resisted this colonialist aggression with a remarkable warlike military strategy.

The outrageous result of this situation is that for several decades all the privileges were conferred on the white occupants, the minority in the territory, while the overwhelming black majority are denied the most elementary rights. Above and beyond these aspects, apartheid therefore has an essentially moral, racial and philosophical foundation which renders it completely unacceptable to the Niger, and which should be repulsive, I was going to say revolting, to any decent, self-respecting conscience.

So it is not through obscurantist and dilatory manoeuvres, such as the granting of psuedo-independence, liberalization, development or the reform of

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apartheid undertaken by the new political leadership of the country under the guidance of De Klerk, that that state of affairs will be changed one iota.

On the contrary, these constitute additional actions intended to divert international public opinion. They are mere subterfuges designed to gain a little more time and to postpone even further the inevitable elimination of this system which has been condemned by history. De Klerk must understand that if he wishes to be taken seriously, if he wishes any credibility at all to be given to his actions, he will need to go much further, beyond these little minor reforms, because the fight against apartheid is not simply a public relations operation. It is essentially political and moral. For my country, it is above all a question of dignity and self-esteem, which cannot be subject to any compromise or bargaining.

How many times have we proclaimed in this forum that apartheid must be eliminated? Yet apartheid still persists and has a good future ahead of it because the support that South Africa can count on lulls it as much as it embarrasses us because these supporters of theirs are also valued and indispensable partners of ours, partners who, on various occasions have shown that they do know how to defend the freedom of peoples and respect the dignity of races.

We therefore appeal once again to the great Powers, our Western partners, and all the countries directly concerned, to make use of their ties with South Africa and their influence on it to get it to understand that apartheid constitutes a grave threat to peace, that apartheid is an inadmissible challenge to all mankind; that every effort to seek lasting peace in our world must be directed towards fighting against, extirpating and abolishing apartheid.

As stated by General Ali Saïbou, President of the Supreme Council of National Guidance, in his statement to the national press on the occasion of the first anniversary of his accession to office:

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"Niger respects all proposals, efforts or initiatives, where apartheid is concerned, so long as they preserve the interests and achievements of the struggle of the black people of South Africa, do not betray the black cause, and truly seek the dismantling of apartheid. Niger solemnly reaffirms its position of principle, which is that of resolute support of the fighters for freedom and dignity."

This is an opportunity for us to restate our commitment to, and solidarity with, the front-line States, the immediate neighbours of South Africa, which have constantly been the targets of acts of aggression, destabilization and State terrorism perpetrated by the racist Pretoria régime.

The unjust war imposed upon them by the racist régime between 1980 and 1988 caused the States members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference a reduction of \$50 billion in their gross domestic product. According to a report published this year by the United Nations Children's Fund, 147,000 young Angolese and Mozambicans died in the year 1988 alone. This grim picture clearly shows that it is the duty of the international community and incumbent upon it to take a stance in solidarity with the front-line States.

How can we make South Africa understand that its military power, its excessive armament and, we know it for sure, its nuclear capability and possession of nuclear weapons are only giving it a false sense of security?

History offers many examples. We must repeat to South Africa that might always gives way to right, so for De Klerk there is nothing wrong, there is no shame, in admitting the errors of the past, and in correcting the errors that have been committed by his various predecessors in the name of the same doctrine. On the other hand, it is a serious error to persist in one's mistakes.

De Klerk must grasp the urgency of the need to co-operate fully with the rest of the international community, particularly with the United Nations, whose Special

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Committee against Apartheid has done some remarkable work, and to grasp the line extended to him by some great statesmen known for their vision and sense of tolerance and dialogue.

It is high time to realize, however, that much remains to be done, because there are many who do not respect the measures they have adopted here in this forum and elsewhere with regard to South Africa.

Important and rapid changes are taking place today in international relations as we approach the turn of the century. We are following, observing and analysing all of these changes, I might say these peaceful revolutions, with the closest attention. They express an inescapable reality: the world is changing, and with it ideas, the forms, the structures and, especially, people. People everywhere are aspiring, perhaps more than ever in the past, to justice, freedom, equality, happiness and greater well-being. We must be particularly attentive to these changes and signs, inasmuch as they reveal the historical stage at which mankind as a whole finds itself today, in its development. We invite South Africa to be involved in this indispensable effort, to make adjustments and adapt itself to these changes. Otherwise, it will be swept away by the whirlwinds of these sudden accelerations of history.

We must dream - and why should we not dream? - of the not-too-distant future, we hope, when a South Africa, rid of apartheid, a democratic and non-racial South Africa, will resume its place in this forum amongst the civilized nations of the planet; a South Africa that will work hand in hand with other peoples. The people of that country, white and black, will be welcomed to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). That dream is not Utopian. That dream can, sooner than we think, become a reality.

Mr. VAN DUNEM (Angola) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, before I begin my statement I promise to be brief, because what I have to say has already been said by the eminent speakers who preceded me, especially Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Chairman of the front-line States, and Mr. Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe.

The leader of the Angolan delegation at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly has already had the privilege of congratulating you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. However, I cannot fail to take this opportunity to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. I wish in particular to stress the very important role of your country, Nigeria, and your personal commitment as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid in the struggle against the scourge of apartheid.

It is also fitting that I should pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his tireless efforts in the search for peaceful settlements to the serious problems of our times, in particular regional conflicts.

The international community correctly recognizes that the world has entered a stage of détente paving the way towards negotiated settlements of conflicts. This new climate in international relations offers political leaders in South Africa a unique opportunity in the search for a peaceful solution to the question of apartheid, which is the source of tension and conflict in southern Africa. As stressed in the Harare Declaration, to which the Government of Angola fully subscribes, if Pretoria were disposed to undertake genuine and serious negotiations, apartheid could be eliminated peacefully.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola considers that the front-line States have done everything they could to bring about peace and stability in the area by fostering the process of negotiated settlements. In this connection my delegation endorses the very clear and eloquent statements made by Presidents Kenneth David Kaunda and Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zambia and Zimbabwe respectively.

The Angolan Government for its part will continue to support all efforts to reach a genuine settlement of the question of apartheid. We are heartened by the process of Namibia's independence in which it played a decisive role, specially by the signing, on 22 December 1988, of the New York Agreements on the settlement of the question of south-west Africa and the total, but staged, withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. This factor is undoubtedly contributing to the elimination of the scourge of apartheid, which we believe to be the main source of the hotbeds of tension in the region.

Indeed, the situation created by the New York Agreements and the implementation of Security Council 435 (1978) that will soon enable Namibia to accede to independence prove that it is possible even in South Africa, if the rulers of that country so wish, to bring about radical changes in the policy of apartheid. It is not a matter of reforming the system, which is universally condemned by the international community and considered as a crime against humanity. That system must purely and simply be abolished, since it runs counter not only to the principles and provisions of the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) but also to those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

Indeed, it would not be sufficient to reform the system's methods; the régime must start by repealing the instruments underpinning it juridically - that is to say, all discriminatory laws, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act, to mention only the most important. In addition, all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, must be freed. The South African régime must also cease once and for all to commit acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States. Only implementation of these measures could contribute to fostering a climate of trust, both inside and outside the borders of South Africa, and make it possible to envisage a frank dialogue without ulterior motives between all the sons and daughters of South Africa, regardless of the colour of their skin, and the development of co-operation with the States of the region. It is up to the South African régime to create these conditions. Africa, as far as it is concerned, has already extended its hand several times. That was done with the Lusaka Manifesto and more recently, on 21 August last, the Harare Declaration. These have clearly demonstrated the political maturity of the leaders of our States and of the liberation movements recognized by the OAU and the United Nations.

The role played by the Angolan Government in the process that led to the signing of the New York Agreements is one more example of the flexibility and spirit of sacrifice evinced by our leaders. Members no doubt know that Angolan territory, because of our support for the South West Africa People's Organization and the African National Congress of South Africa, has been invaded and occupied several times, not to mention that a number of Angolan citizens were killed or maimed by South African armed forces. The material damage my country was able to assess, up to now, amounts to over \$13 billion.

All this proves that it is possible, given good faith and a degree of realism and flexibility, to find solutions to all problems, no matter how difficult.

(Mr. Van Dunem, Angola)

We in Angola would like to believe in the good intentions of the South African authorities. However, the recent freeing of eight black leaders and some reforms in the practice of apartheid do not seem to us to be sufficient guarantee - nor is it tangible proof - that the minority régime in South Africa wants to set up in its territory a democratic and non-racial nation, a State where all citizens enjoy the same rights, regardless of the colour of their skin.

The consequences of apartheid are serious and destructive for all southern Africa. The human tragedy flowing therefrom is equalled only by apartheid itself. Every country in the area has been, to one degree or another, affected by the nefarious consequences of apartheid. While it is true that current circumstances have never been more favourable for the dismantling of apartheid, it remains equally true that it would be a mistake to think that, had mandatory sanctions not been imposed, South Africa would have still taken the timid, cosmetic measures that today it presents as signifying an evolution of the régime. We are convinced that the international community must neither relax the pressure nor stand idly by. Sanctions must be maintained to compel the South African régime to put an end to its odious policy of apartheid.

Mr. BRAUTIGAM (Federal Republic of Germany): On behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, I would like to endorse the statement made by the Minister Delegate of France for the 12 States members of the European Community. It fully reflects the views of my Government.

The special session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time of ferment and fundamental change in Europe. The nations and people are forcefully demanding freedom and democracy, the guarantee of their fundamental human and civil rights. They want to participate without hindrance in international exchange and co-operation.

This powerful message transcends and tears down the walls between people and States and between races and individuals. The message is especially important for South Africa. It is a signal to those in power that says: do not reject the hand reaching out for peaceful change; start negotiations on a fundamental renewal of the political and social system. The legitimate claim of the South African majority people to a life in dignity must not be met with intimidation, bans, censorship or the prolongation of the state of emergency.

At the same time, the message is a signal to the South African people struggling for justice. The change in Europe demonstrates that progress can be achieved not through violence but through the renunciation of violence. Non-violence can disarm an undemocratic régime. The determination of a people to resolve conflicts by peaceful means has become a triumphant force of charismatic appeal. It must also apply to South Africa, and it must apply to both sides there.

South Africa is today in a state of ferment. The majority of the population is demanding freedom and respect for human dignity, irrespective of colour or origin. Every victory for democracy, freedom and human rights in the world is also an encouragement to the people of South Africa.

(Mr. Bräutigam, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Freedom and justice through democracy - this message is also being sent from Namibia. The unbroken determination of the Namibian people to achieve liberation and a democratic system is now coming to fruition through a negotiated settlement. The South African Government for far too long blocked the way to self-determination but it is now participating constructively in Namibia's independence process. It agreed to the holding of free and fair elections as a major step in the transition to independence. We acknowledge this and appeal to Pretoria to have the courage to negotiate a settlement within its own country as well.

The Federal Republic of Germany is aware of its responsibility to the people of the African continent, and it acts accordingly. The fight against hunger and misery and our commitment to a life of dignity and to human rights determine our policy of solidarity with Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany is therefore an ardent opponent of the obnoxious system of apartheid. Apartheid is one of the gravest violations of human rights. We have demanded its abolition time and again and we continue to demand it. The system of apartheid cannot be reformed, it has to be eradicated.

To our deep indignation, apartheid and racial discrimination remain an oppressive reality in South Africa to this very day. Apartheid means injustice. It is an insult to the dignity of man. It destroys the basic consensus that every society needs to maintain peace in its own sphere.

The Government of South Africa has stated that it is ready to negotiate, but it still has to prove that it is prepared to accept fundamental change. It has to prove that it is ready to countenance genuine democratic structures and to face the end of minority rule. The current promises of reform do not point to an end of apartheid; they merely reflect the attempt to give it a more human face. The minority régime seems to be striving for power sharing, but without unequivocally surrendering overall control. That is not enough.

(Mr. Bräutigam, Federal
Republic of Germany)

We have been gratified to hear speeches by the new South African President promising fundamental renewal. We have seen the release of a number of political detainees, but not all of them. Nelson Mandela is still in prison. We have seen permission granted for peaceful demonstrations, but so far in some cases only. We welcome these important gestures and initial steps but they still fall far short of what must mark the beginning of a national dialogue.

A negotiating process can lead to success only in an atmosphere in which the renunciation of force, tolerance and full freedom of expression prevail. For this reason, we join in the demand that all political detainees be released, that all restrictions on the peaceful activities of opposition groups be lifted, and that the state of emergency be repealed.

Conditions must be created in which the leaders of the opposition enjoy full political freedom and the degree of support for them can become visible. There can be no negotiated settlement without the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), but black political opinion is not monolithic. Representatives of all genuine political forces must be able to participate in the negotiating process.

We continue to encourage the people of South Africa to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and to agree on all measures necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. The launching of a negotiating process appears possible today provided that both sides prove their readiness to engage in genuine and serious negotiations. We largely support the pre-conditions for a national dialogue and the constitutional principles listed in the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989. We welcome the clear commitment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to a peaceful solution to the conflict.

(Mr. Bräutigam, Federal
Republic of Germany)

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany emphatically insists that Pretoria now create the conditions for a national dialogue. Without wishing to influence the substance of a negotiated settlement, we encourage South Africa to recognize its own vital interest in such an approach and to act accordingly.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will step up its active support of the Churches, the trade unions and other responsible groups and individuals in South Africa. A central element of our policy towards South Africa is, therefore, positive measures, and by that we mean measures to help victims of apartheid to overcome discrimination and prepare for a South Africa without apartheid.

Our extensive and increasing material assistance is focused above all on education and training for young non-whites. The fundamental interests of non-white workers have been promoted particularly by the European Community code of conduct and by the minimum standards governing labour relations in South African branches of German companies. These standards are contained in the list of demands jointly drawn up by the German Metal Workers Union and the South African trade unions. All these measures strengthen the protest against apartheid and are intended to facilitate peaceful transition to an equitable new order.

The international community expects South Africa to refrain from destabilizing countries in the region. It urges the South African Government to join in efforts to resolve regional conflicts and to give support to the economies of neighbouring countries.

The involvement of the Federal Republic of Germany in Africa's development has set standards. We are among the main donors of capital. Most of our development

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Republic of Germany)

aid goes to Africa. The debt relief granted to African countries by the Federal Republic of Germany has already reached a total of 6.4 billion Deutschmarks.

In the European Community we have always championed the interests of African countries. The recently completed Lomé IV negotiations are clear evidence of that and we are conducting a continuous dialogue with the representatives of the African continent. It is a dialogue of trust, understanding and co-operation.

In its economic and cultural co-operation my Government will continue to accord high priority to the front-line States and their regional organization, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). Independent Namibia will find in us a helpful partner.

Notwithstanding the new prospects for co-operation within Europe, my Government will not neglect its commitment to the developing countries. The programmes now being prepared will stress that. Increased co-operation within Europe can only strengthen the continent's economic potential. A single European market will not seal itself off; it will offer all countries new opportunities of trade and co-operation. Europe's potential to assist developing countries will improve and developing countries will be able to make use of the growing markets in Europe.

The special session of the General Assembly is called upon to chart the course for overcoming apartheid. The entire international community must work together to initiate this process now. The Federal Republic of Germany expects the Assembly to express its determination unanimously. It will then prove to be irresistible.

Mr. NDINGA-OBA (Congo) (interpretation from French): The General Assembly has paid you a well-deserved tribute, Sir, for your dedicated struggle against apartheid in electing you President of the sixteenth special session of the

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

of the General Assembly, on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. This is also recognition of the invaluable contribution that the Special Committee against Apartheid, of which you have the honour to be Chairman - continues to make in the international community's fight against that odious system, particularly at this crucial stage in the anti-apartheid struggle. The convening of this special session demonstrates its interest in this question and its determination to eliminate the word apartheid from modern political idiom.

I once again express my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his dedication, in particular to the noble mission of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism and racism.

The current session is being held at a time when we are celebrating the forty-first anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and have just adopted the International Convention on the Rights of the Child. It comes a few days after the Malta summit between President Bush and General Secretary Gorbachev, a meeting that gave a renewed impetus to the dynamics of the détente which today characterizes international relations. It is fitting at this point to express the hope that this new wind blowing across the international landscape may also reach South Africa, the last bastion of racial discrimination in the world. The advent of this new era has undoubtedly encouraged the elimination of some hotbeds of tension. Similarly, it has inspired the active quest for peaceful solutions to other disputes. To the credit of our Organization there are the Geneva agreements, the New York agreements and many others. These positive results bear out this trend, which, unfortunately, is dwindling in the face of the persistence of certain conflicts.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

In this connection apartheid is one of the major obstacles on the road to regional and international peace and security. A major source of tension in southern Africa, apartheid remains a challenge to peoples that cherish peace and justice. The international community has always been united in its rejection of the apartheid régime. The recent debate on this question at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly gave further proof of the unanimous condemnation of that system.

Apartheid is thus a challenge that we must take up if we wish the world Organization to preserve the credibility it enjoys today. It is the most serious challenge because it involves many things that are unanimously condemned by the international community. First, it is a denial of international law, a denial of human rights and of the dignity and value of the human person. At the same time it is a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. Finally, it is a crime against humanity.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

For the true friends of the South African people, the measures taken recently are only a drop in the immense ocean of problems caused by apartheid. The release of a few political prisoners and the lifting of a number of discriminatory measures have not shaken apartheid to its foundations. Nelson Mandela and most of the political prisoners have not yet been released. The pillar of the apartheid system, the Population Registration Act, on which the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act are based, still remains a reality in South African political life.

Apartheid, based as it is on a system of exclusion, is the antinomy of political and social integration. Indeed, the black majority is still not represented, and remains excluded from the South African parliament, which has three chambers in accordance with racial segregation. The ban on political groups such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) is a refusal to accede to the demand of the black majority for the enjoyment of their political and civil rights.

Apartheid is a régime which maintains itself by physical and symbolic violence. In fact, despite the proclamations of the new South African leadership concerning the advent of an era of peace and prosperity in southern Africa, the Pretoria Government, backed by its machinery of repression, has continued to mobilize its forces in an attempt to gag the opposition to apartheid. The truth is rather different from the proclamations: in recent years, we have been seeing an escalation in police repression against anti-apartheid militants and groups. Imprisonment without charge, military rule in the townships, political assassinations, death sentences and executions have remained routine practice for the apartheid régime.

In this respect, South Africa holds some unenviable records: the number of political prisoners remains at about 120,000, thousands of men, women and children

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have been dumped in the bantustans against their will and 50 per cent of the prison population is made up of children.

The renewal of the state of emergency for the fourth consecutive year, the adoption of new repressive laws this year and, finally, the constantly increasing police budget cast doubt on the good faith of the apartheid régime in the matter of creating the necessary pre-conditions for negotiation, as requested by the national liberation movements and the international community.

In the economic sphere, the apartheid system has established dependence by blacks, Indians and mixed-race people on the minority whites. Even if prosperity seems to be here to stay for the richest, the country, however, is feeling the deleterious effects of the system, which does not allow it to benefit from its enormous economic potential. The World Health Organization (WHO), in detailing the implications apartheid has for the health of the South African peoples, called it the denial of health, a violation of the fundamental right of all human beings, so pointing out one aspect of the social consequences of the system.

South Africa also has no lack of cultural assets; unfortunately, many excellent sportsmen and women and people in the arts cannot find expression for their talents either inside or outside South Africa because of the discriminatory policy of the South African Government.

The reign of terror within the country has not spared the States neighbouring South Africa. The apartheid régime of the South African Government remains an obstacle to peace, security and economic and social progress in southern Africa. The Government of South Africa's regional policy, which has long been characterized by acts of aggression and destabilization, either direct or through groups intervening to subvert the neighbouring States, has its origins in a strategy designed to ruin their economies in order to increase their dependence on South Africa.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

The devastating effects of these acts can be measured in terms of the loss of hundreds of thousands of human lives and the disturbance of the front-line States economies, already stressed by the generalized economic crisis prevailing in Africa. The front-line States have thus been compelled to divert their scant resources into the defence of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report entitled "The children on the front line" shows that this war of aggression has cost the lives of 1.5 million people, of whom half were children under five. Also, a recent publication from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) on the subject calculates the cost of the destabilization in 1988 at \$10 billion. Apartheid is also the cause of the human tragedy of the uprooting and displacement of people in southern Africa, where there are almost 5 million refugees or displaced persons. The People's Republic of the Congo, faithful to the universally recognized principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations, has always added its voice to the chorus of all the peace- and justice-loving countries to condemn the racist and aggressive policy of the South African Government.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

The heavy toll the front-line States continue to pay in the noble struggle against apartheid, which has been declared a crime against humanity, calls for solidarity and responsibility on the part of the international community in helping these countries rehabilitate their economies and reduce their dependence on South Africa. However, the eradication of apartheid, the ultimate goal of this struggle, is our sole guarantee of peace in southern Africa.

The show of change by the present Government of South Africa cannot fool us as to the reality of the country, where the legitimate aspirations of the black majority are still coming up against repressive and discriminatory laws, which with every day increase the resistance of the internal anti-apartheid forces, which now encompass the South African population as a whole. What is more, the conjunction of external pressure and reverses in a politically dangerous and economically ruinous war have brought Pretoria to the negotiating table. The Brazzaville Protocol, whose first anniversary is today, and the New York Agreements which have made it possible to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), should be viewed in this context.

The recent elections in Namibia celebrate the victory of the international community over colonialism and apartheid's expansionism. With a view to continuing the process begun by the United Nations, we must remain vigilant to ensure observance of the independence plan for this brother country, which we hope we shall soon be welcoming into the great United Nations family. Our vigilance must also be maintained in order to safeguard the process of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

As I have already said, apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be eradicated, as the international community demands.

The international community has responded to the internal resistance with various pressures against the racist régime. Pretoria's change of attitude suggests that national and international measures have dealt a blow to the South African economy, despite the lack of co-ordination from which those measures have suffered and which has weakened their effectiveness.

Many studies have concluded that the sanctions in force are effective and should be continued. Unfortunately, the Pretoria régime still owes its survival to complicity of which the whole world is aware.

Congo reaffirms its dedication to the various declarations adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the world Organization as part of the anti-apartheid struggle. It organized within the OAU an international literary symposium against apartheid, held in Brazzaville from 25 to 31 May 1987. The symposium concluded with the establishment of an African committee, whose constituent assembly met in Brazzaville from 12 to 14 January this year.

My country's commitment to the struggle against the scourge of modern times inspired, among other things, our introduction of a draft resolution relating to the Special Committee against Apartheid, which was adopted by the OAU's Council of Ministers in July 1989. In the context of sanctions against the régime, our Government has for several years banned all air links with South Africa.

The marked trend towards peace and the peaceful settlement of conflicts calls us to dialogue. In this context, the Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, issued in Harare in August this year and subsequently endorsed by the Ninth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, constitutes the basis on which negotiate the abolition of apartheid.

(Mr. Ndinga-Oba, Congo)

We must emerge from this session with the hope of turning Pretoria's present policy towards the abolition of the odious system of apartheid, because, as the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, His Excellency Mr. Denis Sassou Nguesso, said at the Eighth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in Harare in September 1986:

"We shall be judged not by what we said and promised, but by what we actually do. The South African people expect concrete actions as a result of our solidarity".

The country's future is in a democratic and non-racial South Africa. That is the message the General Assembly must send to the South African Government.

To conclude, I must make it clear that that is the price of peace in the region.

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): Mr. President, let me first express on behalf of the Greek Government our most sincere congratulations on your having assumed the Chair at this important special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

This is a unique occasion, reasserting the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter in our total opposition to apartheid and its inhuman practices. This special session is focusing on new political developments in southern Africa, only now starting to sweep away, in a vigorous wind of change, the lack of progress, the lack of freedom, the lack of human dignity and - last, but not least - the lack of peace, which for many decades have left their imprint on that part of Africa. The first steps in this new direction were taken in Namibia. Following the first elections held there under free, democratic conditions, we look forward to the near future, when we shall welcome in this Hall a free new African State. The role of the United Nations and the personal efforts of the Secretary-General, acting in accordance with General Assembly and Security Council

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

resolutions, have been invaluable, and we have constantly lent him our full support in his task.

You, Sir, have not been alien to the major efforts deployed for the achievements regarding Namibia. Your personal commitment to the struggle against apartheid has been central, as you have been chairing the Special Committee against Apartheid. The least I should say in your regard is that it was opportune that you should be in the Chair for this special session, at this juncture of developments in southern Africa.

The Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs of France, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its 12 member States, stressed the necessity for the eradication of the abhorrent system of apartheid. We fully concur. We do not just deplore and condemn the inhuman policies and practices which are inherent in apartheid, but also share the concerns of the international community over the consequences for stability and peace in Africa which the application of apartheid entails.

My country has never failed to express its solidarity with all peoples that in their evolution towards freedom have been compelled to follow the tortuous path of liberation struggles. History teaches us the bitter lessons of the axiom that when an urge to freedom expressed in peaceful terms is perpetually denied the oppressed are forced to resort to measures of resistance against the oppressor. We oppose violence without hesitation and we unequivocally condemn apartheid as a violent system of discrimination and oppression, based on race and greed, institutionalized and imposed by a régime which ignores fundamental principles of human rights and political equality; which denies its citizens the right to freedom and social progress; and which relies on a state of emergency, imprisonment without trial, torture and executions in a desperate effort to sustain itself.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Our solidarity with the peoples of Africa has been manifested in various concrete forms. The Greek Government has authorized the opening of a bureau of the African National Congress in Athens. Our capital made a point of hosting in September 1988 a symposium devoted to culture against apartheid, which, Mr. President, you co-chaired with the Greek Minister of Culture. Our financial contributions for the repatriation of refugees to Namibia, as well as for returnees and displaced persons in southern Africa, have been among the largest ever provided by Greece for an external cause.*

* Mr. Feyder (Luxembourg), Vice-President took the Chair.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

Our full support for efforts to eradicate the inhuman system of apartheid does not lessen our equally strong commitment to supporting change in South Africa through peaceful means and a genuine dialogue, which should lead to a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa. To this end, we consider that the Declaration on the Question of South Africa adopted by the Organization of African Unity at Harare last August provides a most important framework for negotiations between true representatives of the people of South Africa. We are confident that in the wake of the extraordinary developments which elsewhere in the world are leading to the abolition of barriers, to the triumph of democracy and to the reaffirmation of respect for human rights, the people of South Africa as a whole will confirm its recognition of the principle of equality intrinsic in any civilized society, and that new opportunities will open up in a democratic and free country where the one-man one-vote principle will be the rule.

Until such progress has been achieved we shall not slacken our vigilance and we shall exert all the influence and pressure we can against the abhorrent system of apartheid. We shall maintain the mandatory arms embargo, the embargo against oil shipments to South Africa, the ban on investments, on imports and on other activities with South Africa, keeping our trade exchanges with it at the lowest level. Our opposition and vigilance are equally directed against the destabilization policies practised by the Pretoria régime with regard to the African front-line States, which have borne the brunt of such policies. We are particularly concerned lest such acts, if continued, should threaten peace and stability in that part of southern Africa.

Finally, my country joins in the international appeal for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. The few liberalization measures taken by the new South African Government and the release of a limited number of political detainees fall short of

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

constituting the fundamental change now required. These measures must be exhaustive, comprehensive and complete in order to enable the African population, without exception, to enjoy the fruits of their efforts towards freedom and democracy. We shall relax our vigilance against apartheid and the untoward injustice and inhumanity it represents only when it is totally eradicated.

Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): I have the honour to address the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session. I wish to express my delegation's appreciation of the excellent way in which the work of the forty-fourth session and that of the sixteenth special session are being conducted. We also commend the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid, of which my country is a member.

The holding of the special session demonstrates the international community's interest in combating apartheid. It also reflects the solidarity of the international community as a whole with the legitimate struggle of the liberation movements in southern Africa for freedom and independence.

The unremitting struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination is a fundamental element in mankind's quest for peace, equality, justice and freedom. The racist policy pursued by the Pretoria régime has been under consideration in the United Nations since 1946. The General Assembly has adopted many resolutions condemning the odious practices and policies of apartheid, which it considers an affront to humanity. This shows that the international community has assessed the effects of that policy on international peace and security and realized the enormity of a policy that runs counter to law, customs and morality.

Many other bodies and international and regional forums have adopted resolutions and issued calls in this respect. Regardless of all this, however, the racist régime in South Africa persists in its policies with total indifference. Consequently, we must intensify the pressure on the régime through the imposition

(Mr. Abdalla, Sudan)

of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions. The international community as a whole must abide by these sanctions. Only in that way can we achieve the objective of the community of nations and give effect to the resolutions of the General Assembly.

In this connection, we cannot but condemn the co-operation of the international financial institutions with the Pretoria Government through debt rescheduling. We also condemn the technological and military collaboration between Israel and the apartheid régime and any form of co-operation on the part of other countries with Pretoria. Such co-operation only encourages that régime to persist in its degrading policies.

Through the media and in a letter from its Minister of Foreign Affairs (A/S-16/6), the racist régime tried to promote the idea that it now accepts the principle of negotiation and that it is committed to creating a new South Africa that would be founded on a constitutional system of government and a free equitable socio-economic system. In our view, this is only a diversionary tactic which will lead to nothing but more repression.

The African liberation movements have declared that they cannot negotiate under the existing laws of racial discrimination and the policies of the South African régime based on the Population Registration Act of 1913, the Land Act of 1936, the Bantustan Education Act and other laws designed to perpetuate the domination of the white minority and the oppression of the black majority.

The two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel have always ignored international public opinion. They have consistently defied the international will, committed violation after violation of human rights, and resorted to repression and systematic State terrorism against national liberation movements. Contrary to the climate of international détente, which has resulted in a drive to defuse the hotbeds of tension and strife in the world, these two régimes, because of their racist nature, have continued to swim against the current.

(Mr. Abdalla, Sudan)

They are bent on ignoring the lessons of history, which has taught that peoples cannot be oppressed forever and that the will of a people is stronger than any machinery of repression or any system of abhorrent segregation. As proof of this the struggle of the people of Namibia has been crowned with the independence of that precious part of our African continent.

Here my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), in which my country is honoured to have participated by sending a number of officers from the Sudanese Armed Forces, who took part in supervising the elections.

In every international and regional forum, Sudan has consistently reaffirmed its total condemnation of the racist Pretoria Government. By so doing, Sudan has taken a stance consonant with its commitment to the Charter, the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and our conviction that the African continent must be liberated from all forms of colonial domination.

Today we reiterate that position and call for the eradication of all the practices of racial discrimination and for the imposition of mandatory sanctions in preparation for a total boycott of the racist régime and the emergence of a democratic society free from every form of discrimination on the ground of colour, race or religion. Only in this way can the majority end the domination of minority rule.

We also reaffirm our support for the draft text of the declaration that is bound to be adopted in the special session. We welcome the setting up of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports, which will play its part in the imposition of a total boycott against the racist régime.

Sudan has always supported African rights - freedom of choice and self-determination of the peoples of Africa. Therefore, as we side with the

(Mr. Abdalla, Sudan)

endeavours to end apartheid, we shall spare no effort in the search for a means of achieving our common objectives.

We will continue to support all African liberation movements and we undertake to extend our unqualified assistance to these national movements and to the front-line States.

Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): On behalf of the delegation of Brunei Darussalam I should like, first, to associate myself with the congratulations that have been conveyed to Mr. Garba of Nigeria on his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences.

The special session should provide a further opportunity to initiate a broad international campaign for the ultimate eradication of the system of apartheid in South Africa. Brunei Darussalam stands in solidarity with all members of the international community and reiterates its support for the struggle of the black African population for the complete dismantling of the apartheid system.

On this occasion my delegation wishes to congratulate the Namibian people on the successful conclusion of the electoral process last month - a process that paved the way to Namibia's independence. This historic event, by ending more than a century of colonialism, symbolizes a victory for all Namibians. At the same time it demonstrates the commitment of the international community to ensure the integrity of the settlement plan as envisaged by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Any attempt by the South African régime to threaten the independence of Namibia will only call into question its apparent new intention to act in good faith - in particular, its proclaimed desire to seek peaceful coexistence with its neighbours.

In spite of an improvement in the international political climate, which augurs well for the resolution of conflicts in many parts of the world, last

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

month's debate on apartheid illustrates, regrettably, that in South Africa the situation has not changed significantly. According to the report (A/44/22 and Corr.2) of the Special Committee against Apartheid, repression, detention without trial, prosecutions, restrictions on individuals and organizations, assaults on activities, assassinations, forced population removals and press censorship proceed without restraint. The recent elections, which excluded the black majority, manifestly illustrate the Pretoria régime's deliberate lack of political will to eliminate apartheid.

The overwhelming majority view is that South Africa not only terrorizes its black population but also engages in the campaign of destabilization against its neighbours. Despite international condemnation, this policy continues to be perpetrated, resulting in untold human suffering and destruction. Undoubtedly the policy of apartheid is the source of instability in the African region.

Brunei Darussalam echoes the conviction of this Assembly that apartheid is the core of the crisis in southern Africa. The system is a flagrant violation of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Nothing can pacify the fury of international condemnation so long as the system prevails.

We believe that South Africa is not only running out of time but also running out of choice. In the face of an intense liberation struggle and of greater international pressure, as well as of world-wide efforts to solve regional conflicts, South Africa must recognize that not even the worst repression will dampen a genuine national struggle for freedom and for the creation of a non-racist, democratic society based on self-determination and on equal rights and opportunities in the political process. The recent favourable actions of the Pretoria régime are aimed merely at reforming or amending apartheid in order to

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

improve the régime's tarnished credibility. This falls short of popular expectation. Such actions do not remove the foundation of apartheid. However, the combined domestic resistance, as well as economic and political measures adopted by the international community, have caused tremendous difficulty to South Africa. This demonstrates the effectiveness of continued international pressure. It tells South Africa that the way out of its isolation is a settlement that will lead to the ending of apartheid.

It is in this context that the Harare Declaration of August 1989, which has been endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-aligned Movement and has also been adopted by the Commonwealth, occupies its prominent position of importance. The legitimate force of this Declaration is its expression of a strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement as a way of ending apartheid. We believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate be created.

Accordingly, if South Africa does not want to lose the opportunity for a peaceful negotiation, it must unconditionally free all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and lift restrictions on future political activities, it must lift the ban on the activities of all anti-apartheid organizations, it must remove all troops from townships, and it must discontinue all political trials and executions.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

Brunei Darussalam, further, supports the view that the Pretoria régime and the authentic representatives of the majority population should be encouraged to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy.

Brunei Darussalam is of the view that the draft declaration that will be adopted at the end of this session fully embodies the sentiments and aspirations of the African people and of the entire international community. We fully agree that the acceptance of the principles on which a new constitutional order for South Africa must be based augurs well for international endorsement of a solution that will permit South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner in the world community of nations.

Brunei Darussalam also supports the seven-point programme of action proposed in that draft declaration, especially as regards intensifying the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid in South Africa and working for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and full observance by all countries of the arms embargo. Until the régime in Pretoria embarks upon negotiations, the international community must continue to put pressure on the régime as a way of inducing it to abandon its apartheid policy.

Mr. MOULTRIE (Bahamas): The Bahamas is pleased that Mr. Garba of Nigeria is presiding over the special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We feel confident that his expert leadership will again ensure a fruitful outcome.

At the mid-point of the twentieth century a form of governance was instituted in South Africa that gave the force of law to an untenable notion of the superiority of a white minority and reserved to that minority all social, economic and political power. This policy of apartheid sanctioned racial segregation,

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

oppression and the violation of the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of the majority of South Africans solely because of the colour of their skin. The Bahamas deeply regrets that in the closing decade of this century this crime against humanity remains a formidable fact, despite virtually universal condemnation.

My Government therefore regards this special session as critical because it presents an opportunity for the Bahamas not only to re-emphasize its unequivocal condemnation of apartheid but also to reaffirm its unconditional support for those struggling for justice and freedom in South Africa. It also affords us the opportunity to participate in determined and essential efforts to shake the very foundations of the abhorrent system of apartheid until it crumbles.

New and positive developments internationally, consequent in great measure upon super-Power rapprochement, have unfettered many to decide their own destiny. The Bahamas contends that these developments should equally influence the situation in southern Africa. The oppressed majority in South Africa, too, continue to mount a challenge to the status quo, to underscore that they will no longer tolerate the indiscriminate murder of men, women and children, the imprisonment of genuine leaders, confinement to bantustans, the banning of democratic organizations and the brutal suppression of any opposition to apartheid. The Bahamas is of the view that the international community has an obligation to sustain this challenge to apartheid, a challenge which has remained undaunted in the face of a state of emergency that has lasted for more than three years.

South Africa has proved itself adept at avoiding, containing and deflecting criticism of and international action against its apartheid policy. The seemingly contradictory stand on apartheid taken by many of the foremost proponents of human rights could give the impression that norms and standards of human rights are not

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

applicable in a South African context. Consequently, sanctions against South Africa are not comprehensive and mandatory, numerous resolutions do not enjoy consensus, embargoes are violated, and apartheid continues to thrive in South Africa.

The De Klerk régime has proffered marginal changes in South Africa following its assumption of power in September of this year. Some States have found comfort in this action, viewing it as a clear indication that apartheid itself is changing. The Bahamas, regrettably, cannot share this view. We must be convinced that De Klerk's action is not simply designed to stem the tide of the powerful resistance movement within South Africa, appease its friends abroad and deflect international pressure against apartheid, including the pressure of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

Mr. De Klerk's reforms have little effect and refine, rather than repudiate, apartheid. What advantage accrues to the black majority of South Africa if it can bathe on a previously segregated beach but cannot choose where it may live? The right to conduct mass protest is welcome, but will it not have only limited impact if those who should lead these protests are imprisoned or banned? While we appreciate that eight leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) have been freed, is it not regrettable that the necessary conditions have not been met so that Nelson Mandela may also be freed after more than a quarter of a century of imprisonment? If the brutality of the South African security forces in suppressing opponents of apartheid continues, are the reforms not merely cosmetic? Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be dismantled.

We therefore urge Mr. De Klerk to take immediate steps to establish a just and equitable society in South Africa in which all South African citizens may freely and democratically participate. The time has come for the racist régime of South

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

Africa to begin negotiations with the genuine leaders of the majority in South Africa. It follows logically that Mr. De Klerk must also take immediate steps to lift the state of emergency, release all political prisoners, repudiate the bantustan policy and lift the censorship on the local and international press.

The destructive effects of apartheid reverberate beyond the borders of South Africa in a deliberate policy of destabilization against the front-line States. Direct incursions by South Africa itself or by its surrogate forces have wreaked havoc on the front-line States. South Africa's promotion and exploitation of the dependency of these countries have further aggravated an already tenuous economic and security situation. We are therefore encouraged by developments in southern Africa which could counteract destabilization. In particular, closer regional economic co-operation through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference will reduce the dependency of the front-line States on South Africa. Also, the recent electoral victory of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) makes us optimistic that, although much remains to be done, Namibian independence will soon be a reality. An independent Namibia can thus become part of efforts for peace in southern Africa, rather than a springboard for aggression.

The onus is now on the international community to devise those strategies which would lead to the dismantling of apartheid, not in due course but as a matter of urgency.

(Mr. Moultrie, Bahamas)

The Bahamas would wish that apartheid could be peacefully dismantled; yet every day that it exists further exhausts peaceful options. We urge those who have influence with South Africa to join the growing international consensus on measures which have been proposed by the majority and which the oppressed people of South Africa themselves have indicated a willingness to endure. The Bahamas contends that the option of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions remains valid. We further believe that every effort should be made to effect the isolation of the racist régime of South Africa, to force it to abandon its apartheid policy.

We wish in particular to commend the liberation movements, which remain committed to genuine negotiations aimed at dismantling apartheid. Equally commendable are the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid for its invaluable contribution in ensuring that this unique problem continues to be given the priority it demands.

The Bahamas also recognizes the efforts of all organizations in this just cause. The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October this year, reaffirmed their belief in a negotiated and peaceful settlement. They also agreed that existing sanctions should be lifted only when there was evidence of clear and irrevocable change in South Africa. The Bahamas was party to those understandings and remains committed thereto.

The Bahamas supports the Harare Declaration on the Question of South Africa, adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). We wish to see that document incorporated to the fullest extent in the concluding document of this special session, so that it may become an instrument for bringing about a positive change in South Africa within a specific time frame. Our commitment must be unwavering in the quest for a transition to a free, non-racial, democratic society based on equality before the law and human rights, for all the people of South Africa.

Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Mexico is deeply satisfied at seeing Mr. Joseph Garba presiding over the work of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, a session of such great importance. We recognize in him a tireless fighter against apartheid and a pioneer in the initiative of convening this special session.

The position of the Government of Mexico with regard to the policy of apartheid has never suffered from ambiguities. We have categorically and consistently rejected the racist policy of South Africa and spared no effort in contributing to the activities designed to achieve its total dismantling. Mexico has acted in this manner out of two-fold interests involved in both the immediate effect and the international nature of apartheid. We have the greatest sympathy for and solidarity with the victims of racial subjugation, who are deprived of the most fundamental human rights.

The policies and practices of the Pretoria régime are well known and we all know the devastating impact they have had on the majority of South African citizens. We must express the most elementary brotherly sentiments by refusing to tolerate or attempt to justify the actions of a Government that imposes discriminatory measures on racial grounds.

Speaking more broadly, the policy of the racist régime diminishes all of us as members of a species that constitutes the crowning achievement of nature; therefore we must not remain silent, because to do so could make us accomplices. In raising our voices against apartheid we join in a global effort of emancipation and reaffirmation of our dignity and integrity as human beings.

At the same time, apartheid has an impact which goes beyond the individual sphere and encompasses the whole region of southern Africa. The presence of the minority régime in that area is an insult and an act of aggression against the

(Mr. Montafio, Mexico)

neighbouring countries. That is not a figure of speech. South African racism has in the recent past led to disturbances of the stability and security of that part of the world; hence our condemnation of the continuation of that practice by the Government of South Africa: its mere presence is a source of international tension and generates conflict. Peace and security in southern Africa, and in the world in general, demand the total, immediate dismantling of apartheid.

The Government of Mexico maintains an anti-apartheid policy which closely coincides with the spirit and provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Mexico does not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Pretoria régime and firm provisions are in place to eliminate any type of economic, cultural, social or sporting ties. The Government I represent has spared no effort in that direction and we have acted promptly when we have detected activities that are not consistent with our official position. We are convinced that only through the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions will we be taking the necessary steps to eliminate apartheid.

Today there would seem to be a conjunction of factors which are very favourable to moving towards the elimination of apartheid. Beyond the climate of political understanding that prevails in East-West relations we see also the emergence of a consensus on the rules that should govern the general behaviour of the community of nations.

The requirement of the holding of free and fair elections as an essential proof of democratic intent has become a universal demand. Very strict criteria have been defined in this respect and very rigorous mechanisms have been implemented to monitor electoral processes. We have expanded the rules of electoral evaluation and obviously there is a catalogue of requirements to guarantee the free and fair character of elections. Among them we should stress

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

universal suffrage through transparent elector registration and the right of all to participate in the political association or party that best reflects the interests of the individual.

In this forum we have heard that the slightest departures from electoral rules have been the source of pressures and threats against the alleged offenders. We may however wonder why we have not used the same yardstick, the same close and detailed scrutiny, in regard to the South African electoral process. It does not cease to surprise us that those who demand free and fair elections in other countries are silent or look for excuses in the case of South Africa, which by the very definition of its system of government denies even the possibility of the holding of free and fair elections within its borders.

With respect to human rights, rigorous criteria have also been developed whereby some may assume the right to judge other Governments. With exemplary zeal it is determined whether this or that country is restricting the freedom of expression, of assembly, of participation in political or social processes or freedom of movement, not to mention deprivation of freedom out of political motivation, or the practice of torture. However, it would seem that here again the measure of human rights is taken with a different yardstick where South Africa is concerned.

I do not feel it necessary to go into details that are well known to all. It is enough to point out that in a régime based on discrimination on grounds of race one cannot speak of any form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Again, in this case we see how selective criteria prevent our fixing our gaze on what is happening in southern Africa.

(Mr. Montañó, Mexico)

It is now time to act consistently and leave behind the double standards which cause so much damage to our efforts at civilized coexistence. We must take advantage of this special session to carry out a self-evaluation that will enable us to think about the value of consistency and the danger of ambiguity. The history of our century has given irrefutable proof of the danger inherent in a policy which seeks accommodation with those who deny or reject the fundamental values of our coexistence.

The spirit of the times prompts us to seek desired changes through dialogue and conciliation. We take this road not out of a position of weakness, but on the contrary with the certainty of the irrefutable value of our convictions expressed with the greatest eloquence and precision yesterday by two great statesmen of our time, Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Mugabe. We concur with their assessment that apartheid allows of no nuances or qualifications. It must disappear. The nations represented here are prepared to offer constructive alternatives to achieve that objective. We are not seeking confrontation but we could not accept our willingness for peaceful change being interpreted as weakness or ingenuousness. We do not seek to violate the principle of non-intervention, but we demand compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the many resolutions expressing the majority will of the countries of the world.

In conclusion I would observe that during the work of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly it has become evident that mankind is facing urgent challenges and that concerted efforts are needed to overcome them. The spirit of co-operation that has prevailed in our Organization deserves to be stimulated in the future. Hence we believe it very important to consolidate our efforts so that in the very near future we may celebrate the end of the racist policy of South Africa. There can be no doubt that so long as the Pretoria régime does not desist from apartheid, we will be seriously hampered in our strenuous efforts to establish

(Mr. Montaña, Mexico)

an international order consistent with the new realities. It is time to show resolute political will for effective change in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its first meeting of this special session, on 12 December 1989, I now call upon the Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. NZO (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): This is a truly momentous occasion for our movement, the African National Congress, and the people of our country. It is momentous because the peoples of the world, without exception, have gathered at the Headquarters of the world Organization to deliberate on the question of bringing a speedy end to the system of apartheid.

The concern of the peoples of the world to achieve this result is demonstrated not only by the presence of the delegations in his Hall, but also by the fact that the decision was taken that the General Assembly should convene in special session and the high level of participation by so many countries and Governments. For all this, we extend our sincere thanks and appreciation to all Member States of the United Nations, their Governments and peoples. We extend the greetings of our entire leadership, both inside and outside our country, the democratic movement and our people as a whole, to all the countries and Governments represented at this special session, and hope that all representatives will accept our sincere appreciation of the fact that they made time to be present here during the three days of the special session.

The issue of racism and apartheid has been on the agenda of the Organization virtually since its foundation. It is a question that has preoccupied individual countries and peoples for decades. Our own people have fought relentlessly and heroically to liquidate the system of white minority domination and to achieve democracy, freedom and justice for themselves. And yet the reality is that to this

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

day our country continues to be governed by a white minority régime. The majority of our people still have no right to participate in governing the country of their birth. Many are still imprisoned, detained, restricted and exiled precisely because they dared to say, in action, that South Africa should become a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Through what it will say when it concludes its work, this sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, convened to consider the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, has the possibility to make an historic contribution to the process of speeding up the demise of the abhorrent apartheid system. To do so, we believe that the nations of the world should, in keeping with their adherence to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reaffirm their commitment to act together against apartheid, for a democratic South Africa.

The statement that such concerted action constitutes unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, or that it makes the abolition of apartheid more difficult, is a self-serving argument advanced by those who want to be left alone to continue to commit a crime against humanity itself. We believe that no man or woman of conscience anywhere can stand aside and watch indifferently as the inalienable human rights of millions of people are trampled underfoot by a régime founded on man-hating principles of racial superiority and domination.

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

In this regard we welcome the processes during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which are continuing during the special session, for the elaboration of and agreement on a complex of measures aimed at the liquidation of the apartheid system. The millions of our people whom the racist tyrants seek to dehumanize simply because they are black; the working people who are shot and killed, beaten, maimed or detained simply because they demand a living wage; the patriots who are on death row or serving prison sentences; the activists who are threatened with death by official secret murder squads; the countless children who die of the diseases of poverty because they were not born with white skins; the millions in the countryside and the bantustans who are condemned to suffer extreme deprivation away from the public eye; the huge numbers in southern Africa who have been the victims of a deliberate campaign of aggression and destabilization - all these and many more look forward to our discussions here in the hope that decisions will be taken that will bring a speedy end to their intolerable suffering.

In many people throughout the world there is today a great deal of hope that South Africa is on the eve of a fundamental transformation that will result in the disappearance of the apartheid system and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. This atmosphere of hope is fed by the leaders of the apartheid régime, who make repeated statements about their commitment to fundamental change. We wish to take advantage of this opportunity to make our own positions clear on these important matters.

Indeed, the potential for fundamental change in South Africa has never been greater than it is today. It is true that while Nelson Mandela and others remain in prison, other outstanding leaders of our people have been released, having spent a quarter of a century in apartheid gaols. Organizations that are banned are nevertheless speaking out in their names regardless of the fact that this is in

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

violation of Pretoria's repressive legislation. While the political activists of the democratic movement continue to be circumscribed by this legislation as well as by the state of emergency, and many public demonstrations are being dispersed by force, millions of our people have in the last three months engaged in an open mass political struggle on an unprecedented scale.

Only last weekend over 4,000 delegates representing a very broad spectrum of the forces opposed to apartheid met in the Conference for a Democratic Future and adopted resolutions that are and will be of fundamental importance in determining the situation in our country during the period ahead. Of significance for the special session is the fact that those delegates, representing a membership of 15 million people, called on the international community to intensify its pressure on apartheid South Africa, to increase its assistance to the liberation forces of our country and to support the Harare Declaration on South Africa.

All these developments constitute important victories by the forces within South Africa and internationally which have been and are engaged in the struggle against apartheid. The fact that we can record these developments as important landmarks in our progress towards the liquidation of the apartheid system is a tribute to these forces. Through struggle they have imposed a situation on the Pretoria régime in which it has had no choice but to step aside and yield ground rather than seek a confrontation with the people on all the questions we have mentioned, including releasing political prisoners, permitting public demonstrations and avoiding the temptation to ban the Conference for a Democratic Future.

In other words, these developments have not taken place as a result of a change of heart on the part of the apartheid régime. Indeed, that régime continues to be committed to the basic apartheid notions of groups and group rights. Rather than abolish the repressive national security management system of army and police

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

rule, it has restructured that system but kept it in place. Nelson Mandela and other leaders and activists remain in prison. Organizations and individuals continue to be banned and restricted. The state of emergency has not been abolished. Only recently, rather than withdraw from all townships once and for all, the army reoccupied Alexandra township, in Johannesburg, in force to suppress peaceful demonstrations conducted by the residents. Away from the public eye, in small towns and rural areas, many demonstrations have been dispersed with the brutality to which the South African police are accustomed. Many patriots are on death row awaiting execution because of their opposition to apartheid.

From all this it is obvious that to end the apartheid system we have to overcome the resistance of the forces responsible for the construction and defence of this system. The architects of apartheid have not become part of a brigade for the demolition of the apartheid pyramid. To count on this becoming reality in the future would be to entertain an illusion and the effect would be to grant a further lease of life to the apartheid system.

Our own confidence that the apartheid system will disappear sooner rather than later derives from our confidence in the strength and determination of the forces opposed to apartheid and committed to the task of transforming South Africa into a non-racial democracy. Over the years, in the course of struggle and as a result of struggle, the balance of strength within our country has changed. As the democratic movement has grown in strength, the forces of racism have grown weaker. In the light of this change the apartheid régime has been obliged to yield ground, to go into retreat, because it no longer has the strength to resist the offensive launched by the forces for national liberation. It should therefore be clear that we shall win our victory despite the continuing resistance of the forces of racism and not because they will suddenly recognize the folly of their ways and transform themselves into agents of democratic change.

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

Of course, what that means is that the struggle must continue until the apartheid system is destroyed. We have never waged this struggle to win concessions from the Pretoria régime. Indeed, we have not sustained our assault against the racists in order to force them to the negotiating table. And international sanctions, which are an important element of the struggle, have not been imposed to achieve some so-called reform of the apartheid system. The struggle as a whole has one purpose and one purpose only. That purpose is the abolition of the apartheid system in its entirety and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

In a situation in which the Pretoria régime has clearly been forced into retreat and onto the defensive, it is equally clear that we must not only continue but, rather, intensify our offensive. We must take the battle to the enemy to push it further backwards, to create a situation in which it will be possible to end the system of white minority domination. That obligation also falls on the shoulders of the international community, which is similarly determined to help bring about the fundamental changes we seek. In brief, the internal and international struggle must continue.

As representatives of the ordinary people of our country who aspire to freedom, democracy, justice, peace and material and spiritual well-being, we have always been concerned that change should be brought about with as little destruction and conflict as possible. It is for that reason that we have for decades offered successive white minority régimes the possibility to sit down with genuine representatives of the people to arrive at a mutually agreed settlement. Each one of those régimes has spurned those offers, believing that it disposed of sufficient brute force to be able to maintain white minority rule forever. We all know what the consequences of that policy have been in terms of the suffering and pain of millions of people not only in South Africa but also in the rest of southern Africa.

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

Today, this special session of the General Assembly, acting in support of our people, is, among other things, deliberating on what it can contribute to encourage the people of South Africa to sit down together to discuss and arrive at a mutually agreed settlement that will guarantee the abolition of the apartheid system. We believe that it is proper that the United Nations should engage in this important exercise to bring to bear the full weight of a united international community so that change in South Africa can come about as speedily as possible and without adding to the destruction and suffering the apartheid régime has already imposed on the peoples of southern Africa.

It should also be clear to the De Klerk régime and all its supporters inside and outside our country that its continuing refusal to accede to the demands of the majority of our people and the rest of humanity can only serve as a prescription for a conflict within our country whose bitterness will supersede by far anything that we have experienced so far. We, together with the millions of our people, are committed to continue the struggle, using all means at our disposal, including the weapons of war, until the apartheid system is no more.

We cannot end without saluting our sister liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia, the people of that country, the United Nations and the international forces that have co-operated in bringing Namibia to the point it is at today. We look forward to the independence of that neighbouring country, convinced that the realization of the aspirations of its people will also make an important contribution to the process of the destruction of the apartheid system within South Africa and the achievement of peace and stability for the peoples of our region.

This special session is also discussing the destructive consequences of the apartheid system on the region of southern Africa. It is therefore both correct and of the utmost importance that the General Assembly also address itself to such

(Mr. Nzo, ANC)

questions as eliminating the terrible consequences on the region of Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilization. Similarly, we believe that the Governments of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique deserve the greatest possible international support in their efforts to bring about peace for their peoples.

We appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to support in the fullest sense the work in which this sixteenth special session of the General Assembly is engaged. The millions of our people expect that the nations gathered here will speak with one voice, committing themselves to concrete positions aimed at the speedy elimination of the criminal system of apartheid. Let us not allow the apartheid régime to draw comfort from any discordant voice at a time when united world opposition to apartheid can make such an important contribution to the acceleration of the process leading to the birth of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.