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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 8 November 1989, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. PAWLAK (Poland)
(Vice-President)

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

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

AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports, Mr. James Victor Gbeho of Ghana, who will introduce the Commission's report.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana), Chairman of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports: I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly the first report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports (A/44/47), which represents a landmark in a sequence of events stretching as far back as 1977. As members may recall, the General Assembly, at its thirty-second session, adopted and proclaimed the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports. An Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports then worked continuously and assiduously on the Declaration and in 1985 submitted the text of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. It has become an important instrument in the struggle against apartheid, and has been ratified or acceded to by 43 States. It is the Commission's hope that those States which have so far only signed but not ratified the Convention will soon do so and that those States which have not yet acceded to it will also proceed to do so.

It will also be recalled that the Convention made provision for the establishment of a commission mandated to assist in achieving the objectives of the

(Mr. Gbeho, Chairman, Commission
against Apartheid in Sports

instrument. The Commission held its first session this year in New York, during which it deliberated on various issues connected with apartheid in sports. It is an honour for me to present the Commission's report to the General Assembly.

It is important to stress that in the fulfilment of its mandate the Commission will continue to work closely with the Special Committee against Apartheid and with the International Olympic Committee and other sporting organizations. This co-operation is vital for the successful fulfilment of our mandate. The Commission hopes to expand its co-operation with national and international sporting organizations in the future.

On behalf of the Commission, I wish to remind those States which have not yet submitted national reports on the implementation of the Convention that it is important that they do so. Guidelines for reporting on implementation are contained in annex VI to the report of the Commission, and the Commission hopes it will help States in submitting reports.

An extremely important instrument for the practical implementation of the international community's endeavours to eliminate apartheid in sports and to help isolate the apartheid régime is the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, which is issued annually by the Special Committee against Apartheid.

I wish also to recall that this Assembly has urged sports organizations and athletes to adhere to the boycott of apartheid sports. May I therefore use this opportunity to call again on all those sportsmen and sportswomen whose names are currently included in the Register to terminate their sports contacts with South Africa and to give an assurance that they will abide by the boycott of apartheid sports by refraining from engaging in any sporting activities in South Africa while the system of apartheid still prevails in that country.

(Mr. Gbeho, Chairman, Commission
against Apartheid in Sports)

The Commission in its report calls upon all Governments, sporting organizations and individual sportspersons to observe the policy of sports isolation of apartheid South Africa and to consult the Register, which the Special Committee against Apartheid will continue to issue. The Register, I am happy to say, has proved most effective. An increasingly large number of sportsmen and sportswomen have, at their individual request, been deleted from the Register. This bold stand against apartheid is, of course, appreciated. It means that more and more athletes, sportsmen and sportswomen are accepting the principles which the States parties have incorporated in the Convention. Indeed, it also means that, despite the enormous pressures being exerted on them, increasing numbers of sportsmen and sportswomen who pledge to boycott sporting contacts with South Africa until apartheid is eradicated are making a public moral choice against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in sports. Finally, it testifies to the increasing political sensitivity of the world sporting community to the position of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, who are denied their human and political rights on account of their colour.

The Commission's report consists of six sections, which highlight the work of the Commission. Emphasis has been placed on the importance of holding consultations with international and national sporting organizations and their vital role in the isolation of apartheid in sports. As I mentioned earlier, the report stresses the importance of the continued issuance of the Register by the Special Committee.

While we express appreciation of action taken by the International Olympic Committee and other sports organizations, as well as by individual sportsmen and sportswomen, to ensure the total isolation of South Africa, more action should be taken to that end, particularly by those federations which continue to admit South Africa to their membership or allow sports contacts with South Africa.

(Mr. Gbeho, Chairman, Commission
against Apartheid in Sports)

Our task represents an affirmation of the Olympic principles, which stipulate that there should be no discrimination in the field of sports on account of colour, race or ethnic origin. Furthermore, apartheid represents an affront to humanity, therefore there can be no moral sports contacts with an abnormal society such as South Africa.

We hope that the work of the Commission will expedite the eradication of apartheid from sports and the society in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Acting Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Ms. Nabila Al-Mulla of Kuwait, to introduce the Group's report.

Ms. AL-MULLA (Kuwait), Acting Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa (A/44/44). This is the third report to the Assembly since the Group was established in 1987.

Since then the international community has witnessed great developments. Changes pervade the international scene and southern Africa is not immune from these changes. In fact, the region is witnessing a historical development in Namibia and it is hoped that these developments will lead to an independent nation, following a truly free and fair election - an election currently in process. In South Africa itself actions taken to ease tension have not as yet addressed the basic problem of apartheid. Rather, they are aimed at easing the economic difficulties South Africa faces. It is now more than ever appropriate to maintain pressure on the South African Government, by peaceful means and through meaningful sanctions, to abolish apartheid.

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Acting Chairman,
Intergovernmental Group to Monitor
the Supply and Shipping of Oil and
Petroleum Products to South Africa)

The oil embargo against South Africa is considered to be one of the most important sanction measures available to the international community to end apartheid by peaceful means. Sufficient co-operation and effective co-ordination among States that produce, ship and handle oil could deprive the apartheid régime of the only basic commodity which it lacks and for which a substitute cannot be found. It is gratifying that an increasing number of States are appreciating the importance of this. To underline this development I wish to refer to the measures announced in mid-September 1989 by the Government of Singapore prohibiting exports of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, as well as the carriage of such items on Singapore-registered ships.

It is from this principle that the Intergovernmental Group draws its mandate - namely, to apply peaceful but decisive pressure on the Pretoria régime to contribute to the elimination of apartheid through an oil embargo.

This principle is reflected in the introduction to the report. The report includes seven sections and three annexes providing a descriptive and analytical review of the work of the Group. The report is more comprehensive than that of 1988. It reflects the gradual refinement and development of the Group's procedures and working methods. Following the introductory section, the report takes up in some detail the hearings on the oil embargo against South Africa. Paragraphs 25 and 26 of section II refer to the conclusions and the recommendations of the Panel based on the hearings. Section III of the report deals with legislative and other measures to implement the oil embargo. The importance of this aspect of the oil embargo has been underlined by the hearings. It is reflected in the Group's decision to conduct research on existing legislative and comparable measures with a

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Acting Chairman,
Intergovernmental Group to Monitor
the Supply and Shipping of Oil and
Petroleum Products to South Africa)

view to synthesizing their provisions and framing a model law which would be presented to Governments for their consideration.

Section IV, on individual cases of alleged violations, together with annex III, deals with 57 new cases accepted for inquiry. This figure is the same as that for 1988, when there were also 57 cases.

The present report includes a new section, "Monitoring of port calls in South Africa". Data were collected on the voyages of all ships known to have called at a South African port and to be capable of transporting one or more types of cargoes covered by the oil embargo. The Group's consideration of these cases is still at a preliminary stage. The Group is in the process of receiving responses from Member States and intends to submit to the General Assembly, within six months, an interim report on its findings.

The increase in the total caseload is due to the enhanced research capacity of the Group, which has enabled it to raise its detection rate to a considerable degree. This higher detection rate, together with the timely transmission of information to the national authorities concerned, will, it is hoped, suffice to deter shipping companies and maritime interests involved in the traffic of embargoed oil and petroleum products.

In this regard I must stress that the Group would not have succeeded in its work had it not been for the trust of Governments and their confidence in the Group. The continued co-operation of Member States with the Intergovernmental Group will be indispensable in the future. The correspondence included in the report reflects the strength of the co-operation between the Group and Member States.

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Acting Chairman,
Intergovernmental Group to Monitor
the Supply and Shipping of Oil and
Petroleum Products to South Africa)

Foreign investments in the South African petroleum industry, the transfer of technology and the role of oil companies are described in section VI of the report. Among the positive developments in this area is the decision of Mobil Oil to withdraw from, and to sell its assets in, South Africa. But much remains to be acted upon, as this section indicates.

The Group wishes to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the conclusions and recommendations contained in paragraphs 52 to 64. As indicated in paragraph 58, the Group is determined continuously to strengthen its monitoring capacities and in this regard will depend on the co-operation extended to it by Member States as well as by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

The Intergovernmental Group is not alone in many of the positions, conclusions and recommendations that are to be found in its report. The Secretary-General has simultaneously tendered to the General Assembly the report (A/44/576) of the Panel of Eminent Persons established to conduct the second public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia. This report contains a number of remarks which are pertinent to the issue of the oil embargo against South Africa. It stresses that lack of effective monitoring has reduced the efficacy of many sanctions measures. It proposes a central United Nations mechanism to organize and co-ordinate existing monitoring activities. This confirms the Intergovernmental Group's basic conviction that monitoring is not a superfluous or peripheral activity; it is the heart of any effective sanctions strategy.

The Intergovernmental Group has received a number of communications from States concerning their legislative measures on the oil embargo and port calls of

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Acting Chairman,
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Petroleum Products to South Africa)

ships to South Africa. These communications have not been reviewed in the report. As to the former matter, the Intergovernmental Group intends to present a report to the Assembly at its forty-fifth session. As to the latter, the Group is still considering replies and awaiting other replies to finalize its conclusions with regard to those cases.

(Ms. Al-Mulla, Acting Chairman,
Intergovernmental Group to
Monitor the Supply and
Shipping of Oil and Petroleum
Products to South Africa)

The Intergovernmental Group has received from the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran a communication, dated 10 October 1989, concerning the ships Rafio, Actor, Chase Venture, Licorne Oceane, Mirafiori, Moscliff, World Symphony, World Victory, World Summit, World Progress, World Champion and World Bermuda. This documentation will be studied soon, and the findings will be communicated to the Iranian mission and included in the Intergovernmental Group's report to the Assembly at its forty-fifth session.

I should like to recommend that the Assembly take note of the present report. On behalf of the Intergovernmental Group, I wish to express the appreciation and gratitude of all delegations members of the Group to Mr. Mongella of Tanzania, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, for his patient and dedicated work in putting together the present report. A similar debt of gratitude is owing to Dame Ann Hercus, Ambassador of New Zealand, for her constructive and resourceful suggestions, which helped the Group to finalize the report. The current year's workload could never have been tackled successfully without the valuable assistance of the staff of the Centre against Apartheid, particularly that of Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General and Director of the Centre.

It is on a note of regret that I shall conclude this statement. I have a deep sense of regret that the Group does not include two prominent people - the Chairman and the Rapporteur - whose contributions and guidance in the past were invaluable. I refer to the former Permanent Representatives of Norway and Tanzania. We all wish them well.

Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam): First of all, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to express profound satisfaction at seeing you presiding during the debate on this item. Your valiant struggle for and personal commitment to the ending of apartheid in South Africa are well known. As Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid you have advanced the cause of justice in South Africa.

My delegation deeply regrets the lack of substantive improvements in the situation in South Africa. Despite renewed expectations and hopes - which proved false - with the coming to power of a new leadership, the institutionalised system of inhuman repression of the black population prevails. The pronouncements by the new leadership are palliatives, which do not guarantee that meaningful changes will be effected. In your own words, Mr. President:

"In South Africa there has been much rhetoric but the only evidence of change has been the faces, not the policies, of apartheid".

That is clearly so, because the system of apartheid, which the United Nations has strongly condemned as a crime against the civilized human race, is still intact. Despite international pressure and economic and political isolation, there is still no clear indication that the appalling policies of apartheid and the racial discrimination practised by the régime in South Africa will be eliminated.

Apartheid is undeniably the root cause of tensions and conflicts in South Africa. The system deprives that country's black population of their political, economic and social rights. Crimes against humanity in various forms are being perpetrated. Despite the repeated appeals and protests by members of the Assembly, the racist régime in Pretoria continues to inflict upon the black majority the most flagrant violations and abuses of human rights, including torture and the forcible removal of families and whole communities from their homes to live in bantustans

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

under harsh conditions of deprivation and despair. It has been reported that since the policy of bantustanisation was put into effect millions of blacks have been forcibly removed. Thus the social fabric of black communities has been ripped apart in an exercise of racial and territorial segregation known as "grand apartheid".

In the most recent election the majority of South Africans were once again denied any voice in the political process of their country. The election itself was the very embodiment of discrimination. Thirty-six million blacks were denied any franchise by fewer than 5 million whites. Before the election, President De Klerk stated that he understood that all blacks wanted representation in the Government and promised to include them "at the highest level". At the same time the Pretoria régime has maintained its political system based on a collection of groups defined by race. These measures are not at all consistent with efforts to eradicate apartheid. They will certainly lead only to suspicion and rejection by the black majority, resulting in more confrontations with the racist régime and thus in violent reprisals by the South African authorities. In the name of humanity, my delegation would like to reaffirm its support for the majority by calling on South Africa to stop its racist policy and grant the black South African population their basic right to equal opportunities and equal participation in the political process.

Another example of politically motivated measures is the deliberately extended state of emergency, aimed at suppressing the resistance of the opponents of apartheid, and facilitating, among other things, illegal detention, including that of women and children. Bans and restrictions against anti-apartheid leaders, organizations and liberation movements remain in full force. While the recent release of a few anti-apartheid leaders - most notably that of Mr. Walter Sisulu - has created a positive atmosphere and is a welcome development, the releases remain too few and far between to be considered significant.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

The atrocities of the racist Pretoria régime are not confined within its own borders. In defence of its evil apartheid system, South Africa has also, over the years, perpetrated acts of aggression and destabilization against front-line and other States in the African region. As the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia reaches its final stage, growing apprehension and concern has been expressed about the possibility of South Africa disrupting the prospects for the genuinely free and fair transitional process planned by the United Nations. In view of the repeated manoeuvres by South Africa to circumvent full compliance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we urge that stringent measures be undertaken to ensure that the resolution is implemented in full.

In view of the situation prevailing inside and around South Africa, concerted action should be taken by the international community to end the abhorrent system of apartheid.

At this juncture my delegation wishes to reiterate the affirmation by my Foreign Minister before the Assembly of our support for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa in order to put greater pressure on the régime to end its oppressive policy of apartheid. If the whole world condemns apartheid as repugnant, there should be no reluctance to approve comprehensive mandatory sanctions that will further isolate Pretoria's economy, thus making the pressure on South Africa hard to bear.

South Africa should be constantly reminded that persistence in the apartheid system must be at the cost of international economic isolation and an investment embargo. Despite what is said in some circles, it was combined international and domestic pressure that forced the South African régime to take actions that, seemingly, are consistent with the reforms much flaunted by its new leaders.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

Recent developments in the guise of dialogues with other African leaders initiated by the new Pretoria régime are, one hopes, aimed at the eradication of apartheid and not at improving South Africa's tainted international standing. But time and again, we are warned that, as usual, this could be mere talk and a clever ploy of South Africa's strategy to preserve its control. If the stated intention of the new régime to bring about political reforms is to be credible, some fundamental conditions constantly urged by the international community must be fulfilled. We must not be misled by mere talk of reforms, for apartheid itself cannot be reformed and must be abolished.

The principle we uphold with regard to apartheid and our moral commitment have compelled us to take a stand today in resolute and consistent condemnation of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations. In the same vein, Brunei Darussalam welcomes the forthcoming special session on "Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa", to be held in December this year. We consider this to be yet another venue in which my country will stand in solidarity with the other members of this body in calling for the complete dismantling of the apartheid system.

Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French): The policy of racial discrimination in South Africa is still a matter of serious concern to the international community.

The South African apartheid régime is a flagrant violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning that racist régime, South Africa has stubbornly ignored universal condemnation and has so far refused to introduce any radical changes into its grim practices.

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In the last few years the international community has witnessed a shocking increase in the sufferings inflicted on the black population of South Africa by the racist régime as a result of the continued state of emergency, detentions, police violence, torture and assassinations. The press does not have freedom of expression. The majority of the people do not have the right to vote.

The Pretoria régime is destabilizing southern Africa. It attacks neighbouring States. It assassinates members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). It supports groups like UNITA and RENAMO, not to mention its own illegal occupation of Namibia.

Since Mr. Frederik De Klerk came to power, the South African régime has changed its tune, but let us look at what is actually happening. The fate of the black majority has not changed for the better. It continues to be deprived of the most fundamental rights.

Apartheid persists in South Africa, embellished - if one can put it that way - by purely superficial reforms of the Constitution and by the mockery of the elections of 6 September last.

The real issue is the institutionalization of the system of apartheid, which denies the black majority the right to participate fully in the political and democratic management of its country.

The liberation struggle, international pressure against apartheid and joint efforts to settle regional conflicts have opened up prospects for making progress towards a settlement of the problems facing the South African people.

We continue to believe that the peaceful means that can be used to overcome apartheid are to be found in concerted international efforts to isolate South Africa politically and economically. Sanctions can bring South Africa to end its policy of internal repression and destabilization of neighbouring States, lift the banning orders against anti-apartheid movements, repeal discriminatory laws and

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release immediately and without conditions all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

The economic impact of these sanctions would be much greater if some States having commercial relations with South Africa were to agree on a programme of strong and concerted sanctions. The few sanctions that have been imposed against South Africa have had some impact on the country's economy and have increased the country's budgetary deficit.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) mobilized their members and supporters in a strike in June 1988 that paralysed production and economic growth in the country. Against that background, the racist régime can only reconsider the relationship between the bosses and the trade unions and seek to settle with the latter.

South Africa has nuclear capacity - and this is serious. Hence collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear area must be halted. The connivance of some countries in the growing militarization of the South African racist régime is a violation of the arms embargo imposed against that régime, as well as of paragraph 12 of the Declaration in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which warned against the danger of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by racist régimes. Such collaboration threatens the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

In the same context, the growing co-operation between the South African racist régime and Israel must be condemned. There is some similarity in the repressive measures adopted by those two régimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, southern Lebanon and the territories occupied by Israel.

The system of apartheid, based on inequality, exploitation and the denial of human rights, is a crime against mankind. It must, purely and simply, be

(Mr. Ouedraogo, Burkina Faso)

dismantled. It is our duty to show our solidarity with the South African people and beyond to the peoples of southern Africa.

Here we wish to pay special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, which plays a crucial role in keeping international public opinion informed about the fate of the oppressed people of South Africa within the context of the world-wide alliance against apartheid.

Burkina Faso fully supports the conclusions of the ad hoc meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which convened in Harare on 21 August 1989, and adopted a declaration on the peace process in southern Africa.

The sports and cultural boycott of South Africa is an integral part of concerted action by the international community to put an end to apartheid. We welcome the entry into force on 3 April 1989 of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. We believe that the Convention will play a decisive role in totally isolating the apartheid régime in the area of sports. Burkina Faso, which is a member of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports, welcomes in particular the conclusions of the Commission's formal session held at United Nations Headquarters last October, which emphasized, inter alia, that progress had been achieved in the international boycott of apartheid in sports.

I must say that the present situation in South Africa should make us maintain and step up political, economic and financial pressure against the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Quedraogo, Burkina Faso)

The immediate elimination of apartheid is the prerequisite for the establishment of a non-racist democratic society based on self-determination and the principle of government by the majority through the full and free exercise of the right to vote of all adults in a united South Africa. The Pretoria régime must enter into negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the South African people with a view to the dismantling of apartheid and agreement on the measures needed to make the country a racial democracy. Accordingly, we welcome the action that is to be taken by the new leaders of the racist régime. The reforms will be credible only if they condemn and undermine the foundations of the apartheid régime.

The South African racist régime must realize that not even the harshest repression will stifle the people's desire for freedom or break the people's will to achieve it. The popular uprising, which is gaining ground in South Africa despite violent repression, is eloquent proof of this.

Burkina Faso believes that in view of the manoeuvres of the racist Pretoria régime the international community must remain vigilant. We believe that it will seize the opportunity provided by the special session of the General Assembly on the policy of apartheid and its destructive consequences for southern Africa, scheduled for December, to express once again its total solidarity with the courageous people of South Africa, and will continue to seek ways and means of creating conditions that will facilitate the speedy elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a just, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa.

Mr. HOQOQ (Afghanistan): It is a matter of deep concern that three decades after the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples the undisputed right to self-determination of the black majority in South Africa is still denied. Moreover, the Pretoria régime, in total defiance of

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the will of the international community embodied in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, is continuing its acts of terror against the people of South Africa and escalating its overt and covert acts of aggression and destabilization against the front-line and other independent African States.

It is by now quite clear that the root cause of all the conflicts in southern Africa is the continuance of the policy of apartheid by the Government of South Africa. Therefore, in our opinion, there can be no peace, security and stability in the region until the system of apartheid is totally eradicated.

We firmly believe that the implementation of General Assembly resolution 43/50 would certainly pave the way towards free consultations among all the people of South Africa aimed at finding a just and lasting solution to the conflict, and therefore towards the formation of a united, non-fragmented and non-racial democratic society based on self-determination and majority rule. To this end, it is high time for the international community, by resorting to more and more concerted actions, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, to force the racist régime of South Africa to give up the policy of apartheid.

We consider the recent negotiating formulations and platform proposed by the liberation movements of South Africa and adopted by the Organization of African Unity's Ad hoc Committee on South Africa and by the ninth non-aligned summit Conference to be important initiatives in the peaceful resolution of the situation in South Africa. It is time for South Africa to reply positively to these initiatives.

The so-called reforms announced by Mr. De Klerk are simply aimed at diverting world public opinion from the main objective - the total dismantling of all vestiges of the apartheid system. The absence of a single practical move on the

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part of the régime in a positive and constructive direction, in spite of the recent declarations and overtures, is testimony to this fact.

We strongly condemn the genocidal acts of the racist Pretoria régime against the black majority in that country and its practice of State terrorism and aggression against front-line and other neighbouring States, and commend the front-line States for their continued support for the struggle to eliminate apartheid and thus liberate South Africa. We also call upon the régime to release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, with whom it must negotiate to arrive at any comprehensive settlement of the problem.*

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate once again its firm and total support for and solidarity with the people of South Africa in their heroic struggle. We look forward to seeing in the near future a South Africa in which all the people of the whole country, irrespective of race, colour or creed, enjoy full and equal political and other rights and take part freely in the determination of their country's destiny.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): At the outset I should like to express my delegation's appreciation of the comprehensive report submitted to the Assembly yesterday by the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Jai Pratap Rana. His incisive analysis and wise counsel concerning the critical situation in South Africa have set the tone and the proper framework for our deliberations on an issue of transcendental importance to the international community.

I should like also to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Virenda Gupta of India, for his lucid

* Mr. Lohia (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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introduction of the report of the Special Committee. Allow me also to felicitate Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, the Assistant Secretary-General and Director of the Centre against Apartheid, and his staff and to acknowledge their dedicated work during this crucial period in the mobilization of international support for the struggle against apartheid.

To its enduring credit the Special Committee against Apartheid, over the years, has rendered invaluable service in ensuring that moral and political pressure has been brought to bear on the apartheid régime from every corner of the world. Indeed, it is in large measure owing to those sustained efforts that the evils of apartheid are known and universally condemned.

As an active member since their inception of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, Indonesia has sought to make its contribution to the intensification of the international campaign to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. We are well aware of the difficulties and frustrations that this has entailed. However, we also know full well that unless and until apartheid has been banished once and for all to historical reference this pernicious doctrine of virulent racial hatred will continue to mar our vision of a just and harmonious world and pose an immediate and dire threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Therefore, my delegation believes it important to reiterate that the system of apartheid in South Africa is inimical not only to the well-being of the people of South Africa, to the hopes and aspirations of the region of southern Africa and to the African continent as a whole, but also to the most fundamental values and shared interest of all humanity. We believe that there can be no compromise in the struggle against this evil. And we remain convinced of the impending defeat of apartheid and the dawning of a new era of justice and freedom for the long-suffering black majority in South Africa and of peace and prosperity for all the peoples of southern Africa.

This conviction emanates from the deeply held commitment of the Indonesian people, enshrined in our Constitution, which enjoins us to work for the elimination of colonialism and injustice everywhere in the world. To that noble end, Indonesia has long maintained that the principal means by which the international community should bring its collective will to bear in compelling the Pretoria régime to relent and respond positively to the universal demand that it abandon apartheid is resort to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. It has been our consistent view that the Security Council is duty bound to exercise its authority under Chapter VII of the Charter, by adopting forceful measures to eliminate what has been rightly condemned by the Organization as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.

Those who have opposed sanctions today point to certain recent moves by the Pretoria régime as grounds for exercising patience and restraint, and call for allowing South Africa time to institute and consolidate further reforms. In this regard we too acknowledge as a positive step - although it was forced upon the régime - the decision taken to release Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other prominent political prisoners from South African gaols.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

The report of the Special Committee makes clear that there has been no movement in the direction of dismantling the essential pillars of the apartheid system. The fact of the matter is that the draconian state of emergency continues to be brutally imposed and has even been strengthened during the past year. The national liberation movements of South Africa remain banned. Nelson Mandela and many other anti-apartheid activists continue to be detained without trial. Black South African freedom fighters remain on death row. That compelled the General Assembly very recently, at the outset of this session, to adopt an urgent resolution - resolution 44/1 - calling for commutation of the death sentence imposed on Mangena Boesman and all other political prisoners.

Similarly, the fundamental apartheid laws and decrees remain in place, including the Population Act, the Group Areas Act and the bantustan and all other regulations designed to separate and suppress the black majority. And just two months ago the Pretoria régime held elections which excluded the overwhelming majority of South Africans. Moreover, with its customary response, Pretoria again resorted to the brutal repression of the anti-apartheid activists who had organized the massive and successful rejection of those elections.

This deeply disturbing and seemingly endless list of transgressions against the most elementary norms of civilized behaviour has been chronicled in the report of the Special Committee and in the other relevant documents of the Organization, thus obviating the need for elaboration. However, I have dwelt on the persistence of some of the more odious policies and practices perpetrated against the black majority by the Pretoria régime in order to stress my delegation's conviction that this is no time to diminish our vigilance. On the contrary, the response of the Organization should be unyielding. Changes and concessions which fail to deal

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

with the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa do not deserve to be treated as grounds to rescind or relax sanctions.

It should be recalled that all too often in the past piecemeal measures and cosmetic devices, semantic acrobatics and promises of reforms by Pretoria have not led to meaningful change. In fact, the seemingly positive developments that have taken place in recent months can principally be attributed to both the pressures brought to bear by the heroic resistance inside South Africa and the further consolidation of the campaign to isolate the Pretoria régime through the severing of all political, diplomatic, military, economic and cultural ties with it.

In this regard Indonesia fully endorses the comprehensive Declaration on the Question of South Africa adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity at its meeting held in Harare in August 1989. Indonesia also reaffirms its commitment to the relevant decisions taken at the ninth summit conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Belgrade last September. We welcome also the Kuala Lumpur Statement on Southern Africa adopted by the Commonwealth countries at their meeting last month.

Those far-reaching documents rightly stress that the purpose of sanctions is not punitive. Rather, they constitute the most effective means to generate pressure for fundamental political change in South Africa. Further, if such change is to be brought about through a peaceful process of negotiations, then it is essential that an immediate end be put to the state of emergency and all legislation restricting political activity be repealed; that Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees be unconditionally released; that all bans and restrictions on all anti-apartheid organizations and groups be removed; and that all freedom fighters and exiles be returned to South Africa. Only then will

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

conditions be created conducive to the initiation of meaningful negotiations in good faith between the Pretoria régime and the authentic representatives of the majority population of South Africa. Indeed, this remains the only viable avenue for achieving the peaceful dismantling of apartheid and establishing in its place a non-racial and democratic society based on universal suffrage.

It must be emphasized that the achievement of this essential goal requires that we avoid the dangers inherent in equivocating on sanctions, which remain the most effective tool in the hands of the international community. Therefore, we again appeal to South Africa's main trading partners to recognize the positive and indispensable role that even limited sanctions have already played in influencing the policies of the Pretoria régime, and the need to expand and further strengthen them. In this context, we urge them to bring practical proposals and the necessary political will to the upcoming special session of the General Assembly on apartheid.

We also call on the major industrial countries to be forthcoming in providing further appropriate economic assistance to the front-line and other States, which are bearing the brunt and burden of the destructive consequences of apartheid on their region. Simultaneously, the genuine national liberation movements of South Africa, which have always been at the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid, deserve all possible support from the international community. It is essential that they be provided the necessary means by which to conduct their political activity throughout the country, without restrictions or impediments of any kind. Similarly, the victims and opponents of apartheid require generous humanitarian assistance. And special attention should be paid to the various training and other programmes for enabling all of black South Africa to participate effectively in the process of change and in contributing to the needs of a post-apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

We would like to believe - indeed, we hope - that the encouraging signs of possible changes in the approach of the Pretoria régime signal the beginning of real progress in the initiation of a genuine process of dismantling apartheid. But that can be assured only if all of us remain uncompromising on sanctions. Until there is clear evidence of irreversible measures being implemented in South Africa that will assure freedom and justice, equality and emancipation for all of its citizens, vigilance must remain our watchword.

Mr. KAYUMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The outstanding feature of the current scene is the profound qualitative shift away from confrontation towards building a new world, free from violence, inequality and oppression, with full respect for universal human values. In this new political thinking, which is becoming firmly established in the world, a key role is played by the concept of freedom of social and political choice - a concept that will become a universal norm in international life. In turn, this means that the behaviour of Governments must be brought into line with the realities of our interdependent world, in international affairs and within their own countries, with regard to their own citizens and with respect for their human dignity. Moral outrage at violence is becoming a characteristic feature of civilization and is perceived as an urgent necessity.

It is quite clear that apartheid is the most gruesome institutionalized form of racism, based on the denial and suppression of the dignity of the human person. Our decisive condemnation of apartheid is categorical, since it is a gross violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and internationally recognized standards of human rights; it is the basic cause of the violence and tension in southern Africa.

Our solidarity is unswerving with the just struggle of the people of South Africa for their rights and for the establishment in that country of a democratic régime. As emphasized in the final documents of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in September this year,

"apartheid constitutes a threat not only to the peace, security and economic prosperity of the region but also to international peace and security."

(A/44/551, p. 43, para. 2)

(Mr. Kayumov, USSR)

The Harare meeting of the Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in August this year, is an important milestone in the search for ways speedily to eliminate apartheid and bring about a peaceful solution to the whole set of problems in southern Africa. The programme of the African National Congress (ANC) that was adopted could become a basis for possible dialogue leading to a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth countries at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October this year expressed their desire to step up efforts in order to eradicate the system of apartheid.

We cannot fail to mention the clear trend that has emerged recently towards finding political solutions to the most complex problems from the standpoint of realism and defining a balance of interests. Recognition of that need would doubtless serve the long-term interests and desires of the States and peoples of the entire region of southern Africa and the task of strengthening international peace and security.

As members know, recently Pretoria has made statements regarding its intention to proceed to gradual elimination of apartheid, and its desire to write a new chapter in the history of South Africa. However, it should be noted here that South Africa has voiced similar intentions in the past, but the long-awaited solution to the problem of apartheid has not been forthcoming. An analysis of existing realities has reaffirmed the fact that the Pretoria authorities have not yet embarked on any radical changes and have not taken decisive action demonstrating their willingness once and for all to put an end to apartheid and work towards creating a united, democratic non-racial South African State.

The Soviet Union has already voiced its support for the recent decision taken by the South African Government to release the former General Secretary of the

(Mr. Kayumov, USSR)

ANC, Mr. Sisulu, and a number of other members of that organization, as well as the President of the United Democratic Front, Mr. Mpetha, because this is the only possible evaluation of a situation where political prisoners are freed; but we should not forget that there are still many hundreds of political detainees languishing in South African jails, among whom is the valiant fighter against apartheid, one of the leaders of the ANC, Nelson Mandela. The Soviet Union is joining its voice to the demands of the international community to bring about the unconditional immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political detainees.

In South Africa there is still a ban on the activities of political and democratic organizations and black trade unions; there is continuing repression; the state of emergency has not been lifted; and other legitimate demands put forward by the ANC and other progressive forces in that country have not yet been met. This is all eloquently borne out by the material contained in the report (A/44/22) of the Special Committee against Apartheid before this session of the General Assembly.

We believe that the new South African Government, if it wants to inspire confidence, including international confidence, should embark on a series of practical steps to create a favourable climate for dialogue with ANC leaders and leaders of other democratic organizations, and should take firm steps to dismantle apartheid. It is also clear that as long as South Africa still maintains its unjust system of apartheid the peoples of Africa will not feel safe.

The Soviet Union believes that assisting efforts to bring about the speedy elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa is the prime responsibility of the United Nations. We see the resolutions adopted over a number of years by the

(Mr. Kayumov, USSR)

General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of apartheid as providing valuable instruments to exert political pressure on the Government of South Africa and lending significant moral support for the national liberation movements of the peoples of South Africa.

(Mr. Kayumov, USSR)

The USSR voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 43/50, on the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, as it did of all other decisions taken by the United Nations on this question, and we scrupulously fulfil their provisions. The Soviet Union has no diplomatic ties with South Africa and no military, economic, sporting or other relationships.

We believe that an important element in the resolution is the demand for implementation by States Members of the United Nations of the agreed measures against South Africa, including the embargo on the import and export of weapons and the ban on oil deliveries to the South African régime. The General Assembly's appeal to the Security Council for the imposition against South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter remains relevant.

We believe that the process of granting independence to Namibia, which is now in full swing, and the positive developments in resolving other regional conflicts have created favourable conditions for enhancing the practical contribution of the United Nations to speeding up the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and settling the racial conflict by political means.

The Soviet delegation commends the work done by the Special Committee against Apartheid under the able guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Garba. The conclusions and recommendations in the report of that authoritative body, which seeks the elimination of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a democratic, non-racial society are important. A major contribution to the initiation of productive dialogue to find practical ways of resolving these problems by peaceful means will be made by the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

(Mr. Kayumov, USSR)

As was stated by Mr. Gorbachev at the recent meeting in the Kremlin with Heads of foreign diplomatic missions accredited to Moscow, there is now increasing recognition of the interrelationship and interdependence of all parts of today's world community. Therefore there is increased responsibility when taking decisions even of a purely domestic kind, to say nothing of foreign political decisions, because each such decision will sooner or later and to a greater or lesser extent affect the interests of other decisions that require particular attention and have particular significance. Without this, it will be impossible to rebuild international relations on a democratic, humane basis.

From this important rostrum of the world community we reaffirm that the Soviet Union intends to continue to give very active support to the efforts of the United Nations to ensure the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. We are sure that the day will come when in South Africa the conditions will be guaranteed for the free development on a basis of equality of all ethnic and racial groups, and when the country will take its rightful place in the world community. Then the radiance of its national star will enrich the noble ideals of friendship, world-wide co-operation and lasting peace. The common effort of the entire world community must be redoubled to ensure the speedy attainment of that noble goal.

Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): We should like to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. His country, Nigeria, with which Mauritania maintains excellent relations of co-operation, both bilaterally and within regional organizations, has always been in the forefront of the struggle being waged for the full and complete eradication of apartheid from South Africa.

South Africa's frenzied efforts to develop ever more sophisticated military means prove - if proof is still necessary - that it is far from thinking of frank

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud,
Mauritania)

dialogue, much less of peace. By acquiring medium-range missiles it clearly shows that it will no longer confine its actions to the front-line States that have already been subjected for years to murderous raids but can also bring destruction and desolation to other African countries. It is therefore doubtful whether, in spite of the honeyed words of the new President and certain positive, but quite inadequate, gestures, South Africa is ready to abandon the detestable system of apartheid. If it is, how are we to understand its emphasis on group rights, its refusal to dismantle apartheid, its determination to extend the state of emergency and the occupation of townships by army units?

The measures announced recently and the release of some eminent nationalists will have little effect as long as South Africa fails to take measures that will create a true climate of détente and sincere dialogue. Such measures must include, in particular: the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of banning and restriction orders against individuals and political organizations, such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid movements; the lifting of the state of emergency and the abrogation of segregationist laws; the withdrawal of armed forces from dormitory towns; and the cessation of political trials and executions.

The recent international press reports on the increasing military co-operation between the apartheid régime and the Government of Israel is further justification for the international community's continuing concern regarding the two régimes. Israel, flouting the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), of 4 November 1977, and violating its own commitments, shows how little regard it has for international public opinion, and in particular, African opinion.

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud,
Mauritania)

The latest statement by the new South African leader, which misled some financial institutions, should not lead the international community to ease its pressure on the anachronistic apartheid régime. Mauritania continues to believe that until there is a clear and irreversible movement towards change any easing of that pressure and of sanctions would be a grave mistake. As it has shown in the past, its solidarity with the South African people in their heroic struggle will continue the final and complete elimination of the detestable system of apartheid. It is convinced that only general mobilization and comprehensive and mandatory sanctions can bring us closer to the goal we all seek - peace and stability in South Africa, and thus in southern Africa.

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud,
Mauritania)

In that important part of the world the Pretoria régime is the main source of instability and tension, the main threat to peace and thus the major obstacle to the development of that part of the continent, which has enough human and material resources to enable its people to live decent and honourable lives.

Mr. AKS IN (Turkey): The international community and the United Nations in particular have a special responsibility to assist the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. We have long awaited the day when all South Africans, regardless of their race, will enjoy equality and full political rights. The system of apartheid continues to be a burden on the collective conscience of all, in spite of the many declarations and resolutions and the broad range of measures so far adopted.

This immoral system of separation of races established by the South African authorities can be perpetuated only by violence and constitutes a blatant violation of the concepts of liberty and equality. Despite the concern of the international community, the Government of South Africa has chosen stubbornly to ignore the universal condemnation and has thus far refused to change its policies of oppression of the black population. There is no doubt that the acceptable solution is not the softening of this despotic system but its complete elimination.

Despite the fact that the new Government appears to have committed itself to a vision of a different South Africa, free of domination or repression, the situation has not improved during the past few months. Mr. De Klerk has promised, in a number of recent declarations, gradual changes in the policy of apartheid. So far, however, Pretoria has failed to produce any meaningful change.

Recently, internal and international pressures exerted against South Africa's policies have had some modest but tangible effects. The freeing of eight black nationalist leaders on 15 October was a welcome move. Walter Sisulu,

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Ahmed Katharda and three others released had been sentenced to life terms along with Nelson Mandela in 1964. The release of these anti-apartheid leaders could be a significant development, if it were a first step towards the immediate and unconditional freeing of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners and detainees.

The Government of South Africa refuses to recognize that the main reason for the tragic situation prevailing in that country is the system of racial segregation and discrimination, which contains within itself the seeds of violence. The authorities must realize that as long as they do not totally dismantle their policy of apartheid and take the necessary steps to create an appropriate climate for a peaceful transition to a system of democracy and racial equity, that unfortunate country will not have real peace. The lifting of the state of emergency, the lifting of restrictions on political activity and the release of all political prisoners and detainees are some of the measures that have to be urgently taken by the Government of South Africa to bring about the necessary conditions for a genuine process of change leading to majority rule.

The explosive situation in South Africa also constitutes a serious threat to international stability and peace in that part of the world. Neighbouring States, which are selflessly expressing their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, continue to be the targets of South Africa's acts of destabilization. At this point I should like to express our satisfaction at seeing that the decolonization process in neighbouring Namibia is well on course. We are witnessing the creation of a new State in which apartheid will have been completely dismantled.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Deeply concerned by the state of affairs in South Africa, my Government is convinced that concerted action on the part of the international community can help eliminate apartheid. Recent developments have demonstrated that the only language the South African authorities are prepared to listen to is the language of comprehensive and mandatory foreign economic sanctions. We believe that such sanctions should be complied with very strictly by all.

Turkey does not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Pretoria régime. We are firmly committed to all the efforts designed to contribute to the dismantling of apartheid through peaceful means. We also believe that the United Nations must continue to be in the forefront in the initiatives taken at the international level to apply pressure on South Africa. In this context, the special session of the General Assembly in December devoted to the issue of apartheid will be of particular importance.

In conclusion, I wish to note the work undertaken by the Special Committee against Apartheid and commend it for its activities to promote the international campaign for the elimination of apartheid as called for in General Assembly resolutions. I wish also to pay a tribute to the Centre against Apartheid for its praiseworthy efforts in support of the legitimate aspirations of the South African people.

Mr. OBEID (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): We are meeting today in this important international forum to consider one of the most important items on the agenda of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly - the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

As is well known, this is not the first time we have gathered here to debate this important issue, which is a source of concern to the entire international community. The international community has constantly and strongly condemned and denounced those policies. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, the world cannot understand why there are certain States, such as South Africa and Israel, that persist in the policy of apartheid in its various forms and manifestations, in a manner totally at variance with the building of a civilized international order.

For years, at each session the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions, the most recent being resolution 43/50. All those resolutions have confirmed that the policy of apartheid is a heinous crime against humanity and that this policy constitutes a grave violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international legal instruments, and poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

Resolution 43/50 called upon the States Members of the United Nations to implement a broad range of agreed measures against South Africa, including a ban on the import and export of arms and oil products into and out of South Africa and a reduction of trade with that country. But have all Member States responded to that call in a sincere and realistic manner? The answer is simple; it is contained in the report of the Centre against Apartheid on restrictive measures affecting externally dependent areas of the South African economy. The Secretary-General has reported on those measures to the General Assembly in his Note in document A/44/555, in response to the aforementioned General Assembly resolution. This report indicates that over 50 per cent of South Africa's gross national product in the 1980s has been generated by foreign trade and that the inflow of foreign capital, in the form of investment or loans, have been essential to South Africa's economic growth (A/44/555, para. 3).

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

The report also indicates that there are more than 600 foreign companies with direct investments in South Africa. They maintained an equity holding of 10 per cent or more in one or more South African affiliates at the end of 1988 (A/44/555, para. 19). Of South Africa's total imports, 70 per cent come from those major industrial countries. This does not include imports of weapons and oil, the figures on which South Africa regards as a State secret.

That information contained in the report of the Centre against Apartheid is but the tip of the iceberg. We have yet to get the whole picture.

How long shall we go on adopting resolution after resolution without making any attempt to ascertain whether Member States are implementing them? This state of affairs only increases the obduracy and despotism of the racist South African régime and encourages it to ride roughshod over the international community.

As we interpret the situation in South Africa, the Government is still imposing a state of emergency. It rejects the unconditional release of political detainees, foremost among which is Nelson Mandela. It refuses to lift the ban on political organizations and on all the combatants against apartheid. It refuses to allow the safe return of all political exiles. It refuses also to rescind the restrictions on freedom of the press. It persists in other racist practices that the international community has time and again demanded that that Government cease. The Pretoria régime, supported by certain foreign Powers, arrogantly refuses to heed the call of reason and common sense voiced by the international community, as represented in the General Assembly.

My country believes it will be impossible to reach a final and total settlement of the conflict in southern Africa until apartheid is completely dismantled. We should not be deceived by Pretoria's new ploys, which, regrettably, some have defended and disseminated. An attempt is made to mislead the

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

international community into believing that a new President in South Africa means the beginning of reforms by that racist régime. In fact, these are only cosmetic changes in its ugly face. Facts have proved that the racist régime is still riding roughshod over the rights of the majority in the country. It is using various means to impede the implementation of the Security Council resolutions concerning Namibia, in particular resolution 640 (1989). The Pretoria régime has been attempting in every possible way to obstruct the electoral process in Namibia, which is being carried out in the framework of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), concerning the independence of Namibia.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen strongly condemns the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa. It fully supports the heroic struggle waged by the people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress. It condemns all conspiracies aimed at maintaining apartheid. It considers the imposition by the Security Council of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to be the most effective way to combat and finally eliminate apartheid. We hope that the permanent members of the Security Council will, without exception, support any resolution that the Security Council may adopt in this respect. Some of those members have repeatedly opposed any resolution that would impose any sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime.

My country supports the convening of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We hope that the session will give positive momentum to the elimination of apartheid and the promotion of peace and security in southern Africa. Those goals can be achieved only, we believe, through the concerted efforts of all Member States that cherish the welfare of the world.

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

In the discussion of the struggle against racism and the elimination of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination the international community must take a strong position on the policy of apartheid pursued by the racist Zionist régime in occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. There is a close link between the two racist régimes - that of South Africa and that of Israel. The collaboration between the two régimes is not confined to economic, military and nuclear fields. In its resolution 43/50 E, of 5 December 1988, the General Assembly called upon Israel to terminate forthwith all forms of its collaboration with the Government of South Africa. United Nations reports, however, prove beyond any doubt that Israel is not complying with that resolution and is continuing that collaboration, and even expanding it. Just a few days ago the world learned that Israel is assisting South Africa in producing a long-range nuclear missile, in return for enriched uranium to produce Israeli nuclear warheads. Israel has become a complete partner of South Africa in this respect. What more proof do we need of this close collaboration between the two racist régimes? No wonder Israel also continues to refuse to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning the Middle East and the Palestinian questions. Israel is following the example of the other racist régime, with the support of the same States that are bolstering up that régime. As we have indicated, the close links between Israel and South Africa include the exchange of experience in the ruthless use of methods of terror, torture and oppression in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories.

Certain countries are now trying to circumvent and render meaningless General Assembly resolution 33/79 (XXX) - adopted in 1975 - which equated zionism with racism. Without any right and for no reason, they are calling for the abrogation of that resolution. But it is validated today by the clear picture of the

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

repressive and terrorist practices engaged in by the Israeli occupation troops against the heroic people of Palestine, including women, children and the elderly, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Those occupation troops use poison gas and live and rubber bullets. They break bones and limbs. They arbitrarily detain and physically liquidate Palestinians in an attempt to suppress their valiant intifadah, which has been going on for nearly two years now, against Zionist occupation. The intifadah enjoys the support of the international community, as reflected in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly at this session strongly condemning Israel's arbitrary practices in the occupied territories and calling upon Israel to respect international instruments and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and its racial practices in those territories, as well as the perpetuation of the policy of apartheid and the occupation of Namibia by the racist South African régime and the continued collaboration between the South African and Israeli régimes, pose a constant danger of an explosion and a threat to peace and security not only in the Middle East and southern Africa but in the world.

More than ever before, we must today discharge our responsibility to eliminate racial discrimination not only in South Africa but also in Israel and in all other countries that, in one way or another, engage in such a despicable policy. That policy is in fact a challenge to us all. We should be able to meet it and achieve the noble goal: final victory, through the exercise of goodwill by all Member States in dismantling, without any prevarication, the heinous crime against humanity called apartheid.

(Mr. Obeid, Democratic Yemen)

We sincerely hope that the debate on this item at this session will produce positive results that can serve the cause of the struggle of the peoples against apartheid by accelerating the dismantling of that system and strengthening international peace and security.

Mr. COMISSARIO (Mozambique): My Foreign Minister, His Excellency

Mr. Pascoal Mocumbi, had the opportunity, when he addressed the General Assembly on 3 October, to express our warm congratulations to Ambassador Garba on his election as President of the Assembly's forty-fourth session. At that time he pointed out some of the qualities that make him an outstanding diplomat. Therefore, I shall limit myself to pledging my delegation's co-operation with the President as he discharges his noble duties.

The General Assembly has remained seized of the question of apartheid almost since the inception of the United Nations. Indeed it was in 1946 that issues related to legislated racism in South Africa came to the attention of this body. For all of this period the General Assembly has devoted much of its attention to addressing the issue, adopting resolution after resolution and decision after decision calling for an immediate and total abolition of the abhorrent system of apartheid and rightly declaring it to be a crime against humanity.

So long as the majority in that country, South Africa, continues to be deprived of the full enjoyment of the most fundamental rights, including political rights; so long as the minority exclusively holds political and economic power and ruthlessly dominates the majority, more time will unfortunately have to be devoted to the same issue.

My delegation has carefully examined the Secretary-General's remarks on this issue in document A/44/1. We concur with his views. Indeed the time has come for the South African authorities to avail themselves of the present political trends in the international arena, in particular the unfolding positive developments in southern Africa, to encourage prospects for fundamental change in South Africa. Unless Pretoria takes specific steps towards the elimination of apartheid, expectations held by the South African people and by the international community as a whole will not be fulfilled.

(Mr. Comissario, Mozambique)

We are of the view that in South Africa the situation has not changed so much. According to the report (A/44/22 and Corr.2) of the Special Committee against Apartheid - which we highly commend - repression, detentions without trial, prosecutions, restrictions on individuals and organizations, assaults on activists, assassinations, forced population removals and press censorship do not seem to have abated.

This abominable situation became particularly notorious during the all-white September elections. The exclusion of the majority black people was one further indication of the lack of the political will to eliminate apartheid. In this context, we reiterate our deepest sympathy with and our support for the people of South Africa, because of the courage and political maturity they demonstrated in their opposition to the racist elections.

The negative consequences resulting from the continuation of apartheid in South Africa go well beyond national boundaries and have resulted in untold human suffering and unbearable economic and social costs in the region.

In my country alone the magnitude of the South African policy of destabilization has claimed more than 700,000 lives. It has also caused more than 1.7 million people to be displaced and 5.6 million citizens to live in a state of emergency. As stated in a study entitled South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid, produced by the African Recovery Unit of the Department of Public Information, Communication and Projects Management Division, the cost was \$15 billion, which is equivalent to 550 per cent of our gross domestic product. According to the same report, the total cost of the South African destabilization policy in the region was \$60 billion. These figures demonstrate the urgent need for the international community to prevail upon South Africa to bring this tragedy to an end.

(Mr. Comissario, Mozambique)

One of the most disturbing conclusions of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid is that close military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa is continuing. We are particularly concerned over reports that companies from certain countries have continuously violated the arms embargo imposed upon that country by the international community. The same report further stresses that, thanks to that collaboration, South Africa has recently acquired the necessary expertise to produce and manufacture sophisticated submarines, as well as technologies for ballistic missiles. We call upon the countries involved in this illegal and malicious business to display their good will by adopting adequate and effective measures to prevent their companies from playing a crucial role in the South African military and nuclear build-up.

We also urge the international community to step up its support of the front-line States to mitigate the vulnerability of their economies to the negative effects of regional aggression and destabilization by the apartheid régime. In this context we express our appreciation of the gesture made by the Assembly in adopting resolutions calling for economic support for the front-line States and other neighbouring States.

While we note that some expectations have emerged with the coming to power and pronouncements of the new leadership in South Africa, we cannot fail to note that there still exist some crucial steps that ought to be taken in order to restore confidence and bring to an end the atmosphere of scepticism and mistrust prevailing among the people in South Africa.

In this respect, my Minister said:

"This expectation is not shared, however, by the majority of the South African people, for whom speeches in themselves are no guarantee that serious changes will be effected ... This attitude is a reflection of the climate of mistrust

(Mr. Comissario, Mozambique)

and scepticism rooted in the minds of the majority of the South African people and in the world at large in view of the past record of frustrated expectation." (A/44/PV.17, p. 88)

First and foremost the South African authorities should release Nelson Mandela and other political leaders, lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political parties, end the state of emergency and initiate a process of negotiations and dialogue with the genuine representative of the South African people.

(Mr. Comissario, Mozambique)

These measures, if implemented, would constitute a clear guarantee of change towards the peaceful participation of people from all walks of life in the process of making political decisions, as well as in the building of a just, united and democratic South Africa. In this context, it is our strong belief that the Declaration by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa - adopted in Harare in August 1989, and later endorsed by the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement - lays down an acceptable framework for resolution of the conflict in South Africa. We believe that this document is a valuable source of inspiration in, and is an important contribution to, the search for appropriate ways and means of eliminating apartheid.

At the regional level, the cessation of all acts of destabilization and aggression, both economic and military, should constitute an integral part of these measures. The abolition of the apartheid system and the ending of policies of destabilization against neighbouring States would create appropriate conditions for South Africa to participate with other States of southern Africa in joint efforts to ensure co-operation and peace in the region.

Finally, we wish to reiterate our demand for the total eradication of apartheid and to reaffirm our steadfast support for the suffering people of South Africa for the ANC and other national-liberation movements, as well as for all those who have been fighting, both inside and outside South Africa, for the ideals of freedom and human dignity.

It is our hope that the special session of the General Assembly on the destructive consequences of apartheid in South Africa, to be held next December, will create outstanding momentum not only for the definition of specific steps in support of the front-line States but also for the achievement of consensus on the

(Mr. Comissario, Mozambique)

modalities for the elimination of apartheid by peaceful means. Only by removing the root cause, which is the persistence of apartheid, can we restore peace and prosperity in the region.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a great honour for my delegation to take part in this debate under your presidency, Sir, for we know how indefatigably your country - Nigeria - and you yourself have been working to ensure that apartheid is wiped off the face of the earth.

This year the Assembly is considering the item on apartheid in the context of two developments in which the Republic of South Africa is one of the main participants. On one hand, Namibia, which has been a colony of South Africa for more than 50 years, is finally moving towards its longed-for independence under Security Council resolution 435 (1978). On the other hand, within South Africa itself, the racist régime - compelled by the South African people's great efforts and sacrifice - is carrying out some changes designed to enable it to reach agreement with the black population and with neighbouring countries.

But gestures and good intentions are not enough; the system of apartheid must be dismantled, and all South Africans, black and white, must be enabled to live together, on a footing of absolute equality, in the land of their birth.

Apartheid - separate political development of the races combined with economic integration, as the South African Jan Smuts defined it - is simply the culmination of the process of consolidation and, later, development carried out by the bosses who exploited what is today the territory of South Africa: the Boers and the British. From the time apartheid was institutionalized in 1948, when the Nationalist Party came to power right up to today, it has guaranteed the white minority all the manpower it needs to increase its economic wealth at the lowest

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

possible cost. In political terms, apartheid was designed to prevent the black majority from participating, however minimally, in the centralized institutions of the country.

Through the complex system of legislation with which we are all familiar, successive racist Governments in Pretoria have kept an iron grip on the black majority in that African country. Apartheid has become an integral part of the way of life of the white minority in South Africa, and the racists have been using this oppression in their efforts to stay in power.

But in South Africa domination cannot be perpetuated by the use of whips and chains. As a result of experiences over many long and bloody years of struggle - with historical milestones such as Sharpeville, Rivonia and Soweto - the non-white people of South Africa have today achieved greater unity of all the anti-apartheid forces, involving all sectors of the people in various forms of protest against institutionalized racism. These people have been able to count on overwhelming international solidarity, and - what is most important - they have been able to convince some of the white minority that the crisis must be resolved internally, in consultation with the representatives of the great oppressed majority, represented by its vanguard, the African National Congress.

The oppressed people of South Africa have been battling on. Over the years they have adopted a militant attitude, and they have a long string of people who, in the day-to-day confrontation with racist legislation, have proved themselves to be heroes and martyrs. All this is the basic reason for the new positions taken by the white minority and for the slight changes that have taken place in the country.

We are very pleased about the release of Walter Sisulu and the group of comrades who were imprisoned with him, and we are glad that in some urban areas restrictions on the black population have been eased.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

Nevertheless, the South African people have not struggled all these years for everything just to stop at reforms to apartheid. These reforms come a little late. Those gestures are not enough. Nelson Mandela and many other anti-apartheid fighters still remain in prison. The non-white South Africans will not settle for anything that does not give them back their freedoms and the enjoyment of all their inalienable rights.

Only the total elimination of all apartheid laws and measures, the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of racist repression that now exists in South Africa and reversal of the bantustanization of the country would allow both that people and the international community to verify the true intentions of Mr. De Klerk's Government.

Until that happens we must redouble our efforts in support of the South African people and their vanguard, the glorious African National Congress of South Africa; we must continue condemning apartheid as a crime against mankind even more strongly; and we must continue advocating comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to force the Pretoria Government to comply with its obligations.

No effort will be in vain if eventually we are able to make apartheid disappear and we can have a South Africa as described in the Freedom Charter approved in Kliptown in 1955 by representatives of all races of that country:

"South Africa belongs to all who live there, white and black. No Government can, with justice, claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. The people will govern. All national groups will have equal rights. The people will share in the wealth of the country. The land will belong to those who work it. All will be equal before the law. The gates to knowledge and culture will stand open. There will be houses and food. There will be peace and friendship".

And we say that there will also be a new dawn for the South African people.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): More than four decades have passed since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reaffirming and consolidating our faith in fundamental human rights and basic human values. One of the most fundamental principles of the United Nations is equality and freedom for all without racial or other distinction, an ideal that is enshrined in the Declaration. Deplorably, however, racial discrimination, hidden or explicit, is still practised in many parts of the world. Humankind has made much progress on many fronts, but this problem, perhaps as old as the history of the world, persists. We must therefore redouble our efforts to eradicate racism wherever and whenever it occurs.

Today racial discrimination is most blatantly practised in South Africa. Its policy of apartheid is, of course, nothing other than an institutionalized system to deny the majority of the people in South Africa their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Hence it is appropriate that our efforts to achieve racial equality be focused primarily on that country.

The question of apartheid is no doubt the most pressing moral issue confronting humankind today. My Government has long expressed its outrage at that abhorrent policy. Japan's strong opposition to apartheid has grown out of its own experience; the discrimination which the Japanese people themselves have at times suffered has made them profoundly sensitive to the problem.

When Japan emerged as a modern nation in the international community at the turn of the century, most Asian and African peoples were under the yoke of colonialism, and racial discrimination was a dominant feature of international relations. After the First World War, as the Covenant of the League of Nations was being drafted, Japan strove to have a provision proclaiming racial equality included in the Covenant. Regrettably, its efforts were unsuccessful.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

After the Second World War, however, as the peoples of Asia and Africa gained their independence and joined the community of nations, racial discrimination was eliminated, at least superficially, throughout much of the world. But in South Africa, racism became institutionalized in the policy of apartheid.

The white minority rulers in Pretoria must learn that the unrest in their country and, indeed, their insecurity in the region are the result of the repugnant policy of apartheid; that they will not be able to prevent a recurrence of the uprising of the black population until apartheid is abolished once and for all; and that it is apartheid that invites the enmity of Pretoria's neighbours and the censure of the international community.

Pretoria's attempts to quell the dissatisfaction by force are futile. It is imperative that the Government of South Africa take genuine steps to resolve the difficulties at their root cause by dismantling its policy of apartheid.

The system of apartheid must be dismantled, not simply reformed. Japan thus strongly urges the new Government in Pretoria to take substantive and concrete actions towards that end. Last month the Government of South Africa released eight political prisoners, including the former Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Walter Sisulu, who had been imprisoned for 26 years. My Government welcomes their release as a step in the right direction and very much hopes that the decision by the Government of South Africa to release this small number of prisoners will be followed without delay by the release of all other remaining political prisoners, including Mr. Mandela.

Moreover, Japan urges the Government in Pretoria to rescind the state of emergency, lift the ban on anti-apartheid organizations and enter into dialogue with the country's black leaders towards the establishment of a non-racist, democratic Government.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

Japan's steadfast opposition to apartheid is clearly reflected in the full co-operation it has extended to international efforts for its eradication and in the range of policies it has adopted and measures it has taken to apply pressure against South Africa.

Japan, for example, does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa, limiting its relations strictly to the consular level. In expression of its abhorrence of Pretoria's policies and practices, Japan has limited contacts between the peoples of the two countries by imposing restrictions on sports, cultural and educational exchanges; it has suspended the issuance of tourist visas to South African nationals and has requested the Japanese people to refrain voluntarily from travelling to South Africa.

Japan does not engage in military or nuclear co-operation of any kind with South Africa.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

In the field of economic and trade relations Japan banned all direct investment in South Africa as early as the mid-1960s. It extends no commercial loans to that country and has practically halted the import of Krugerrands and other gold coins. Its other trade restrictions vis-à-vis South Africa include prohibitions on iron and steel imports and on arms exports and the export of computers to South African institutions that enforce apartheid. Moreover it has suspended air links with that country. As a result, statistics demonstrate that, in yen terms, Japanese trade with South Africa peaked in 1981 and has since been declining.

In addition to those measures to restrict its relations with South Africa the Government of Japan last year took further steps to discourage Japanese business ties with South Africa. In fact its Foreign Minister and Trade Minister made personal appeals to business leaders in Japan to exercise restraint in trading with that country.

The appeals were heeded, and as a result trade between Japan and South Africa decreased last year by 15 per cent in yen terms and 4 per cent in dollar terms, despite the appreciation of the Japanese yen against the United States dollar. The trend is continuing this year, reducing the trade level so far by 9 per cent in dollar terms compared with the corresponding period of last year.

While such direct political and economic measures by members of the international community are essential in sending a clear message to and exerting pressure on South Africa's minority Government, other aspects of the problem must not be overlooked.

First of all we must not forget the plight of the States neighbouring South Africa, which are constantly threatened by military incursions and economic blackmail from Pretoria. Recognizing the economic difficulties those States are

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suffering, Japan is enhancing its economic and technical co-operation with them, including economic assistance to the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Furthermore, looking ahead to the day when true democracy has been established and human rights are guaranteed to all the people of South Africa, Japan is extending human resources development assistance to help prepare South Africa's black citizens to discharge their responsibilities effectively in their nation-building and national reconstruction efforts.

My Government's contributions over the years to the humanitarian and educational funds and programmes of the United Nations, as well as its bilateral assistance, attest to the importance it attaches to this area. For instance, in 1989 it is extending \$400,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Moreover it increased to \$600,000 its assistance in this fiscal year to medical, educational and housing projects for South Africa's victims of apartheid. Japan is determined to extend such assistance as long as the need continues.

At the same time Japan places great importance on political dialogue and is thus intensifying exchanges with black African leaders. Last month, for instance, the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, paid an official visit to Japan, where he exchanged views with Prime Minister Kaifu on various issues, including apartheid. The President and the Prime Minister agreed on the necessity for further co-operation by the international community for the abolition of apartheid.

This century has witnessed unspeakable horrors of war, genocide and human cruelty. Step by step, and sometimes with great sacrifices, humankind has been making progress in overcoming them and I think all would agree now that, with the

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growing awareness of the need for freedom, openness and democracy and of our interdependence, the trend throughout the international community is towards peace, justice and human equality.

Apartheid's days are numbered. When will South Africa come to its political senses and acknowledge that truth, for, as history has demonstrated throughout the ages, freedom and human dignity cannot be suppressed indefinitely. Ultimately justice will prevail and the world envisioned in the Declaration of Human Rights will be realized.

Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA (Brazil): As we gather here again this year to debate the practices and policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa we may perhaps be optimistic because of some encouraging trends that are detectable in that country. The new administration in South Africa seems to be demonstrating some willingness to change the anachronistic régime of racial discrimination and some positive steps have been taken, such as the recent release of Walter Sisulu and other anti-apartheid leaders. There seems to be a growing tendency to establish a dialogue between the Pretoria Government and the majority of the people. Much more action, however, is necessary.

As everybody knows, the state of emergency has been prolonged; political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, have not been released; political organizations and parties continue to be considered illegal. Detention without charge, militarization of townships and forced removal of population still go on. Violence still prevails in South Africa, as it is inherent in racial segregation.

Brazil will never cease to condemn the abhorrent apartheid régime, which we identify as the major source of instability and tension in southern Africa and the fundamental obstacle to peace and justice in South Africa. As a consequence, we support the noble struggle of the South African people to abolish that régime and

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transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial society. This will be possible only through a broad and meaningful dialogue with authentic black leaders. The creation of the necessary conditions will require the ending of all those political restrictions which now prevail in South Africa.

We think that the international community has a moral and political obligation to help South Africans eradicate that régime, the only one in the world against which all countries are united, albeit with varying degrees of militancy. For that reason it is necessary to continue to exercise effective international pressure upon the racist Government. It would be particularly appropriate to consider strengthening at this point the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 418 (1977).*

* Mr. Pawlak (Poland), Vice-President, took the chair.

(Mr. Nogueira-Batista, Brazil)

As a member of the Security Council in 1988 and 1989 Brazil has been participating in the work of the Committee of the Security Council on the question of South Africa established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977). We are concerned with the need to ensure the effective monitoring of the present arms embargo and to bring to an end all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

Last September the Committee promoted private hearings of eminent persons and experts, who made a number of significant and useful suggestions to strengthen and widen the scope of the arms embargo. It became clear in those hearings that the South African Government is now concentrating less on the direct import of arms and related matériel than on the acquisition of the technology, blueprints, components, machinery and skilled personnel necessary to develop its domestic military industry. The ideas that were then put forward could well constitute a basis for recommendations of the Committee to the Security Council with the objective of closing loopholes in, and reducing possibilities of circumventing, the arms embargo. We are aware that, as the Committee itself recognized in its last report, of December 1987, in different countries individuals and corporations continue to evade Government screening procedures by making the prohibited goods and services, including technology, available to South Africa. We would thus favour a comprehensive study by the arms embargo Committee of the national legislation of Member States in order to recommend to the Security Council the most appropriate action.

The time has come to strengthen Security Council resolutions 558 (1984) and 591 (1986) by widening their scope and making their provisions mandatory. We must

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prevent irregularities in the granting of export licences and shipping documents for arms and related matériel destined for South Africa.

The next special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa will present an opportunity for the Committee of the Security Council established by Security Council resolution 421 (1977) to present a new report on its activities, together with suggestions for reinforcing and broadening the arms embargo. Additional contributions in this sense are also to be expected from Member States and from non-governmental organizations and individuals participating in the special session. Let us hope that the Security Council will then be in a position to take appropriate decisions in that direction before the end of the year.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Although certain developments have taken place in some of the internal and external aspects of the abhorrent apartheid scene and its tragic repercussions on the southern African region, it must be said that those developments, which were brought about by international pressures, modest economic sanctions and popular resistance, have fallen short of achieving the minimum requirements for international legitimacy in this important part of the African continent.

So far, the Pretoria régime has not given us any reason to hope that it will translate its words into deeds and its rhetorical posturing into concrete reality. Consequently, it is evident that its intent is to perpetuate for all time the policies which flout every code of ethics and every law. Such policies cannot be reformed but must be eradicated altogether.

There is no doubt that the General Assembly will study the excellent and comprehensive report of the Special Committee against Apartheid this year. Certain developments have taken place since the General Assembly's last session. The most

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important are that certain leaders of the nationalist majority have been released, a tripartite agreement has been signed by Pretoria, Angola and Cuba, and Pretoria's new leadership has been talking of political changes.

On the other hand, the racist régime has reimposed the state of emergency for the fourth consecutive year and has devised a five-year plan for legal reform which is geared to the perpetuation of racial division. The régime excluded the black majority from the parliamentary elections it staged two months ago and has rigorously repressed the widespread opposition to such elections. Quite obviously, Pretoria is pursuing and, in fact, escalating the repressive measures aimed at crushing any form of peaceful opposition to the racist régime. We are pleased to see an increasing number of white South Africans joining the ranks of that opposition.

Observers will have noted Pretoria's eagerness to placate the international community, which has become increasingly angry. Regrettably, however, it does so through a great deal of propagandist posturing while all its moves and measures lack credibility; hence the unanimous international reaction to those moves.

Once more it has become crystal clear that the international community has no intention of making peace with the minority Pretoria régime until apartheid has been stamped out and majority rule has been established.

No one should be surprised by the firmness and intransigence of this international stance. It bespeaks opposition to a tyrannical clique that - to cite an example - still detains in its prisons more than 100 children under the age of 18. In six months this year it has executed at least 34 persons. It persists in detaining thousands of persons, without charge or trial and for long periods extending sometimes to years. It encourages vigilante bands and death squads to

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liquidate the opponents of apartheid, and appeases the criminal elements of the extreme right, which indulge in orgies of terror and assassination.

Facts and figures reflect the other aspect of this criminal situation, namely the suffering of the front-line States. We have heard recently of the report considered by the latest Commonwealth ministerial meeting, in Canberra, Australia. It notes that South Africa's military and economic measures in the last eight years have led to the loss of life of 1.5 million persons and the displacement of 4 million inhabitants of neighbouring African States.

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The report estimates the economic cost to those countries as a result of Pretoria's aggression to be over \$45 billion.

The Hanlon report on economic sanctions, which was considered by the same group at the ministerial meeting also contains conclusions that deserve attention. It states that so far sanctions have led to a reduction of only 7 per cent in the total volume of Pretoria's trade. The experts who prepared the report think it is necessary to quadruple sanctions within a fixed time-frame, preferably the next five years, in order to compel South Africa to agree to negotiate in earnest. The report also advocates what we have been calling for over the years in every forum, namely, the immediate widening of the scope of the present sanctions and their intensification.

As a contribution to this approach, the State of Kuwait has, over the past few years, strengthened control over the oil embargo against South Africa and ensured the inclusion of oil by-products in the embargo. My country has played a leading role in the Intergovernmental Group established three years ago by the General Assembly to monitor the implementation of that embargo.

It is also noteworthy that the Arab States were the first to call for that embargo, at the Algerian summit meeting in 1973, which adopted a resolution on the imposition of such an embargo against the apartheid régime in South Africa. Three months ago, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed to tighten that embargo against the racist South African régime. The Organization has played a key role in international forums on the issue of the oil embargo.

Every few months, indeed, every few weeks, we hear reports in the mass media and learn of Western intelligence reports on the military and technological collaboration between South Africa and Israel. We all heard the latest of these a few weeks ago, on the testing of a new missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads, that can reach distant targets deep in the heart of Africa and the

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Arab world. As usual, response has been a mere storm in a teacup, after which the two collaborating régimes, bent on oppression and occupation, will go on with their diabolical activities as they have for the past quarter of a century.

The latest information was reported by none other than the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States, the country without whose technical assistance and soft stance, Israel could never have reached the present stage. We give the following examples of areas of collaboration between the two ostracized régimes.

First, there is the transfer of the technology relating to the Israeli Lavi fighter. It is well known that South Africa will integrate the end-result of the transfer of that technology into its own air force under the name Ariah. Secondly, South Africa is employing more than 75 technicians from Israeli aircraft industry who worked on the Lavi project. Thirdly, the two régimes, of Tel Aviv and Pretoria, collaborated in testing a missile similar to the Jericho II last July from a site in South Africa. The missile reached as far as Prince Edward Island in the Indian Ocean. Fourthly, there is ongoing collaboration between South Africa and Israel in the development of a long-range missile called Irah 3. Fifthly, South Africa is providing Israel with uranium.

Other examples of that collaboration between the two régimes are the following. First, the Cheetah fighter aircraft is an exact replica of the Israeli Kfir. Secondly, South Africa's gunboats armed with surface-to-surface missiles were originally developed in Israel. Thirdly, South Africa has developed the R-4 rifle from the Israeli counterpart called Galilee. There is also the fact that Israel is being used by South Africa as a transit staging area for its prohibited goods. Facilities have been provided by Israel for the storage of South Africa's coal pending its re-export to the West.

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Despite all the examples I have cited, Israel insists, as it has always done, that it is reducing its transactions and dealings with South Africa in every area, as stated in its reply included in the report of the Secretary-General on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid (A/44/533).

None of this is new in relation to the collaboration of the two racist régimes, which have many common characteristics and goals. The two régimes impose on their victims in the African continent and the Arab world the same conditions and misery, with the inevitable result that struggle by all means becomes the only option open to those victims. It has become clear to us through their nuclear collaboration that the two régimes will stop at nothing in their acts of aggression against neighbouring States. Through nuclear intimidation, they aim at further expansion and greater hegemony.

We wish to remind the international community that experience in dealing with those two régimes confirms that there is no way of dissuading them from their aggressive, racist and expansionist policies other than by concerted international efforts and the imposition of stringent sanctions and embargoes against them, coupled with the refusal of all States and institutions to deal with them or provide them with anything that might help them to perpetrate with impunity their evil actions, although they run counter to every norm of international law, conscience and religion.

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The new political leadership in Pretoria has realized that the international community should be given at least an impression that there is some movement towards moderation. However, the solution is self-evident. It cannot be replaced by false appearances and political trickery. If this new Government really wishes to initiate a new era and is prepared to move towards settlement, it should start by lifting the state of emergency and allowing all national political organizations and parties to exercise their legitimate rights. It should release all political prisoners, especially the national hero Nelson Mandela. It should put an end to all repressive laws and arbitrary political trials, end its censorship of the press and allow freedom of expression. Such should be the genuine beginning of the process of a comprehensive settlement. Anything less than that would mean only further prevarication, delaying tactics and the exacerbation of the already explosive situation in this important region in the world.

Mr. GBEHO (Ghana): The annual general debate on the policies of apartheid in South Africa offers the General Assembly the opportunity to review its policies and the measures that Member States have employed to secure the elimination of apartheid, the most widely despised and justly condemned institutionalized system of racism and racial discrimination in the world today.

In its report to the forty-third session, last year, the Special Committee catalogued instances of escalated internal repression against anti-apartheid organizations and informed the General Assembly of the renewal of the state of emergency, the continued imprisonment of political opponents of apartheid and the continued exclusion on the basis of race and colour of the majority of South Africans from participation in the government of their own country. On the basis of that report the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions which, in

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essence, generally called on the racist régime to end apartheid and grant political rights to all South Africans irrespective of race and colour.

The year 1989 opened, therefore, with cautious hopes that the racist régime would finally heed the call of the international community and dismantle apartheid. As far as this intractable problem is concerned, there was never a more auspicious occasion. The world appeared to have reawakened to the self-evident truth that peace can be sustained only through dialogue, not through confrontation. The ignominious defeat of the once-dreaded South African military in Angola had emphatically reminded the world yet again that military might cannot overcome the inherent yearning of man for human dignity. The march towards internal peace and reconciliation in Angola and the prospect of the independence of Namibia had pointed the way to the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Today, almost a year after the General Assembly's call, the situation, sadly, is in essence, the same. Apartheid still persists. The reports that have been presented to the Assembly under the agenda item paint a picture of increased internal repression against anti-apartheid forces and a relaxation of external pressure on the racist régime in the form of sanctions.

The legislative pillars of apartheid, such as the 1960 laws banning the Pan African Congress of South Africa (PAC) and the African National Congress of Azania (ANC), the Internal Security Act of 1962, the Public Safety Act of 1953, the laws on trespass, housing and work permits, and press censorship not only exist but have been strengthened in certain areas. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act No. 26, of 1989, the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Government in Free Settlement Areas Act and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill have all been introduced to perpetuate the segregation of the black majority from the dominant white minority.

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In spite of all the profuse declarations of so-called reforms, the racist Executive has not hesitated to apply legal and extra-legal measures against anti-apartheid forces. The state of emergency has been renewed. Arrests, detentions and tortures have continued in the year under review.

The all-white South African judiciary has now become an appendage of the Executive in the latter's efforts to perpetuate apartheid through cosmetic reforms. The description of its role by the Special Committee against Apartheid as "determined judicial activism" in repression is quite apt. Its decisions have conferred loyalty on various aspects of the emergency regulations and security officials have been granted immunity in carrying out the most outrageous practices. The infamous doctrine of "common purpose" and the Delmas and Uington trials have provided evidence of the criminalization of peaceful political dissent in South Africa.

The struggle against apartheid during the year has been marked by the direct and indirect promotion of extra-legal measures by the Executive. Assassination, chemical poisoning and harassment of anti-apartheid political activists, and sabotage of other institutions have been adequately documented in the report of the Special Committee.

The increased repression in South Africa is not unrelated to the laxity in applying external pressure that is portrayed in the reports of the Committee, the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, and the Secretary-General. The South African economy appears to have recovered from the stagnation that it suffered through the various sanction measures voluntarily imposed by Member States, particularly since 1985. The economy continued the growth observed in 1987, to record a growth rate in real terms of 3.2 per cent, surpassing the growth rate of the population since 1984.

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Instead of isolation, collaboration with the apartheid regime has become prevalent. With the notable exception of Finland, South Africa has recorded increases in its trade with all its traditional partners. It is significant to note that the Federal Republic of Germany has now overtaken Japan as the leading trading partner of South Africa. The efforts made by Japan to join other Member States in reducing collaboration with South Africa resulted in an increase of 4 per cent over last year's figure. However, Japan's decision is welcome.

The rather regrettable practice of third countries seeking to fill gaps which traditional partners might have created with their half-hearted measures continued within the year. As a result, Taiwan, a province of China, recorded the highest percentage increase of 86 per cent in its trade with South Africa, followed by Switzerland with 72 per cent and Ireland with 54 per cent. Amongst the traditional partners, the Federal Republic of Germany has had an increase of 44 per cent, followed by Belgium and Luxembourg with 37.3 per cent and Canada with 36 per cent. These are not happy developments.

In spite of the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council, apartheid South Africa enjoyed effective collaboration with certain Members of the Organization. As a result, the racist régime continued to build up its military strength and to trade in armaments. It is now known that South Africa is constructing submarines at the Sandock Austria Yard in Durban. The growing military collaboration between Chile and apartheid South Africa is a source of concern to my delegation. The participation of the racist régime in exhibitions related to arms is in violation of the embargo. The report of the Special Committee once again gives the lie to the protestations of Israel about the ending of its military and nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

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Nor have we fared any better in our efforts to isolate South Africa financially. The report of the Special Committee provides evidence that some international banks have already initiated action to lessen the debt-related pressures on South Africa. Some Swiss banks and United States banks, notably Citibank and Manufacturers Hanover, have agreed either to roll over the loans or to exchange them for special securities. Disinvestment, which sent chills down the spine of the South African economy, has turned into a self-serving mechanism which continues to assure the transnational companies of their profits while the racist régime continues to benefit from technology transfer.

Yet the well-researched report of the Centre against Apartheid (A/44/555) demonstrates the dependence of the South African economy on the outside world. An interesting and significant finding of the report relates to the role of sanctions in the overall strategy to isolate the apartheid régime. It has been repeated oft-times that the black majority would suffer most from sanctions. Aside from the declared readiness of the black majority to accept the suffering, the report conclusively establishes that the domestic market, particularly the manufacturing sector, is predominantly geared to the demand of the white minority and that the pattern of import substitution that was adopted by the manufacturing sector was tied closely to white demand.

It might excite some wonder that Ghana is renewing its call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa at this time. We are aware that at his inaugural address on 20 September 1989 the new State President, F.W. De Klerk, declared his desire to convert election promises into real government commitments. Among the five focal areas earmarked for particular attention are the process of negotiations and the creation of a new constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans will participate but without domination. We have also observed that

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anti-apartheid forces have successfully prevailed against the heavy odds and have peacefully demonstrated against apartheid without the usual police brutality. The release of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven others is also indeed a positive development.

It is, however, obvious that without sustained international and internal pressure apartheid would receive only tentative reforms. In fact President De Klerk said as much in his inaugural speech when he said that the test for the release of political prisoners remained

"whether it is proper on the basis of relevant circumstances, whether it would not bring the existing order into disrepute, and whether it would promote the process of peaceful solutions".

The existing order of apartheid is not only already in disrepute; it is also repugnant. The release of political prisoners would certainly promote the process of peaceful solutions. The international community has to rededicate itself at the crossroads we have reached to the application of the measures that we have collectively and individually imposed on racist South Africa until it creates a climate conducive to negotiations that would lead to a cease-fire and a lasting solution that would usher in a non-racial democratic South Africa.

It is in the belief that all States Members of the United Nations genuinely desire the elimination of apartheid through peaceful means that Ghana proposes that at this session the General Assembly should resolve that Member States redouble their efforts to implement all the relevant resolutions of the Organization imposing mandatory and voluntary sanctions on South Africa until that country complies with the demands we have already set, namely: first, the lifting of the state of emergency; secondly, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees; thirdly, the lifting of the ban on all individual and political organizations opposing apartheid and the repeal of

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restrictions on the press; fourthly, the withdrawal of troops from the black townships; and, fifthly, the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

Anything short of that would only prolong the struggle and intensify the distrust, suspicion and fear that the policies of apartheid have engendered in its citizens. There might never be more auspicious circumstances when international and internal forces have interplayed to promote the peaceful elimination of apartheid and ensure the establishment of a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. It is only the reaffirmation of the political will of the international community to remain constant in its maintenance of pressure on the apartheid régime that the peace we all seek in South Africa, and for that matter in the whole of southern Africa, will be achieved without further distrust, suspicion, bitterness and loss of life.

Mr. AL-S HAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Bahrain has very clearly defined its position with respect to the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa, which it considers to be obsolete, fanatically racist, aggressive and historically unprecedented. Yet it has emerged, paradoxically, in the twentieth century. Bahrain believes that, since we live in the age of freedom, brotherhood, equality and self-determination, it is necessary for the international community to marshal its forces to combat and eradicate the scourge that is the South African régime. It must be destroyed because it is an anachronism and an odious stigma on our civilization. It is in both theory and practice a crime against humanity which must be confronted and opposed.

In this spirit, Bahrain has followed closely developments in the African region and at the international level. We have witnessed the continuing struggles and efforts to put an end to the apartheid régime without further delay. In particular, the international community has applied pressure to force the racist Pretoria régime to take the steps necessary to bring about a climate conducive to the eradication of apartheid, in accordance with the provisions set out in resolutions of the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. This would make possible the restoration of peace, understanding, security and stability in southern Africa, in keeping with international law and practice and the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

In this connection, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for the report (A/44/22 and Corr.2) which it has submitted to this session. We commend it for its untiring efforts to find ways and means of taking joint international action to end the apartheid régime by compelling it to submit to and comply with the will of the international community and cease playing with fire in southern Africa.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

The report sets out with absolute clarity the difficult political circumstances and the challenges facing the people of South Africa, including the challenges posed by the racist régime in many areas. To give but a few examples, we find there what is called the "social reality" of the different races and ethnic origins in the population, as well as the infamous bantustan system, which the Pretoria régime is attempting deceitfully and by all possible means to consolidate and bolster. Pretoria persists in its arbitrary repressive and suppressive actions against the opponents of apartheid - the militants who call for the termination of apartheid and the establishment of a unified, democratic, non-racial State in South Africa.

Despite international efforts to ensure the eradication of the apartheid régime, which is based on institutionalized racism in thought, theory and application, the régime continues to dominate the fate of the majority of the people of Azania, depriving them of their basic rights simply because of the colour of their skin or their ethnic origin.

In spite of the progress made towards independence for Namibia, the apartheid régime continues to reinforce its position. Notwithstanding the recent change in the political leadership, we see no reliable signs of any genuine changes in the structure of the apartheid régime. The declarations of the new leader, De Klerk, do not reveal any intention to renounce, to the benefit of the majority of the South African people, the power exercised by the minority. They do not herald any tangible or radical step aimed at ending the apartheid régime by peaceful means. The state of emergency continues in effect to this day. Furthermore, numerous political prisoners and opponents of apartheid, including the militant Nelson Mandela, continue to languish in the abyss of apartheid prisons. So far we see no glimmer of hope of a genuine dialogue between the leaders of the apartheid régime and the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa for

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the purpose of finding a genuine, peaceful solution that will result in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

The pronouncements of the De Klerk régime concerning the so-called new reforms to apartheid lack the necessary credibility. Such reforms are not designed to uproot the basis of apartheid, no matter how bright their façades and no matter what claims are made of intentions to amend the racist Constitution and the infamous bantustan system. The régime seeks, not justice, but merely the participation of a small fraction of the suppressed majority. This, in itself, cannot be described as anything but deceit and obfuscation. In the past, Vorster and Botha tried in vain to reform that régime, because it is difficult to reform a régime based on the usurpation of man's freedom and dignity and of the fruits of his land. While this may always have been applicable to the apartheid régime, now that the cancer of racism has invaded its every cell it is impossible to achieve anything by reform.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Such superficial changes or limited elections cannot fool the people of South Africa. The problem is the continuance, the perpetuation, of the apartheid system, which deprives the black majority of its right to full participation in the democratic political management of its country. The recent cosmetic reforms and false pronouncements are but new tactics applied by the apartheid régime with a view to misleading and diverting world public opinion and persuade it that there are indeed genuine, significant changes under way.

It is now abundantly clear that the introduction of cosmetic changes to mitigate the brutality of the apartheid régime will never lead to the achievement of the ultimate goal of the people of South Africa or affect the international community's total rejection of that obsolete régime which is a stigma on mankind and on our civilization, as it approaches the threshold of the twenty-first century.

Any real reform must truly foster a climate conducive to a dialogue with the authentic representatives of the black majority, to give momentum to a democratic process that will forge the political future of South Africa. Such dialogue should take into account the findings of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which met in Harare on 21 August this year and adopted a declaration concerning the peace process in southern Africa. As a preliminary step to this end, it is necessary that the Pretoria régime lift the state of emergency immediately and unconditionally; release immediately the great fighter Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees opposed to apartheid; lift the ban on all political organizations; and engage in sincere negotiations with the authentic leaders of the majority population, in order to arrange a transition of power and the termination of the apartheid régime.

There is no doubt that ways and means at the international level of ensuring the salvation of the majority and isolation of the apartheid régime are many and various. However, they derive their effectiveness, power, vitality and decisive

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impact from the convergence and cohesion of efforts by the international community to fight the apartheid régime. At this point we need to pause in order to effect an essential and tangible change and thus overthrow that régime, which will require countries that deal with South Africa putting an end to all political, economic, commercial, military and technological dealings with it.

In 1975, my Government imposed an embargo on the export of oil and petroleum products to South Africa and severed all commercial and economic ties with that abhorrent régime.

The growing strategic and military collaboration between South Africa and Israel, to the dangers of which we have been alerted in past years, has this year assumed extremely serious dimensions. Recently, United States mass media and the American Administration revealed the secrets of the dubious military collaboration, especially in the area of nuclear armaments, between Israel and South Africa. The American NBC network stated that Israel had transferred to South Africa sophisticated nuclear missile technology in return for enriched uranium to assist the Israeli nuclear programme. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) possesses irrefutable evidence of such collaboration, which includes the testing of jointly produced long-range missiles and the transfer to South Africa of American military-industrial technology previously obtained by Israel. The unmasking of the collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the area of nuclear weapons reinforces our conviction of the perils of such co-operation and of the unholy alliance between the two régimes of Pretoria and South Africa.

While the world is calling on Israel to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty and end all programmes leading to the production of such destructive weapons, Israel not only refuses to comply with and respond to international appeals but indeed defies and flouts the international will by collaborating with the apartheid

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régime, although the Security Council, in its resolutions 418 (1977) and 558 (1984), imposes an embargo on the delivery of arms to that régime and calls for the cessation of military co-operation with it and of all violations of that embargo.

My delegation denounces and condemns the increasing ties and military relations between Israel and South Africa in all fields, especially the military and nuclear fields, all of which constitute a flagrant violation of relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. My delegation believes that the international community must address this serious matter earnestly and decisively, because such collaboration constitutes a challenge to the international will and poses a threat to international peace and security, in particular in southern Africa and the Middle East.

Within this context, my delegation calls on all influential States to participate actively in all international measures aimed at putting an end to co-operation with the South African régime in all fields. These measures, the final goal of which is the elimination of that abhorrent régime, include the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter as the only means of isolating the régime and forcing it to renounce its inhuman policies.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Bahrain has already declared its total rejection of apartheid. It reaffirms today its full support for international efforts to end apartheid, and its support for, and solidarity with, the people of South Africa in their just struggle for the eradication of this scourge. The time has come for the international community to use all available means in support of the oppressed people of Azania.

Bahrain welcomes the General Assembly's decision to convene in December this year, a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Bahrain hopes that that special session will result in the adoption of effective measures to save the people of South Africa from the claws of the racists, who have no scruples in taking a heavy toll of lives and inflicting great sacrifices on the majority population as they struggle to achieve freedom and human dignity through the establishment of a democratic system, following the path that the Namibian people have followed towards their long-awaited independence.

The people of Azania have proved themselves staunch, relentless and steadfast and they will continue to strive for the fulfilment of their aspiration to justice, equality and human dignity. History stands witness to the triumph of oppressed peoples. This has been confirmed throughout the ages.

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): Virtually since its inception this Organization has been dealing with the problem of the situation in southern Africa. For more than 40 years the United Nations has been making a significant contribution to the liberation of many countries in that region. In the southern part of the African continent positive steps have been taken recently. These may open the way for a general turn away from tension to détente and away from confrontation to dialogue. There is now greater scope for the peaceful resolution of problems through negotiation and dialogue. This favourable development is the result of the heroic struggle of peoples in the region, the front-line States and a number of other African countries, as well as

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of the efforts of the entire international community. The opportunities for peace that are opening up in southern Africa should not be missed just because they can be seized only at the cost of great sacrifice by the peoples of the region.

Thanks to the steadfast and persistent struggle of the people of Namibia, and as a direct result of the positive changes taking place in the political situation throughout the world, the United Nations has been able to undertake a plan for decolonization of that Territory. Success in the process as a whole is of great significance for the prospects for political settlement of other, related, problems in southern Africa.

A key issue at the core of the southern African problem continues to be the existence of the system of apartheid in South Africa. The people of South Africa continue to live in harsh, nigh unbearable conditions. In spite of widespread opposition within the country and abroad and some practical steps by the international community, the Government of South Africa continues to pursue its policy of apartheid, which, in the late twentieth century, is a disgrace to mankind. The determined struggle of the South African people and the pressure exerted by the international community have forced the South African Government to make some changes in both its internal and its foreign policy. However, these are piecemeal changes that do not affect the question of principle or do anything to eliminate apartheid. I am thinking, in particular, of the laws virtually institutionalizing racial discrimination.

The continued existence of apartheid is truly a constant source of tension, not only in South Africa but in the region as a whole. Therefore, in any consideration of the situation in the region as a whole and of the prospects for a continuing peaceful process in southern Africa, the problem of apartheid must remain our focal point.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

Developments in the past year highlight the growing difficulties of the South African régime. The reforms designed to make the system of apartheid more acceptable in the country and abroad have not yielded the desired results. The policy of oppression and violence against the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa, who are fighting for their human dignity, continues. Since the introduction of the state of emergency 22 democratic organizations have been forced to go under-ground, and approximately 10,000 individuals, including many children, have been arrested and detained. The black-ghetto schools and universities are patrolled by army units, and the rights of trade unionists continue to be violated.

In spite of the violence and oppression, the spirit of broad opposition to the apartheid system has not been broken. The political prisoner Nelson Mandela is a symbol of that struggle. Evidence that our countries revere him and respect his struggle can be found in the recent award to him by the Czechoslovak Government of its highest honour, the Order of Friendship.

In the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, spontaneous opposition among the broad masses is increasing, and people are demanding the transfer of power to a democratically elected majority. There is a gradual increase in the ranks and authority of realistic representatives of the white population, who rightly believe that the apartheid system is an impediment to the country's further development in all spheres.

It is no secret that the continuance of the policy of apartheid is made possible by the broad support the régime continues to receive from abroad. We are profoundly concerned, in particular, by the co-operation that South Africa continues to enjoy in the military and police spheres and in respect of the exchange of information. The ability of the South African régime - which it has

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admitted - to produce nuclear weaponry poses a serious threat to peace in Africa and in the world in general. In view of developments in South Africa, it is essential that attention be focused on the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council and that compliance with that embargo be monitored. This is an imperative of our time if peace and security are to be strengthened.

For a number of years now it has been quite apparent that verbal condemnation of the apartheid régime is insufficient and has little effect on efforts to ensure the elimination of the system. We need to move from words to deeds; we need a decisive, active approach. Apartheid must be eliminated. All members of the international community must work together for its complete eradication.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

Decisions adopted in the United Nations and at other international bodies, as well as our discussions thus far, clearly show that the international community is becoming increasingly aware of its role and intends increasingly to take concrete action. The adoption of new and more effective measures to ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolutions on apartheid, practised by the South African Government, is a clear expression of the general resolve to take truly decisive joint steps towards the elimination of this reprehensible system.

The adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive, binding sanctions against South Africa will be the most effective, and in fact a peaceful, means of achieving the aforementioned goal. Today the peaceful nature of these measures is being emphasized. We are convinced that the time has come for the international community to impose the sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter to which I have already referred.

Czechoslovakia has always taken a clear-cut, unambiguous stand with regard to the struggle to eliminate the apartheid system in South Africa. Our position on issues pertaining to apartheid is based on principle and remains unchanged. We are convinced that if all States Members of our Organization took a position of principle that apartheid must be eliminated, that would be an essential contribution to the efforts not only to eliminate this anachronism in South Africa but also to solve the problems of continued tension in the southern part of the African continent, and also a contribution to international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: Pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and 43/177 of 15 December 1988, I now call on the Observer of Palestine.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine): The joint struggle against the forces that violate human rights is a duty. It is an even more compelling duty when some

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régimes go beyond such violations. When they deny those rights to their people and institutionalize that denial, it becomes a sacred duty to carry out the joint struggle against those forces of evil, the forces of darkness which commit crimes against humanity.

It is also our duty to point a finger at and denounce publicly those forces and their accessories and allies. True, some accessories are less culpable than others, but others are totally culpable as they have multifaceted relations with the racist régime in Pretoria.

On one aspect of such relations, permit me to quote the following said by Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he urged United States Jews to pressure Israel to repudiate its ties to South Africa:

"We blacks in South Africa cannot understand how a people with your kind of history could allow the Government of Israel to have the kind of relationship with the Government of South Africa it has, to be involved in co-operation on nuclear and special security matters, providing the South African Government with techniques to suppress uprisings. We cannot understand how Jews can co-operate with a Government, many of whose members were sympathizers of the Nazis and who for a long time refused Jews membership in their party".

Speaking out against Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory, Archbishop Tutu said

"If you changed the names, the description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank would be a description of what is happening in South Africa".

It was only in 1951 that the Nationalist Party in South Africa dropped its ban on Jewish membership.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

Archbishop Tutu did not go into detail. I am sure he was referring to Soweto and Sharpeville in South Africa and to Deir Yasin, Qibya, Nahalin and Beit Sahur in occupied Palestine. I am sure he was referring to the Israeli attempts to "transfer" the Palestinians and bantustanize our country. I am sure he was referring to the treatment of Palestinians working in Israeli industry and to the denial of protection, the difference in wages and the obligation that Palestinian workers not spend the night across the Green Line; they must return to their "townships". He was referring to the repressive methods and the hot-pursuit methods. He was referring to the iron-fist policy and pre-emptive strikes. He simply omitted to refer to the tens of thousands of human beings arbitrarily held in concentration camps, in subhuman conditions. He was referring, further, to the policy and practices of the régimes in both Tel Aviv and Pretoria designed to destabilize the areas. I am sure he remembered, but refrained from saying, that it was Jan Christian Smuts who actively participated in the drafting of the infamous Balfour Declaration. Archbishop Tutu did not wish to recall that the Nationalist Party

"saw the success of the Jews against the Arabs in 1948 as a victory of whites against non-whites".

He preferred to forget the assertion by Prime Minister Verwoerd that

"The Jewish people took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there a thousand years. In that I agree with them. Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid State".

Maybe Archbishop Tutu preferred to forget about the 700 South African troops in 1948 who "volunteered" to help Israel militarily, and, to let bygones be bygones, Archbishop Tutu chose not to refer to the red-carpet welcome John Vorster received when he arrived in Israel in April 1976. The then Prime Minister and

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currently Minister of Defence of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, was there at the airport to receive his colleague Vorster when he arrived on an El-Al Israeli Airlines aircraft. We all remember that during the Second World War the same Vorster, as the leader of the Nationalist Party, spent 20 months in prison for collaborating with the Nazis. Thus it is not strange that the Likud, the Herut - the offspring of the Irgun Zvai Leumi - are where they are: before the Second World War broke out, the Irgun Zvai Leumi called openly for collaboration with Hitler, and it stressed that collaboration was being called for on an ideological basis.

But the relationship between the two régimes is not confined to ideology or to racist policies and practices against the indigenous population.

In the economic field South Africa has passed a "special dispensation" to waive the very stringent laws governing the export of capital from South Africa for investment in Israeli manufacturing, construction and tourism.

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Israeli exports to South Africa are subject to an importation tax of less than 5 per cent. We all know that South Africa imposes high taxation in its protectionist policies, but Israel is relieved of that. Israeli bonds are on sale in South Africa and double taxation is avoided. An Israeli military analyst, Aron Kleiman, writing in 1984, noted that

"South Africa stands out as the single largest customer in Israeli arms sales. It is thought to have been the purchaser of 35 per cent of all Israeli arms sold in the years 1970-1979".

Naturally, it is impossible to assign figures to such deals, as they are not on the books.

Again, on economic co-operation, among Israel's biggest export items are polished industrial diamonds - billions of dollars' worth. South Africa uses Israel as a channel to disguise its exports to the United States and Europe. Israel is the back door to the United States and to Western Europe. All it has to do is just affix a stamp "made in Israel".

Some reports indicate that Israel makes about \$900 million a year from the diamond trade. We all know that in Palestine we have no diamonds. Those diamonds are the property of the Namibian people, stolen by the South African régime and cut and polished in Israel, and the facilities given to Israel by Western Europe and the United States permit such deals.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid refers to their economic relationship, but again it must always be kept in mind that in that economic relationship, the Histadrut, which is the labour federation in Israel, plays the major role. It owns Iskoor and Koor, which are partners in Seutrachem, the South African chemical and fertilizer concern, in a re-export scheme. Another joint venture formed and devoted to the export of South African products from Israel is

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Conlog. That makes Israel's Elrou Group a giant in the Israeli electronics and computer fields with South Africa's Control Logic, the electronics firm.

Suffice it to say that, according to the Supplement to the Financial Mail, South African firms or individuals hold 35 per cent of all non-United States investment in the Israeli economy. A major Israeli insurance company is owned by Africa Israel Investments, and after Israel withdrew from Sinai an Israeli military airport was constructed in the Negev by South African companies.

In paying a tribute to the Committee against Apartheid for its report (A/44/22), my delegation wishes to focus in particular on the section entitled "Conclusions and recommendations". In particular we wish to support fully the recommendations in paragraph 275, especially those in subparagraphs (c) and (d).

The remedies prescribed in subparagraphs (j) and (k) are specific conditions and prerequisites for bringing to an end racist ideology and policies and practices and enabling our comrades-in-arms, the South African people, to live in peace and democracy: one person one vote, and equal opportunities.

Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must be adopted and imposed, but in the meantime the economic aspect should be immediately acted upon. It is said, "One must hit where it hurts most".

Are we naive enough to think, wishfully and hopefully, that President De Klerk will really change or eradicate the ideology of apartheid? It is his *raison d'être*. Reform by patchwork is not the solution. The creation of a more human situation, leading to democracy and equality, can be achieved through scrupulous adherence to those recommendations and their implementation.

Part II of the report, concerning recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa, is of special significance. In our opinion the information divulged - be it by NBC or by other sources, official or otherwise - should be investigated more amply by the Committee against Apartheid, and reports

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submitted periodically and not merely on a yearly basis. It is the tip of the iceberg and it is more than alarming, for whatever instrument of death and destruction is developed in the southern desert of Palestine, at the Dimona nuclear research centre of Israel, that instrument has been tested in the Kalahari Desert of Namibia, under occupation by the racist Pretoria régime. One missile, whether it was Jericho 1 or Jericho 2, was tested beyond the southern cone of Africa.

Action - immediate action - is called for.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 22 September 1989, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MBEKI (African National Congress (ANC)): First of all we take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Joseph Garba on his well-deserved election to the high position he occupies within this eminent Organization of the nations of the world. We also thank the General Assembly for the opportunity the African National Congress has been given to make this statement during the debate on the agenda item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

That is indeed a very correct and apposite heading, because the reality of the situation in South Africa is that our people continue to suffer under the system of apartheid. Political power remains exclusively in the hands of the white minority and that power continues to be used to advance the interests of that minority and to protect the system of white minority domination.

We express our appreciation of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the related documents submitted to this forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which have exhaustively described and analysed the situation in South Africa. It is therefore not necessary for us to go over the ground that is covered in those documents.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

One of the elements characterizing the situation in South Africa today is the pervasive air of hope that we might be approaching the end of the apartheid system. That view is encouraged by recent events, such as the release of some of our political leaders, the massive anti-apartheid demonstrations over the last three months and the statements made by various spokespersons of the Pretoria régime that the De Klerk leadership is committed to change.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

It is clearly of central importance that we all understand the situation in South Africa as clearly and objectively as possible. The first element to understand in this situation is that, despite everything its leaders say, the ruling National Party is committed to the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

We believe that it is very necessary to understand this, precisely because the rhetoric of the Pretoria régime is intentionally designed to mislead and distort reality. All we need to do is look at the election platform of the ruling party, which it prepared for the white elections of last September, to see quite clearly that the idea of the separation and division of the people of South Africa into racial and ethnic groups remains fundamental to the entire perspective of the De Klerk régime. In its so-called five-year plan, its election programme, the phrase "group rights" occurs no less than 39 times.

Demands have been made both inside South Africa and internationally that the Pretoria régime should repeal various laws, including the Group Areas, the Land and the Population Registration Acts. This, of course, will not happen, precisely because these laws constitute the very foundation of the apartheid legal edifice. For the régime to repeal it would be necessary in the first instance for the régime to abandon its commitment to the apartheid system. We make this point also to challenge the idea that the De Klerk régime should be given a chance, that it should be given time to enable the white Parliament to repeal these laws. We repeat that the Pretoria régime will not repeal these laws. After all, it cannot be that the architects of the apartheid system become at the same time the force that abolishes the apartheid system.

As the Assembly knows, the South African régime has over the years put in place a whole complex of laws and a so-called national security management system intended to structure, institutionalize and legalize a policy of repression and

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

State terrorism, which is an inevitable consequence of the oppression and exploitation of the majority by the minority. Not only is this entire system still in existence, but the De Klerk régime argues for its perpetuation on the grounds that the régime has a responsibility to maintain law and order. But of course we all know what the maintenance of apartheid law and order means: it means the most brutal action against all opponents of racial domination and the repression of an entire population.

As a result of the maintenance of that law and order, Nelson Mandela and many others remain in prison. Tens are on death row awaiting execution because of their opposition to apartheid. Others are banned, as are the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other organizations. The Congress of South African Trade Unions remains restricted, the state of emergency has not been ended, and so on. Indeed, the spending on the military and police by the Pretoria régime continues to increase despite its defeat in Angola and the withdrawal of its forces from both Angola and Namibia.

The signing in New York of the Agreements last December relating to the People's Republic of Angola and Namibia gave the impression to some that the apartheid régime would complement its acceptance of Namibia's independence by a similar readiness to work for an end to apartheid in South Africa as well. How reluctant and forced that acceptance was has been demonstrated over the months by the manoeuvres in which the Pretoria régime has engaged - in fact to undermine Namibia's smooth transition to independence and to subvert and weaken the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Whereas it could have seen the process of ending apartheid in Namibia as helping to create the climate necessary for a similar process in South Africa, the Pretoria régime saw the genuine independence of Namibia as a threat to its interests, a historic outcome that would undermine its efforts to perpetuate the apartheid system in South Africa.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

Whence, then, the air of hope we spoke of earlier that it might be that we were approaching the end of the apartheid system? For us that atmosphere derives from our confidence in the inevitability of the victory of our struggle.

The masses of our people are engaged in a political offensive which is unparalleled in the numbers of people that it is drawing into action. The firmness of the commitment of these masses to the goal of total and genuine liberation has never been stronger than it is today. Their clarity as to the result they seek - a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa - cannot be questioned. Their organizational capacity to mobilize themselves in united action continues to grow with each passing day, just as the broad anti-apartheid front continues to expand, with the activation of new sections of the population in the struggle, including segments of the white population.

The senior leaders of the ANC who are within our country will themselves work to encourage and reinforce these processes of struggle. Their specific input will undoubtedly help to quicken the pace of mobilization and cement the unity of the forces that are active against apartheid.

These leaders have already correctly pointed out that the conditions which obliged us to resort to arms have not changed. Consequently, the armed struggle itself must continue. In this regard, we continue firmly to oppose any suggestion that we are to blame for the violence within our country and will firmly resist therefore any attempts to compel us unilaterally to suspend or renounce the armed struggle. We have said in the past, and we repeat today, that when the right moment comes the ANC is ready to enter into an agreement with the Pretoria régime to suspend hostilities on both sides and to negotiate an end to the apartheid system so that the violence of the system is ended and the reasons for which we had to take up arms no longer obtain.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

If the apartheid régime had been serious about a negotiated resolution of the South African question, it would long ago have responded to the Harare Declaration on South Africa, which was adopted nearly three months ago and has now been adopted also by the non-aligned countries. The provisions of that Declaration, which are the result of extensive consultations within our country in a process which included such leaders as Nelson Mandela and the mass democratic movement, are a serious and reasonable set of proposals that point the way forward to a political settlement of the conflict in South Africa, which necessarily must be predicated upon ending the apartheid system.

But, as the Assembly knows, F. W. De Klerk has not even done those things that it is in his power to do by presidential decree and that he could, therefore, effect even tomorrow if he so wished. We must, therefore, continue to proceed from the position that actions speak louder than words. The actions of the Pretoria régime continue to reaffirm its unwillingness to engage in a process leading to the abolition of apartheid.

It is for this reason that we believe that the General Assembly, as part of its continuing commitment to help end the apartheid crime against humanity, should once more adopt important resolutions to impose new sanctions against apartheid South Africa, strengthen the existing measures, and work for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. This is vitally necessary in complementing the struggle the ANC, the mass democratic movement and the masses of our people are waging within our country. The message reaching Pretoria from New York must be clear and unequivocal: that the international community will continue to take action against apartheid until the system comes to an end.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

In this regard, we urge the Assembly to give the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid the means for these bodies to continue their important work aimed at the speedy and total elimination of the apartheid system.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

We also look forward to the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly which, we trust, will further unite the peoples of the world against apartheid and for a democratic South Africa.

Finally, we should like to take this opportunity to convey the greetings and best wishes of the ANC and the people of South Africa to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the people of Namibia. The exercise in which they are currently engaged is of historic importance to themselves, to our own country and our region as a whole. Its outcome, for which this Organization has a continuing responsibility, has to be the genuine and complete independence of a democratic and non-racial Namibia. We are certain that SWAPO will pursue these goals, in keeping with the wishes of both the people of Namibia and the rest of the international community.

Similarly, we extend our greetings of solidarity to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the State and the people of Palestine, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and other peoples who are fighting for their emancipation.

The apartheid system will come to an end sooner rather than later; it will do so as a result of struggle and pressure. We continue to rely on this body to contribute its full share to the escalation of that pressure, in the interests of freedom and justice in South Africa, peace and development in our region and the elimination of the scourge of racism throughout the world.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 22 September 1989, I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. PIETERSEN (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): At the very outset allow me, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the custodian of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed and dispossessed majority

(Mr. Pietersen, PAC)

in Azania, most warmly to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. We are confident that while he guides the affairs of this important world Assembly the legitimate demands of oppressed and dispossessed peoples will receive due and favourable attention. Moreover, his commitment and that of his country to the struggle against apartheid and for the total liberation of Africa is well known and highly appreciated.

To his predecessor, Mr. Dante Caputo, the former Foreign Minister of Argentina, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute for the very able manner in which he guided the deliberations of the forty-third session of the General Assembly. He came to the presidency at a very crucial time during the developments in southern Africa. We wish him well in his new endeavours.

This debate on the apartheid policies of the racist régime is taking place in a momentous context. Internally, the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania have intensified their all-round resistance. Attempts by the racist régime to sell cosmetic changes and co-opt agents have dismally failed. Moves by the régime to use judicial murders to terrorize the population, as in the cases of the Sharpeville Six and the Uppington 14, have also failed. The workers, young people, students, women and other strata of the oppressed majority are mobilized and organized. That mobilization and organization was clearly demonstrated on 6 September 1989, when over 3.5 million workers responded to a protest strike call by the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the two major trade union federations in apartheid South Africa.

There are mounting demands, both internally and internationally, for the unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees. Earlier, the racist régime claimed that political prisoners would be released if they "renounced

(Mr. Pietersen, PAC)

violence". The prisoners rejected that condition with the contempt it deserved. Eventually the régime was compelled to release long-serving political prisoners belonging to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC). Comrade Jafta Masemola of PAC, was the longest serving political prisoner in apartheid South Africa.

Although the régime has released some political prisoners - whose unconditional release we welcome - it should, however, be borne in mind that many more remain incarcerated. For instance, Comrade Carter Seleke, Secretary of the Azania National Youth Unity (AZANYU) has been held without trial for almost three years. There are many more suffering the same fate. Moreover, releasing long-serving political prisoners and sending them back to the ghettos which they fought to eradicate can never be regarded as a humanitarian act. They should not have been in prison in the first place.

Internally our people have been mobilized and organized on an unprecedented scale. NACTU and COSATU are the labour federations leading the workers. Youth is organized under the Azania National Youth Unity (AZANYU). Recently the Pan African Students Organization (PASO) was formed and is currently inundated with applications. As a co-ordinating body, a steering committee of the Pan Africanist Movement was recently established and will shortly be formally launched.

Internationally the régime is also facing growing political isolation and increased sanctions. This unprecedented isolation and the economic sanctions are beginning to tell. The arms embargo, too, has succeeded. Because of the arms embargo, racist South Africa has lost air superiority in the region and consequently suffered a military defeat in southern Angola.

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This, in turn, has led to the régime's agreeing to pull its occupation forces out of southern Angola and to implement, albeit reluctantly, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in Namibia.

Although there exists evidence galore that sanctions are hurting the apartheid régime, some apologists of the racist régime, in particular Mrs. Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Mr. Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany, continue to oppose the imposition of sanctions. Recently, the Chief Executive of Bankorp, Dr. Chris van Wyk, addressing a symposium, publicly admitted that sanctions deprived the racist régime of 100 billion South African rand and reduced the country's growth rate by at least 10 per cent. He acknowledged that sanctions and divestment have had various unquantifiable effects on the racist economy. What more evidence is required, therefore, regarding sanctions?

Internal resistance and international pressures have compelled the régime to change its style. It is desperately attempting to avert further sanctions and further international isolation; hence the régime is deliberately portraying F. W. De Klerk as some kind of messiah of reform. On assuming the presidency De Klerk announced that he had a five-year manifesto to reform apartheid.

These mere pronouncements by De Klerk have been pounced upon by the apologists of apartheid as heralding change in apartheid South Africa. Using these mere pronouncements, some are even calling for either suspension or outright lifting of sanctions against the illegal apartheid régime.

Experience has taught us to look carefully at deeds and not mere pronouncements. Is De Klerk and his neo-Nazi party now ready to eradicate the apartheid system? I will quote a member of the clergy who recently visited that self-proclaimed messiah of reform. This is what Rev. Frank Chikane said in a statement issued on 24 October 1989:

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"I wish to restate that during our meeting with the State President, Mr. F. W. De Klerk, in which we tried to elicit his commitment to change, and the timetable and content for his programme, he failed to satisfy us of his commitment to fundamental change. His proposals for reform are based on the perservation of group rights and the protection of white supremacy within apartheid structures, and his talk of negotiations falls far short of the demands made by the majority of South Africans. He has neither the will nor the capacity to effect fundamental change."

The above statement speaks volumes. First, it is an exercise in self-deception to believe that De Klerk can play the role of saviour and end apartheid. Secondly, he has neither the will nor the capacity to effect fundamental change.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently maintained that apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be totally and completely eradicated. We remain committed to this principle.

The international community has repeatedly stated that apartheid is evil and must be eradicated. The taking of political prisoners, the ban on PAC and ANC, the imposition of the state of emergency, and so on, are not the pillars of the apartheid régime; they were merely the reactions of the illegal minority racist régime to the legitimate demands of the oppressed and dispossessed people. And even these reactions the régime has refused to remove.

The President of PAC, Mr. Zephania Mothopeng, has pointed out that the political pillars of apartheid are five. They are the Population Registration Act, the Land Act of 1913, on which is based the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the so-called tricameral Parliament and the bantustans. When the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania demand the eradication of apartheid, they mean in

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essence the total abolition of the five political pillars of apartheid. We sincerely hope that when the international community demands the eradication of apartheid it, too, means the abolition of these five political pillars.

Furthermore, these five pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable. We call on the General Assembly to give serious consideration to this fact.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has said since its inception that the only viable solution to the conflict is a one person, one vote, election to a single, non-racial chamber and the guaranteeing of individual rights to all those who owe their allegiance to Africa and accept majority rule. We remain committed to this principle.

It is quite clear that the illegal minority racist régime has been pursuing a policy correctly described by the international community as constituting a crime against humanity. Apartheid remains the core of the problem in southern Africa. The régime remains intransigent and bellicose. Its conduct in Namibia leading up to elections testifies to this. Moreover, the régime commands no credibility. The present rulers have neither the will nor the ability to abolish the evil system of apartheid.

In the light of this reality, the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania, who are legitimately struggling for national liberation and self-determination, have no option but to intensify the struggle internally using all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle. This the Azanian people are determined to do. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania and PAC reiterate their call for the isolation of the racist régime and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Sanctions are an important complementary factor in our just struggle.

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We strongly feel that the arms embargo must be strengthened and scrupulously implemented. In addition we should like to see a total ban on all gold products from racist South Africa, a mandatory oil embargo and the termination of financial support to the racist régime. Those measures would prove effective.

We of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania welcome the convening next month of a special session of the General Assembly to focus attention on the diabolical policies of the apartheid régime. The PAC will participate in that session at the highest level and will make concrete proposals. We are confident that that special session will further enhance our just and legitimate struggle.

Allow me now to turn to another important revelation. It was recently revealed by the godfather of Israel that the Zionists have maintained and continue to maintain an unholy military and nuclear relationship with the South African racists. This unholy alliance we have always known about and we have repeatedly stated that in this forum. Now the unholy alliance is made public by the ally of the Zionists. This revelation, however, should not be treated merely as information. The unholy alliance poses a very real threat to Africa, the Middle East and the whole world. Such dangerous weapons in the hands of murderers and racists must warrant grave concern. We urge the international community not only to condemn this alliance but to take effective measures to put an end to this dangerous collaboration.

In conclusion, allow me to thank most sincerely the Special Committee Against Apartheid, which under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Garba has been able to focus international attention and apply effective measures against the apartheid régime. The work of the Committee is a great source of encouragement and inspiration to our people. We also wish to thank Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant

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Secretary-General and Director of the Centre against Apartheid, for his commitment to the cause of eradicating apartheid. We thank his able and committed staff as well.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.