



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/45/PV.56  
18 December 1990

ENGLISH

Forty-fifth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 5 December 1990, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. de MARCO (Malta)  
later: Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates)  
(Vice-President)  
later: Mr. de MARCO (Malta)  
(President)

- Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa
- (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

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- (c) Report of the Commission against Apartneid in Sports
- (d) Reports of the Secretary-General
- (e) Report of the Special Political Committee
- (f) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/45/22)
- (b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/45/43)
- (c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/45/45)
- (d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/162, A/45/539, A/45/550, A/45/637, A/45/670)
- (e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/45/815)
- (f) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/45/L.31)

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday afternoon, the list of speakers in the debate will be closed this morning at 12 noon. I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names as soon as possible.

MR. THAHIM (Pakistan): The United Nations has repeatedly affirmed that the policy of apartheid is a crime against humanity, that it is incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it seriously undermines international peace and security. The United Nations has also affirmed that total eradication of apartheid is a necessary step towards the establishment of a non-racial society and majority rule based on democratic principles.

This year again, as in the past, we are here to reiterate our commitment to the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid and to address a message of continued support and assurance to the people of South Africa until apartheid is totally eliminated.

It is an indictment against our times that one of the most pernicious systems ever practised by man should have been allowed to prevail for so long against the current of world opinion. The recent changes in the global political landscape, accompanied by renewed emphasis on respect for human rights, make it imperative that the international community should secure for the vast majority of the people in South Africa basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Last year, at the sixteenth special session, on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the issue without a vote. The Declaration reaffirmed the duty of Member States to support all those in South Africa who are seeking to eradicate the crime of apartheid and it underlined the urgency of transforming South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial State, one in which the rights of all citizens would be equally protected through a bill of rights, a legal system that will guarantee equality to all before the law and an independent and non-racial judiciary. The Declaration spells out clearly the vision of a new South Africa and the foundations on which it is to be built.

(Mr. Thahim, Pakistan)

The report of the Secretary-General, contained in document A/44/960, prepared on the basis of information collected by his team which visited South Africa, and the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, contained in document A/45/22, encourage us to view the future with some hope.

Since we last met, at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, some important and encouraging steps have been taken in the right direction. Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners have been released and the ban on political organizations has been lifted along with the state of emergency. These developments, however, do not go far enough and should not obscure the continued existence of apartheid in South Africa with all its wickedness. It is the view of my delegation that as long as there is no clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa, as envisaged in the Declaration, there is no justification for relaxing the existing sanctions or international pressure against South Africa.

As long as the pillars of apartheid remain in place, the people of South Africa cannot expect justice and equality. Unfortunately, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Native Land Act of 1913, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Homeland Citizenship Act remain in force. Political activity is severely curtailed under a series of repressive laws, the most notable of which are the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act. Even with the measures reported to have been taken already, such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency, much remains to be done. Pretoria's intentions will continue to lack credibility as long as related pieces of legislation designed to curb political activity remain operational and as long as political trials continue in one form or another. As Mr. Mandela himself stated:

"A lot still remains to be done before we can say that a climate conducive to negotiations has been created."

(Mr. Thahim, Pakistan)

Despite long years of injustice, repression and incarceration, Mr. Mandela and his compatriots have shown remarkable vision and forbearance in initiating and continuing a dialogue with the representatives of the Pretoria régime. It is unfortunate that the last meeting between Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk, on 27 November, though cordial, failed to advance the process already initiated. My delegation is also deeply concerned at the protracted violence between the supporters of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and those of the Zulu-based Inkatha, which could prove to be an obstacle in the creation of an appropriate climate for negotiations with a view to dismantling the apartheid system. We hope that the talks held on 29 November, under the auspices of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, between leaders representing most of the spectrum of black politics in South Africa, will continue and be expanded to include all factions so that mutual differences can be ironed out and a united front established in the common struggle against the evil system of apartheid.

To us in Pakistan, the evil doctrine of apartheid represents the very antithesis of our faith. Islam preaches that all are equal before God, regardless of race, colour or creed. Equality, fraternity and brotherhood are not only principles of morality, humanity and civilized behaviour but an article of our faith.

The Government and people of Pakistan have unwaveringly stood by the oppressed majority in South Africa in their struggle for their fundamental rights and freedoms. Pakistan has consistently maintained a stringent and comprehensive boycott of the racist régime and has scrupulously avoided any links with the Pretoria régime in diplomatic, political, economic, commercial, cultural, shipping and even sports fields. These measures will remain in force as long as the odious system of apartheid is not fully dismantled and until a government based on the

(Mr. Thahim, Pakistan)

wishes of the majority is established. It is our view that apartheid as a system is so wrong, so indefensible and so intrinsically evil that it cannot be modernized or reformed: it has to be irrevocably and unambiguously eradicated in all its forms and manifestations.

The adoption of the Declaration by consensus at the sixteenth special session and the adoption of a resolution on the report of the Secretary-General also by consensus reflect the unity of purpose of the world community. We need to maintain the consensus in the struggle for equality and freedom in South Africa.

(Mr. Tahim, Pakistan)

We must not allow the image of reform to hide the reality of that despicable relic of a cruel colonial age. We must never allow the weakening of the international resolve to put an end to the abominable policy of apartheid. Only through continued resolute support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against apartheid until its total eradication can the international community achieve the objective of a non-racial and democratic system in the country based on freedom, equality and majority rule.

The international community must not rest until the present anachronistic system practised by the Pretoria régime becomes a grey memory of the nightmare that it is.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): Two months ago the Assembly convened in a renewed session to evaluate the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa, adopted last year at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. On that occasion many delegations, including mine, underlined that since last December the situation in South Africa had finally begun to evolve in a positive direction, which gave rise to renewed hopes and expectations on the part of the long-suffering people of the region.

In this context we expressed our profound satisfaction with the movement in that country towards the holding of negotiations leading to the abolition of apartheid and the transformation of South Africa into a democratic and non-racial State. We noted the encouraging steps taken by the South African Government, including the release of some political prisoners, the lifting of the order banning political and anti-apartheid organizations and the partial lifting of the state of emergency. While welcoming all these developments, we also pointed out that the pillars of apartheid were still in place; that a vast array of discriminatory and repressive laws, rules and regulations continued to hinder the aspirations of the



(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

black majority, and we called for the preservation of international solidarity in maintaining pressure on the South African Government until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change in that country.

The apartheid policies and practices of the Government of South Africa have been on the agenda of the international community and the United Nations for a very long time. Turkey, which has given continuous support to the efforts for the total elimination of that abhorrent system, has always participated actively in the debate on this item at the General Assembly.

It is a source of particular pleasure for my delegation not to have to begin its statement with the dark and pessimistic picture of previous years concerning the situation in South Africa. We are happy to note that the dialogue continues between Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela. Turkey has followed with keen interest the visit paid by Mr. De Klerk to the United States and his encouraging statements on "one man, one vote", as well as his announcement that the Land Acts are to be scrapped at the next session of the South African Parliament. The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal, as well as the reaction of the South African Government in inviting the communities to comply with the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, can be considered as signs of good will on the part of Mr. De Klerk's Government for maintaining a climate conducive to negotiations and free political activity. On the other hand, the outbreak of violence in some parts of the country continues to be a source of concern. We have noted with sadness the tragic results of the clashes earlier this week between ethnic groups which may further complicate the commencement of substantive negotiations.

One of the petitioners who testified before the Special Political Committee last week dwelled in his statement on the question of how the international community could best promote and support the process of reform in South Africa. Underlining the dramatic changes which occurred in one year in that country and

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

pointing to the danger that forces opposed to change in South Africa would turn the tide of reforms if a positive reaction is not received from the United Nations and other organizations, he asked for an immediate and sincere re-examination of the United Nations policy.

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 been waiting for the day when all South Africans, regardless of race, will enjoy equality, fairness and full political rights. The international community follows with particular interest the positive developments which brought that country to the threshold of a new era and supports the political dialogue initiated recently. Nevertheless, the majority of the international community also feels that the odious régime of racial discrimination cannot be reformed and must be totally eradicated. Given the fact that this system of racial segregation, institutionalized some 40 years ago, is cemented in laws, its total elimination will require the abolition of its main pillars. In this vein the establishment of a new, democratic, non-racial constitution, as well as the repeal of the Population Registration Act, the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act are the crucial steps that must be taken. The determination, persistence and patience shown until now by Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela in dealing with very complex situations give us hope and cause for optimism for the peaceful and successful completion of this process. The Government of South Africa should take advantage of the positive sensitivity of the international community to accelerate the last and decisive steps for dismantling apartheid and thus to restore South Africa to its rightful place in the community of nations.

Turkey believes that the united efforts and perseverance of the international community will succeed in abolishing the pillars of apartheid and culminate in the attainment of a pluralistic democratic system where political power will be

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

equitably shared. It is in favour of maintaining the momentum generated by the Declaration on apartheid, including the continuation of all existing pressures on South Africa, until the point of irreversibility has been reached. It also believes that with the recent rapid progress this time is not far off.

Turkey does not maintain diplomatic, consular or cultural relations with the Pretoria régime. My country is firmly committed to all efforts directed towards dismantling apartheid. It has no economic or trade agreements with South Africa and avoids all official contacts with that country. Despite its liberal economic policy, it makes every effort to maintain at a minimum level the trade conducted by private firms. Turkey supports the resolutions of the United Nations and also believes that this Organization must continue to be in the forefront in monitoring the initiatives taken at the international level.

Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): A year ago we assembled in this Hall to condemn in the strongest possible terms the inhuman policies of apartheid of the white minority régime in South Africa and to renew our determination to eradicate once and for all this scourge from our civilized world.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

The months that have passed since then have witnessed many positive developments in the international arena - developments that have relegated the global concept of cold war and confrontation between major Powers to history, thereby raising the hopes and expectations of the world's people for a future of peace, prosperity and security.

The easing of global tension following the East-West détente was also instrumental in creating, in many parts of the world, conditions conducive to the resolution of bilateral and other problems that, hitherto, had been considered intractable. In the continent of Africa, the people of Namibia, who had suffered under the yoke of a racist and repressive régime, saw the successful culmination of their long and arduous struggle when in March this year, following democratic elections, Namibia became sovereign and independent. Thus, those who were a subject people only a year ago are today proud citizens of a free and independent country, engaged in the challenging task of development and nation-building.

Only a month before this historic event freedom-loving people all over the world rejoiced at the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela after more than a quarter century of confinement in South African gaols for opposing the injustice and tyranny embodied in the abhorrent policies of apartheid of the racist régime in that country. The release of Mr. Mandela and of some other prominent leaders was followed by the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and some other political parties and organizations. Since then a process of dialogue between the African National Congress and the South African Government has been under way.

While these positive developments provide hopeful signs, we cannot forget that the basic structure of the system of apartheid is still in place in South Africa, making it incumbent on the international community that it continue its pressure on

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

the Pretoria régime until that régime brings about genuine reforms leading to the dismantling of apartheid and to the establishment of a truly multiracial, democratic society in South Africa.

In fact, only last month Mr. Nelson Mandela himself urged his supporters to intensify the struggle against white-minority rule, using legitimate, peaceful means, such as protest marches, strikes and consumer boycotts, in view of the continuing disenfranchisement of the black majority and its exclusion from Parliament and other policy-making bodies. Mr. Mandela told a rally in Johannesburg on 19 November that until non-whites had proper mechanisms to address their grievances "we will continue to apply protest action".

In a watershed development, 80 church denominations in South Africa - black and white - in their final declaration following a five-day conference held in Rustenburg in early November, formally condemned apartheid as a sin and supported restitution for the victims of the system. Although the declaration is not binding on the church denominations it brings out clearly the awareness in the country of the grim reality of the evil system of apartheid.

We have before us for consideration the report of the Secretary-General (A/44/960) on the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. We have given careful consideration to the report and, in particular, to the findings of the United Nations team that visited South Africa in June this year under the leadership of Under-Secretary-General Abdulrahim A. Farah. While there is a note of cautious optimism in the conclusions drawn by the delegation at the end of its visit to South Africa, the report of the mission makes it clear that, in spite of the fact that the path taken by the Government of South Africa offers real promise and represents a significant change from the position of its predecessors, there is

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

an urgent need for the Government to take additional measures to establish a favourable political climate in the country. The relevant paragraphs of the report say:

"Apartheid laws, repressive security regulations, and persistent violence, including that prevailing in Natal, continue to adversely affect domestic tranquillity, as well as the sense of security and well-being of the people. So long as racial attitudes persist and apartheid structures at the local level remain, the process for change will encounter difficulties.

"These issues need to be addressed as a matter of urgency. They would undoubtedly facilitate the process of broad consultations among all political forces on the mechanisms appropriate for framing a new constitution and for shaping the political, social and economic future of the country. ..."

(A/44/960, paras. 254, 255)

In this context, I should like to point out that although the Government of South Africa adopted on 2 November an agreement it had reached with the African National Congress on a phased release of political prisoners it has tried to link such release and the readmission of exiles to

"the progress made by the African National Congress in putting into effect its promise to suspend its armed struggle."

We consider such a linkage odd, to say the least, when the ANC leadership has repeatedly stated that the organization's commitment to the suspension of acts of violence in the country is being observed.

We share the Secretary-General's emphasis, as expressed in his report, on the urgent need to end the violence in parts of South Africa and his concern that

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

unless the issue of violence is addressed at the highest level the consequences could well present serious difficulties for the political process.

As the Foreign Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Adan, stated in his address to the General Assembly on 4 October 1990,

"We are concerned about the ... violence and conflict ... in some of the townships in South Africa. We sincerely hope that the spirit of good will and understanding which currently prevails in that country will bring peace, tranquillity and harmony among the people in the affected areas."

(A/45/PV.20, p. 71)

Somalia has consistently condemned the evil system of apartheid. This stems from our conviction that all peoples must be free to exercise their inalienable right to justice and self-determination. As a founder member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Somalia has actively contributed towards isolating the racist régime internationally and has provided practical support for the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

We have always believed that internal resistance and international sanctions have succeeded in sending the message to the minority régime in South Africa that apartheid cannot perpetuate itself. We are firmly of the view that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be eradicated; it must be totally dismantled.

I cannot do better than to quote from a recent address by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Salim Salim:

"This is not the time to relax the international pressure on the Pretoria régime. On the contrary, we are morally bound, more than ever before, to call for continued international pressure to be exerted on that régime so that it will be compelled to move resolutely towards dismantling the apartheid system and creating the appropriate atmosphere for dialogue on the establishment of a truly democratic and non-racial society in South Africa."

I cannot conclude this statement without placing on record our sincere appreciation of the valuable work of the Special Committee against Apartheid under the dynamic and able leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, who is ably assisted by the Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Mousouris. We also thank the officials of the Centre against Apartheid for their devoted and dedicated work in our fight against apartheid in South Africa.

The situation in South Africa has now reached a historic turning point. We are confident that the ongoing positive developments, coupled with continued international pressure, will bring down the evil system of apartheid and ensure the establishment of a truly democratic society in South Africa.



Ms. CHAN Heng Chee (Singapore): In September this year the General Assembly met in its resumed forty-fourth session to debate the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Approximately two months later we are meeting again to debate this item at the forty-fifth session.

We believe that it is essential and correct to keep our focus on this highly important issue, of which the international community has been seized since 1946. Not only is apartheid South Africa the last bastion of colonialism, but apartheid is a basic issue of moral concern. We must restore justice, dignity and what it means to be human to a situation in which unparalleled dehumanization has long endured.

Dramatic changes elsewhere in the world today have only highlighted the rapid pace of change in our lives. This is why we stand transfixed at the leading edge of history, impatiently awaiting the final destruction of the apartheid system and the long-awaited transformation of the South African society.

Since the special session of the General Assembly adopted in December 1989, the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, several necessary and bold steps have been taken by the Government of President De Klerk. Mr. Nelson Mandela and several other leading members of the African National Congress (ANC) have been released, the banning orders against the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South African Communist Party, and the restrictions on 33 other organizations have been lifted. The death penalty has been suspended and the state of emergency has been lifted. On 1 November the South African Government met the ANC's final condition, that politically motivated crimes should be forgiven. For its part, the ANC suspended armed struggle in August this year. Constitutional talks are now expected to begin some time in the spring of 1991.

(Ms. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore)

The question that must be asked here is why, then, have constitutional talks not begun. It would appear that every time a knot is untied, another appears beneath it. For instance, although there is agreement on political prisoners and on the conditions concerning who may be released, the South African authorities state that not more than 600 political prisoners will qualify for release. The ANC has some 3,620 names on its list. As each application must be considered individually, the process will drag on.

In its report, the Special Committee against Apartheid concluded that, although the measures taken so far have allowed the ANC, the PAC and other political groups and persons to transform their activities and begin to organize openly, political activity has been seriously thwarted by the continuing restrictions imposed by the authorities and by the continuing violence of forces opposed to the democratic transformation of the country. The report stated that

"The continuing violence by the extreme right and certain elements of the security forces, in addition to the violent disputes among political organizations, are contributing to the destabilization of communities. Violence is becoming a threat to the fragile process of negotiations and could lead to the creation of a permanent conflict, the consequences of which will be grave." (A/45/22, para. 357)

In the September debate this year, we, the Singapore delegation, asked ourselves the larger question: is South Africa firmly on the course of irreversible change in dismantling apartheid? We argued then, and we still maintain now, that the litmus test of commitment to irreversible change is South Africa's compliance with the provisions of the Declaration on apartheid.

(Ms. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore)

The Declaration sets out the international community's consensus on how the apartheid system could be dismantled by means of a negotiated solution. The centrepiece of this solution is the establishment of a political system in which all the people of South Africa will have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage and a non-racial, or common, voters' roll, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.

In view of some of the changes that have been made by the apartheid régime in Pretoria, it has been argued in some quarters that economic sanctions against it should be lifted in order to encourage President De Klerk. It has been said that the South African economy is in terrible shape; that many Africans, especially black Africans, are the worst hit; and that, since political changes seem well on the way, sanctions should be eased.

(Ms. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore)

That is not the prevailing view of the black majority. That is not the view of Lindiwe Mabuza, the chief representative of the ANC in the United States.

Mr. Mabuza has said:

"Sanctions must not be lifted until the changes in South Africa are profound and irreversible. This is defined as completion of a constitution following elections based on the universally accepted proposition of one person, one vote."

Only then can we say that apartheid has been dismantled. Only then should sanctions be lifted.

Statistics paint a grim picture of the effects of apartheid that still persist. Even today, in spite of the announcement of much-vaunted changes, 87 per cent of South Africa's lands belong by law to the 5 million whites. South African whites also own 95 per cent of the nation's industry. South Africa spends five times as much on education and health care for its white citizens as for its black citizens. The infant mortality rate for white babies is 9 per 1,000; for black babies, it is 109. The average life expectancy of a white South African is 72 years; for a black, it is 59 years.

Many of the institutional structures of apartheid remain intact. The Population Registration Act, the Native Lands Act and the Development Trust and Land Act, which gave the legal foundation for the creation of bantustans; and the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the pillars of apartheid, have not been removed. Only in areas where the upholding of the laws became untenable in practice, such as the reservation of separate amenities in Johannesburg and Cape Town, have ordinances been introduced to allow for the integration of certain facilities.

(Ms. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore)

When Mr. Nelson Mandela spoke to the Canadian Parliament in June this year, he appealed to the Canadian legislators to continue economic sanctions against South Africa. He said:

"As an expression of humanity and not as an act of charity, we ask you to walk the last mile with us."

Indeed, it is the last mile and we should complete the mile.

We must take note of the fact that so far there have been no substantive negotiations on the question of constitutional change. There are talks about constitutional change. As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid pointed out:

"The issue of negotiations has now become a major site and instrument of struggle." (A/45/22, Part One, para. 18)

Sanctions are the only weapon that can be used to keep the Pretoria régime serious about fundamental change. To remove international pressure now would amount to removing the vital leverage that could compel the South African Government to come to the negotiating table.

Singapore, together with the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), is committed to the total eradication of apartheid. At their annual general meeting in July this year, ASEAN Foreign Ministers, while welcoming the release of Mr. Mandela and the unbanning of the anti-apartheid organizations, expressed the view that the final barriers to the total dismantling of apartheid remained in place. The Foreign Ministers of Singapore and the other ASEAN members agreed that sanctions must be maintained until the process of the dismantling of apartheid becomes irreversible.

For those who are concerned by the drastic effects of sanctions upon South Africa's economy, the point that must be understood is that the mere lifting of sanctions will not by itself suddenly bring back all the investors, nor prevent

(Ms. Chan Heng Chee, Singapore)

talented human resources from leaving the country. What is needed to stop the South African economy from further decline is confidence in the future and the promise of political stability. That will only come with the successful completion of constitutional negotiations that will usher in a just deal and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic State.

In looking ahead to a post-apartheid society, we can take heart at the recent successful experiment of Namibia. The political transition in Namibia showed that fundamental change can take place peacefully. The political transition in South Africa will be watched with keen interest by the entire international community. Mr. Mandela has told his people that political discipline is vital to the struggle. That is political wisdom and a promising start. Together with co-operation between the many black parties, it is essential for sound development in the future.

In conclusion, we urge South Africa to move speedily ahead to abolish the last vestiges, but the most fundamental ones, of apartheid so that black and white South Africans can build a stable and prosperous post-apartheid society in the country.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): At the outset, I should like to convey my delegation's thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, and the Commission against Apartheid in Sports for the important reports they have submitted to the General Assembly under agenda item 34 on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. We also express our satisfaction at the Secretary-General's dispatch to South Africa last June of a mission of inquiry into the progress achieved in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Nearly one year ago, on 14 December 1989, the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session adopted, by consensus, that Declaration which outlined the plan for the elimination of the criminal and inhumane apartheid régime.

The reports before the General Assembly today are just as edifying as they are damning of the South African régime. The first thing that emerges from them is that the country is still far from having a climate conducive to the development and speedy conclusion of the negotiations advocated by the Declaration. To be sure, measures have been taken or announced by the Pretoria Government in terms of legislation and regulations. Political prisoners have been freed, including the leader Nelson Mandela. The ban on political parties has been lifted. Other laws have been voted or promised.

Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the reports before the General Assembly, daily practice gives us quite a different picture of the political reality in South Africa. Indeed, violence continues to prevail, fomented and inflamed by the white agents of the apartheid régime, above all pitting the black communities against each other, causing enormous losses of human life and frightening destruction.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

To this day the political parties and their leaders are still targets of restrictions and harassment of every sort. Thousands of political prisoners are still in gaol. Arbitrary arrests without trial for up to six months are still very much in vogue with the South African police.

Despite encouraging signs and some formal measures that have been introduced, political, social, economic and cultural inequality, of which the blacks are victims in South Africa, remains entrenched. The five pillars of apartheid - namely, the Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, on which the Group Areas Act is based, the Tricameral Legislative System, the Bantustan system and the Bantu Education - all these remain in place. The laws on apartheid, repressive legislation on security matters and retrograde labour legislation strengthening racial discrimination and infringing upon freedom of association and the right to refuse work - all these measures are still in force.

Seven million black people do not have permanent homes. Only 3 out of 1,000 blacks have university degrees, compared to 35 per 1,000 in the case of whites. White immigrants taken in by the Pretoria régime obtain the right to vote three weeks after their arrival. Need I recall that Nelson Mandela is now free and, yet, as a black man he cannot vote in his own country.

Those are but a few eloquent aspects illustrating the sad picture presented in the Secretary-General's report and the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on the policy the Pretoria régime continues to practise against the black population of South Africa.

We do not wish to pass over the intentions of the South African Government to introduce changes, as announced by President De Klerk. However, we must note that none of the nine principles contained in the Declaration adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly - the first of which proclaims that "South



(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State" - has so far been incorporated into the political reality of the country.

Speaking before the General Assembly on 13 November 1989, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali reaffirmed Tunisia's solidarity with the black population of South Africa and called upon the international community to maintain and strengthen its pressure and sanctions against South Africa until the total and irreversible elimination of apartheid.

For its part the General Assembly decided, pursuant to the programme of action adopted at its sixteenth special session in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, inter alia:

"to use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid",

and

"to ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African régime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this Declaration". (resolution S-16/1)

The reports before us clearly show that there is yet no such evidence. That is why we believe that the Assembly's decisions remain fully valid.

Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a source of pride to us to meet here this year after the triumph of the Namibian people over the heinous racism of the Government of South Africa and the accession of Namibia to membership of the United Nations.

We believe that the liberation of Namibia from racist colonialism justifies our hope today that the world will soon be witnessing a unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

The General Assembly has repeatedly condemned the apartheid system as the most heinous crime against humanity. The heinous apartheid system which denies the purposes and principles of international instruments and the basic human rights adopted by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the two covenants on human rights and the Charter of the United Nations, cannot be improved in any way. It must be totally eradicated.\*

The United Nations Declaration, adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, demanded that the régime should meet certain pre-conditions. This was the unavoidable result of the policies of apartheid. Those pre-conditions were imposed so as to create the necessary climate for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

The pre-conditions are the following: first, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; secondly, the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all organizations and persons; thirdly, the withdrawal of all the troops from all the townships; fourthly, the ending of the state of emergency and repeal of all legislation designed to inhibit political activities; and, fifthly, the cessation of all political trials and the annulment of all death sentences.

The Pretoria racist régime has complied with only two of these five conditions. It has lifted the bans on organizations and persons and ended the state of emergency. The other conditions were not complied with.

These limited changes should not be allowed to mask the miserable situation in South Africa. They are minimal and ineffectual when it comes to meeting the conditions of the Harare Declaration and the United Nations Declaration, adopted by consensus.

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\* Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

In addition, certain repressive laws such as the Internal Security Act of 1982, the Public Safety Act of 1953 and the amendments to the Public Safety Act of 1986, in addition to many other laws, are still in effect and continue to be enforced on a wide scale, with the result that all political activities are greatly curtailed.

Most political detainees and prisoners have not been released. The body of repressive legislation remains intact. It has resulted in the imprisonment of more than 70,000 freedom fighters over the past three years.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

This has led to the imposition of restrictions on the very organizations and individuals from whom the régime claimed to have lifted all bans and restrictions. This raises doubts about the strategies and the real intentions of the racist régime in Pretoria and makes it imperative for the General Assembly to continue addressing this issue in a clear and objective manner.

The news agencies and the press have confirmed the continued collusion by the racist Pretoria régime in the fratricidal killings that are going on in the ranks of the indigenous population in many areas in South Africa. There are reports of renewed activities by racist death squads, which target the indigenous population.

The continued escalation by the racist Pretoria régime of the ongoing infighting in the ranks of the indigenous population in pursuance of the divide-and-rule policy which that régime has adopted since it came to power and which has resulted in many acts of mass butchery, shows that this racist régime has now become the frightened party and that it is feverishly trying to prolong its existence by gaining more time, and is distracting the indigenous inhabitants from their original cause and marginalizing that cause, by diverting their energies to the infighting in which only losers will be those indigenous inhabitants.

In fact, the pillars of apartheid and the great number of apartheid laws on which form the foundations of the régime are still intact. Those pillars, which must be brought down and which are not subject to negotiation, are the following:

First: the two Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 which gave 87 per cent of the most fertile lands to white settlers, who number only 5 million today, and gave 13 per cent of the most arid and the poorest lands to the indigenous population, which numbers 30 million now.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

Second: the Population Registration Act, which classifies individuals on the basis of colour and ethnic origin.

Third: the so-called Bantu Education Act, which gave the Africans a lesser quality education in order for them to be servants of the white settlers.

Fourth: the tricamera parliamentary system from which Africans in particular are excluded, although they are the majority.

Fifth: the Bantustans and Townships Act. This act has created a system that may be dubbed the "Balkanization" of South Africa, wherein the indigenous inhabitants are divided into tribal groups and settled in semi-arid lands in which they lead a miserable life. The objective behind the establishment of those homelands was basically to revive the tribal fanaticism which the racist régime in Pretoria tried to strengthen in South Africa so that it might claim to be the peace maker.

It is worth mentioning here that despite the United Nations resolutions which strongly condemn the establishment of bantustans ("homelands") by the racist régime of South Africa and despite the call on all Governments to deny any form of recognition to, and refrain from having any dealings with, the bantustans, some States continue to have contacts with them. In particular, the racist régime in Tel Aviv has contacts with Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

The process of fundamental change in South Africa must not be measured by any cosmetic changes or pious declarations of good intentions. It must be measured by the genuine eradication of the five aforementioned pillars of apartheid.

In that context, we would like to reiterate the conclusion in the report of the Monitoring Group, namely that:

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

"there has not been any fundamental or irrevocable change in South Africa. The so-called changes which have led some members of the international community to believe that pressures should be relaxed vis-à-vis the apartheid régime fall far short of justifying that belief."

The international community, therefore, must continue to impose sanctions and even intensify them until such a time as our objectives are achieved.

All the cosmetic and embellishment operations with which the West tries to beautify the racist régime of Pretoria and prolong its life have so far failed to mask the frightening ugliness of the face of the racist régime in Pretoria. The régime and those who support it have realized that it is in the final days of its fight with the indigenous population who are the true titleholders to the land and to the wealth of the land. It has become clear to the indigenous population that the future is theirs and not the white minority's. That minority had colonized this African territory, settled it and established a State at the expense of its people, the indigenous inhabitants who have struggled and are still struggling for their liberty, land, gold and diamonds.

Those who are enthusiastically working to beautify the racist régime in Pretoria and trying to project an image of De Klerk that portrays him as the shining face of the white man have not missed a chance to pay tribute to him and call for all to support him. They exploited the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political activity in South Africa, as well as the independence of Namibia. They have used all of those occasions to project a liberal democratic image of the De Klerk régime as they see it, and have called for the relaxation of the isolation imposed on the white minority régime in South Africa as a reward to this régime. However, the measures for which the régime is to be rewarded fall far short of realizing our common objective, which is the eradication of the apartheid

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

system. Furthermore, those measures were introduced under the pressure of the serious dilemma that faces apartheid and the dead-end to which the racist policies of Pretoria have brought the régime. The struggling people of South Africa has outgrown apartheid and enjoys the support of the whole continent and of all the people of good faith the world over. The whites who can no longer face up to the popular rebellion hope to be able to reach a solution that would guarantee their privileges and interests.

We would like to draw attention to this fact, in order to disillusion those who seem to believe that the white racists in South Africa, who have been accustomed for so long to intransigence, arrogance and defiance, have become convinced, all of a sudden, that they should concede the rights of the indigenous population and have allowed the angels of mercy to invade their thoughts and change them overnight from racists to compassionate humanists that believe in the right of the coloured and African person to live in peace in his homeland.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

Racist movements even if they try to project images that are far from the truth wind up exposed and unmasked by their very practices. Their true nature, which is always inimical to the human race, unmasks them in the end. Hence, racist movements throughout history have carried within their systems the seeds of their extinction because of their ideologies of hate, aggression and the usurpation of other peoples' rights and the flimsiness of their usually short-lived falsifications of the facts of history and geography. Even the victories of such régimes achieve nothing as they always lead to ultimate defeat. There is no contradiction here, since racist movements tend to take the mask off their faces as soon as they achieve their objectives, which is exactly what happened to nazism, fascism and other such movements. Current racist movements are no exception.

The two racist entities in Pretoria and Tel Aviv have always supported each other. They have collaborated in many fields. They also enjoy the support of forces which claim to be freedom-loving. However, freedom is inseparable from justice, from peoples or from right. What sort of freedom is it that sides with the aggressor and with the racists who expand at the expense of others?

The racist régime in Pretoria which has persisted in its acts of aggression, destabilization and blackmail against the front-line States and all other neighbouring States has enjoyed the support of the racist régime of Tel Aviv to the extent that their partnership and co-operation has grown strategically. Both of them are like sponges that will never reach the point of saturation and which tries to absorb all the energies of the Arab and African regions. Both régimes are busy sucking the life blood, the resources of the Arab and African countries. The most telling proof of the gravity of this heinous collaboration and the threat it poses to the peace and security of the Arab and African regions is the decision by the



(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

General Assembly to convene an international conference on that collaboration. In paragraph 25 of its final declaration, the conference, which was held at the International Centre, Vienna, from 11 to 13 July 1983, strongly and unambiguously condemned the racist régime in Tel Aviv for its collaboration with the racist Government of South Africa particularly in the nuclear and military fields in naked defiance of United Nations resolutions.

The continued co-operation between the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the development of missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads at a cost of millions of dollars, while the world tries to rid itself of all such missiles, highlights the fact that these two régimes, which share a common history and a common destiny, will never give up their aggressive and military ambitions and shows that both régimes are gearing up for fresh acts of aggression against the Arab and African peoples.

In this respect, we wish to refer to the report of the Secretary-General on the nuclear capability of South Africa in the field of ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads, which extensively reviewed the role of the racist régime in Tel Aviv in this respect and concluded that the South African missile programme depends on foreign technology obtained from various foreign sources and that the only source of officially licensed foreign missile technology today is the racist régime in Tel Aviv.

We are confident that racism will disappear. We are with our African brethren, our partners in history, culture and way of life. We are with them in one trench struggling against racism in all its forms. Even if the crimes of racism are aimed, in the first instance, at the Arabs and Africans it is in fact aimed at humanity as a whole. The cause of freedom and justice is indivisible. Injustice is injustice wherever it may be.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

The root cause of the conflict in South Africa is apartheid and the policy of aggression and State terrorism pursued by the apartheid régime which aims at destabilizing not only one country but a whole region with a view to dominating that region. To this very hour, the shameful apartheid régime is still in place with all its oppressive inclinations and destructive consequences as a fait accompli in the lives of the people of South Africa. Therefore, it will be an exercise in self-deception to view the current situation in South Africa as if it indicated the beginning of the end of the abhorrent apartheid régime when all indications, to the contrary, show that that system of apartheid is so well entrenched in South Africa.

The apartheid régime in South Africa has not really accepted the creation of a new unified, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. The facts on the ground show that nothing has really changed. The pillars of apartheid we have referred to are still in place. The indigenous population, that is to say the majority, is still deprived of its rights for racist reasons. They are still disenfranchised. Hundreds of political prisoners are still languishing in the prisons of apartheid. Opponents of apartheid can still be imprisoned under various security acts. That is why we are not yet convinced by the assertions that the recent developments mark profound irreversible changes that are important enough to counterbalance the sad realities which still exist. We do not believe that these changes, which are no more than results of the heinous apartheid system, are sufficient cause for us to stop condemning this apartheid régime. We shall continue to do just that until the day comes when this system is totally eradicated.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

My country which consistently stood by the Namibian people in its years of struggle to rid itself of racist colonialism, stands again firmly by the people of South Africa - the indigenous population, in its unremitting struggle in the face of the most heinous crime against humanity in their search for justice and equality, and for the full enjoyment of human rights. We stand by that people which is ready to die in the struggle for those rights.

While we urge the struggling people of South Africa to join ranks and unite, we firmly believe that the march of this heroic people towards freedom will be crowned with victory soon. Its legitimate struggle in the face of the most heinous crime against humanity will bear fruit. The world will soon witness a unified, non-racial, democratic South Africa. It is impossible to deny such a heroic people its basic human rights for ever and lock it out of the mainstream of life in its own homeland and on its own soil. The struggle of the people of South Africa against the alien apartheid régime will join the mainstream of the struggle of all oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom. The cause of freedom is indivisible. The cause of justice and self-determination is also indivisible. Injustice is injustice wherever it may be. Human rights are the same for all.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to commend the role of the Special Committee in working against some of the most heinous vestiges of the colonial era. I believe all appreciate the work accomplished by the Committee which kept the issue at the top of the United Nations agenda in defiance of those who would content themselves with paying lip-service to the principles of the Charter.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): I wish to extend our deep appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its lucid and comprehensive report. This has provided a firm basis for our consideration of the situation prevailing in South Africa. We also avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank the Chairman of the Special Committee, Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, whose wise, dedicated and able guidance has made a substantial contribution in the struggle to eradicate the evil system of apartheid for ever. My delegation would like to express its profound sorrow at the untimely passing of Mr. Zephania Mathopeng, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. His leadership in the unfinished task of eradicating apartheid will be sorely missed.

For many years the Special Committee has worked tirelessly in mobilizing the support of the world community for maintaining and strengthening political and economic pressures on the South African Government. The historic Declaration on apartheid, adopted unanimously last December at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, called on the South African régime to end the odious system of racial separation. This consensus document spelled out comprehensive measures necessary to ensure the fundamental political changes whose achievement remains our primordial task.

While my delegation welcomes the release of Mr. Mandela after 27 years of incarceration, the lifting of the ban on political organizations - the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - and the end of the state of emergency, the legacy of apartheid continues to fester and pervade the lives of the South Africans. Normal political activity continues to be hindered by the pillars of apartheid. Based on the provisions of the Internal Security Act, police forces have again detained people indefinitely for questioning. According to the Commission on Human Rights, there has been no relaxation of the state of

(Mr. Sutresna, Pakistan)

emergency or security legislation. In fact, the number of detainees has risen to an all-time high of 70,000. Even though President De Klerk has pledged that lifting the state of emergency will limit the number of detentions, reports of torture and death in detention continue. Repressive laws remain intact, and severe punishment is meted out to those who oppose the apartheid system. With the exception of the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the inhuman system thrives, through, inter alia, the Population Registration Act, the Native Lands Act and the Group Areas Act. Undeniably, profound and irreversible changes have not yet occurred.

Compounding the situation is the tragic sequence of events in the Province of Natal. Civil strife in various townships has worsened and has gone unchecked by the Government. A multitude of complex factors giving rise to and fuelling violent reactions are the result of social and economic circumstances entrenched in the apartheid system, the many attacks by hit squads of extreme right-wing groups and the shocking perpetration of violent acts by security forces. The current cycle of violence is the direct consequence of apartheid policies - namely, the homeland policy and the migrant labour system, which have increased tensions in black communities. It is therefore imperative that the world community intensify efforts to compel the Pretoria régime to make fundamental and irreversible changes and revoke the repressive laws. If there are to be genuine negotiations, mere cosmetic and piecemeal measures will not be sufficient to meet the legitimate demands of the majority of the people of South Africa, who have endured hardship and suffering for decades. Indonesia has consistently maintained that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations should be imposed on the Pretoria régime.

(Mr. Sutresna, Pakistan)

As an active member 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 also extended full support and solidarity to the majority population of South Africa in its long and courageous struggle for freedom against racist rule. We are firmly convinced that the great sacrifices of the South African people and their noble and valiant fight to eradicate the grave injustices of the apartheid system will bear fruit only if the racist scourge is abolished in its entirety.

In this regard, I should like to quote part of the speech made by our President Soeharto at a banquet hosted by him in honour of Mr. Mandela during his recent visit to Indonesia. This question very accurately reflects the sentiments we share with the South African people.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

"Our strong support of the South African people against racial domination and oppression has been motivated by a very strong conviction. The first sentence of the Preamble to our 1945 Constitution mandated that colonialism must be abolished from the face of the earth because it is inconsistent with humanitarianism and justice. This affirmation is also a reflection of our perception and conviction about the bitterness of colonialism, as we have ourselves been subjected to it in the past."

Mr. Nelson Mandela's four-day visit to our country from 19 to 23 October 1990 was warmly welcomed by the Government and people of Indonesia. He was honoured as a visiting Head of State and the Republic of Indonesia's Star Medal "Adipradana" was bestowed on him for his role in the struggle for equal rights for all South African people. The purpose of the visit, as Mr. Mandela observed, was to thank Indonesia for the valuable contributions made to their liberation struggle. He also spoke about our historic role as host to the Bandung Conference of 1955, which resulted in the establishment of close ties between Asian and African nations.

My delegation would like to emphasize that meaningful negotiations, as envisaged in the United Nations Declaration, have become urgently necessary. In this regard, we welcome the important developments that have occurred, resulting in joint communiqués - the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. We fervently hope, first, that these high-level meetings between the Government and the representatives of the African National Congress will achieve the objectives set out in the Declaration; secondly, that the Pretoria Government will take urgent steps to restore political rights; and, thirdly, that serious negotiations will be undertaken towards the attainment of a new South African constitution that will ensure power-sharing by all the people of South Africa. Against this backdrop, Indonesia reiterates its firm solidarity with the South African people in their efforts to ensure the dismantling of the odious system in its entirety. We extend

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

our complete support for the ultimate attainment of the noble objective of a non-racial, just, equitable and democratic society in South Africa.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to extend our sincere condolences on the occasion of the death of Mr. Zephania Mothopeng, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and request the observer delegation of PAC to convey our condolences to the deceased's family and the friendly Azanian people.

The apartheid policy pursued by the South African régime has been a major item on the agenda of General Assembly sessions for more than 40 years. Over that long period many resolutions have been adopted with a view to putting an end to the plight of the South African people. Africa, whose peoples have struggled for their independence and freedom and paid a heavy price in lives in defence of the human individual and his dignity, still suffers the most abhorrent kind of discrimination in its southern territory at the hands of a racist minority. That minority has ignored the fundamental principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and defied the will of the international community, which has repeatedly condemned its heinous policy.

This defiance is equalled only by that of the Zionist régime, which pursues the same racist, expansionist policies vis-à-vis the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. We all know that there is close co-operation between the two racist régimes, which pose a real threat not only to the security and peace of the Palestinian and South African peoples, but also to the Arab region and to Africa as a whole.

Since the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the region of southern Africa has witnessed successive political developments. Without a doubt, the most important of those developments was the independence of Namibia and its admission



(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

to the United Nations, to become a new supporter here of our struggle against the universally condemned racial discrimination and apartheid.

In southern Africa, the continued resistance of the people of Azania and the embargo imposed by the international community have forced the Pretoria régime to introduce some changes which include the release of some detainees and political prisoners, especially Mr. Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the struggle of the South African people. Those developments, which we have followed with great interest, are welcome, but they still fall short of our expectations and what we have continued to call for in United Nations resolutions. In addition, everything that has been undertaken so far is but a partial response to the conditions set out by the General Assembly in its Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted on 14 December 1989.

The international community, which has committed itself, in its successive resolutions, to the dismantling of the apartheid régime, should not be satisfied with these changes or convinced that they are irreversible. Accordingly, we cannot see the logic in the call for an easing of sanctions and the ending of the international embargo against South Africa. The international community, which has identified the objective, namely, the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society, should give further assistance and continue its pressure until the oppressed people in that country recover their legitimate right to complete equality for all citizens, regardless of colour or creed.

The continued political violence in Natal and other areas in South Africa is a source of concern to all of us. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states that more than 1,400 persons, mostly black, were killed last year, and we continue to hear news about the eruption of violence in that region. We call urgently for urgent measures to be taken to put an end to the violence and bring about the reconciliation of brothers.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has always made its position clear with regard to the apartheid régime and its practices and has reiterated its firm belief in the necessity of dismantling that régime. Accordingly, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has always been fully committed to the embargo against that régime and has supported all endeavours through the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, aimed at its eradication. My country takes pride in its leading role in supporting the struggle of liberation movements in Africa, its support for the front-line States and its participation in the international efforts to extend assistance to the victims of apartheid.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya)

In conclusion, I would like to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for the activities that it has undertaken under the wise leadership of the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari. We support the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Committee's report (A/45/22). We believe that the Committee's activities have contributed positively to the efforts aimed at putting an end to the apartheid régime, which is an affront to all humanity.

Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): For decades the United Nations has been making persistent efforts to bring about the elimination of the inhuman apartheid system in South Africa. To this end many resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations. In our view, the General Assembly's comprehensive consideration of this agenda item at the current session should serve as a basis for the joint preparation of effective decisions that would facilitate to the maximum possible extent the rapid and sure achievement of this singularly important goal.

There is a good basis for success in that task. I refer to the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. Approved by consensus, the Declaration contains an extensive, clear and realistic programme of action for the elimination of the apartheid system by peaceful means, through negotiation. In this respect we may take as an inspiring example the resolution adopted by consensus by the General Assembly at its resumed forty-fourth session: that is, resolution 44/244, concerning the progress achieved in the implementation of the Declaration.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

These facts are a reflection of the post-confrontation era that has begun and an eloquent symbol of the readiness and determination of the States Members of the United Nations to take collective action to achieve the unconditional eradication of the evil that is apartheid.

We know that the intensification of the combined efforts of all members of the international community to resolve this problem was made possible by the profound positive changes in the world. Indeed, these changes could not have failed to affect the situation in the southern part of Africa. The political settlement of the Namibian problem has had a beneficial effect on the situation in the region. We now see more clearly than ever the danger and the hopelessness of the use of military force to regulate relations between States or between different political factions.

In these new conditions the task of dismantling the apartheid system has gained the force of a moral and political imperative - something that everybody should take into account. For the first time there is a real opportunity to dismantle this racist system by means of negotiations between the Government and the opposition. We pay a tribute to the mass popular movement against the apartheid régime for its many years of struggle; we pay a tribute to the democratic forces, led by the African National Congress (ANC), for their selfless struggle; we pay a tribute to the front-line and other African States for their activities; and we pay a tribute to the entire international community for its contribution.

It was precisely because of all the efforts made - which have merged and become a mighty current - that the conditions that forced those in the ruling circles of South Africa to realize that such changes were irreversible were finally established.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

By the same token, we should pay a tribute to those in South Africa who have taken such important positive steps as the lifting of ~~the~~ ban on the activities of political parties and movements, the declaration by President De Klerk's Government of the need to end the apartheid system, and the lifting of the state of emergency throughout the country.

We welcome the ongoing negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government to eliminate the obstacles and make a start on negotiating a peaceful settlement in South Africa, and note that agreement has been achieved on a number of substantial questions, and we wish to lay special emphasis on the ANC's constructive role in the negotiating process. Everyone knows how important has been the impact on this entire process of the significant decision of the ANC to end its armed struggle.

But, for all their significance, the changes that have been carried out in South Africa thus far, do not amount to the resolution of the main issue, which is the dismantling of the apartheid system and of the political, social, economic and other structures that support it, structures that are deeply entrenched in existing legislation. Radical, progressive, irreversible changes have yet to be undertaken.

The Secretary-General, in his report, on the work of the Organization to this session of the General Assembly, states the following:

"The political process towards dismantling the apartheid system is yet at an early stage and difficulties are still caused by the continuance of apartheid structures, questionable police practices, repressive laws and politically-related violence." (A/45/1, p. 4)

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

In accordance with the programme of action contained in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the South African Government has to take further radical steps to dismantle the apartheid system. The measures to which the Declaration refers include the rescinding of legislative provisions that limit political activity.

The dominance for so many years of the apartheid system, which is based on force and the polarization of the social, economic and political life of the country, has given rise to an atmosphere of fear, hatred and mistrust. It would be unrealistic to expect barriers of this type, which have been erected over the decades, to be surmounted in one fell swoop; it is clear that energetic steps are needed to surmount them.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

First and foremost, there must be an end to any manifestations of violence, and peaceful conditions must be assured. The responsibility for ensuring this lies primarily with the Government.

Further steadfast and consistent efforts are needed, from all parties involved, towards the common goal of dismantling apartheid and creating a united, democratic and non-racial State. This process is, of course, far from being a simple one. No one can guarantee that there will be no difficulties or obstacles; however, if the parties have the resolve and the willingness to overcome them, there is certainly every indication that they will be.

The United Nations is called upon to monitor the situation in South Africa closely and to exert the necessary pressure to promote the dismantling of the apartheid system. Until such time as the positive changes taking place there become irreversible, United Nations sanctions will remain important.

For apartheid to be eradicated, there must be consolidation of the efforts of the international community towards helping the process along in every possible way and enhancing the existing mechanisms, and the United Nations peace-making capabilities, as much as possible. To do this, it is important for the consensus reached when the Declaration on apartheid and resolution 44/244 were developed to be maintained and strengthened; these urge the international community, all States, towards joint action in the interests of dismantling apartheid as quickly as possible.

The position of the Soviet Union in this, as is well known, is that our country has firmly and consistently advocated eradicating apartheid. Taking this principle as our guideline, we have unfailingly supported the United Nations decisions in this matter and abided by them faithfully, as we have in the matter of the sanctions imposed by the Organization. The Soviet Union will continue its active support for constructive international efforts along these lines.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): In the last 12 months alone, the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa have been the subject of three separate debates by the General Assembly. That this is so underlines the degree of importance and seriousness the Assembly has accorded this issue from the start.

In this regard, I recall the mood of expectation that characterized the debates during the forty-fourth session, the sixteenth special session and the resumed forty-fourth session, convened to assess the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. This determination on the part of the General Assembly enhances the need for concerted international action against apartheid.

My delegation considers that the progress so far achieved in the common struggle against apartheid, though modest, does constitute a step forward towards implementing the provisions of the Declaration. As we have repeatedly emphasized, we welcome the release of some political prisoners, the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons and the legalization of political parties. Also, as the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/45/22) states, there was the announcement of the lifting of the state of emergency as of 18 October 1990.

However, these are only some of the actions needed for apartheid to be dismantled that are spelt out in the Declaration of the sixteenth special session. Indeed, the fact of the matter is that the apartheid system remains intact. The obstacles in the path towards its total eradication are yet to be addressed effectively. Further steps should be taken to implement the Declaration and create a climate conducive to negotiations.



(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The Internal Security Act and other abhorrent security legislation continue to be the major stumbling-blocks preventing political parties and any anti-apartheid organization from engaging freely in political activity. Under these laws, detention without trial is still allowed in South Africa. This is in flagrant contradiction to the South African Government's public pledges, and runs counter to the prevailing spirit of negotiation.

We call upon the Government of South Africa to abolish, expeditiously, all repressive legislation, in particular the Internal Security Act; to release, unconditionally, the remaining political prisoners; to cease all political trials and political executions; and to remove all troops from the townships.

Let me now turn to the issue of violence in South Africa. Violence continues to undermine the efforts towards a peaceful climate in that country. The reported continuing involvement and participation of the security forces in incidents, the like of which have already claimed innocent lives, is becoming more and more alarming.

Other violent forces are the hit squads. These gangs are notorious for using acts of terrorism to suppress any opponent of apartheid. Reports also indicate that these groups are linked to the South African police and defence forces.

Furthermore, the activities of the extreme right in South Africa continue to take their toll of innocent human life and destruction of property. We are deeply concerned by the high rate at which the number of white Afrikaner militant groups is reported to have increased over the last few months; they now number a record 46, compared to the 29 reported last July. This sad reality places an obligation on the South African Government to act in good faith so as to stop, once and for all, the unnecessary bloodshed in South Africa. Given the fact that the apartheid régime still controls the levers of power in South Africa, it is to that régime that the responsibility for maintaining public order mainly falls.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

My delegation would like to reaffirm its full support for the ongoing dialogue between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government. The spirit of the Groote Schuur and the Pretoria Minutes should prevail, especially at this juncture, over any differences that may exist as a result of more than four decades of policies based on racial supremacy and segregation. To that end, my delegation would like to encourage the need for close co-operation and brotherhood among all segments of the South African anti-apartheid forces, so as to strengthen their ranks through the formation of a united front in their struggle to eliminate apartheid and democratize their society.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

It is our strong hope that the current stage of negotiations will be expedited so that the negotiations can begin as soon as possible on the substantive issues, in particular on the constitution.

The peoples of southern Africa share a common goal, which is to see the total elimination of apartheid, condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity. The existence of apartheid constitutes a source of conflict and destabilization in the region that has prevented the countries in it from enjoying peaceful development.

The consequences of apartheid in South Africa go beyond its natural boundaries. They are directly or indirectly linked to almost all the major problems and suffering facing the countries of southern Africa, with particular emphasis on Angola and Mozambique. The peoples of the region have a vested interest in the elimination of the apartheid system, not only because it is a heinous crime against humanity, but also because apartheid affects each and every country in the region. It affects our right to live in peace, our right to development and our regional co-operation and harmony.

As prospects for a just, non-racial and democratic society grow in South Africa, the Governments of Angola and Mozambique have spared no effort in the quest for peace in their countries. They continue to pursue important initiatives and undertakings to attain that goal.

My Government welcomes the current climate in Angola for negotiations aimed at the restoration of peace and tranquillity to that country. We call upon the international community to act positively for the successful outcome of these important negotiations.

As far as Mozambique is concerned, we have been undertaking important political initiatives for the restoration of peace and democracy and the normalization of the life of our people. Concerning the broad-scale

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

democratization of our society, I wish to inform the Assembly that on 30 November 1990 a new Constitution entered into force in our country. The new Constitution provides, inter alia, for the establishment of a presidential system of government, for a pluralistic democracy and for periodic presidential and parliamentary elections based on the secret ballot and direct universal suffrage. Furthermore, the new Constitution introduces changes in Mozambique's legal system, such as the abolition of the death penalty, full respect for freedom of speech and the press, and the widening and effective protection of individual human rights and fundamental freedoms and the independence of the judiciary. In the economic field, it provides for the establishment of a free-market economy and for different types of ownership.

In addition to those endeavours, and in order to restore peace to the country, three rounds of direct talks between our Government and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) have taken place so far in Rome. The last round concluded on 1 December with the signing of an agreement on the preliminary steps to be taken in the period prior to the proclamation of the cease-fire.

The agreement establishes that RENAMO will cease all offensive military operations and attacks against the corridors of Beira and Limpopo. These corridors constitute important outlets to the sea for the import and export operations of the neighbouring countries of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, among others. On the other hand, the Government of Mozambique, in agreement with the Government of Zimbabwe, will not use the corridors for offensive military operations.

A joint verification committee composed of civilian and military representatives from eight countries, jointly designated by the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, as well as representatives of Zimbabwe and of the mediators, will be established to monitor compliance with the agreement reached between RENAMO and the Government of Mozambique.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The committee will establish its headquarters in Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. It will take up its functions 15 days after the signing of the agreement. Indeed, preliminary steps for the implementation of the agreement are currently under way. Both parties to the agreement have committed themselves to preventing all actions that may directly or indirectly violate the spirit or the letter of the Rome agreement, which empowers the mediators to take useful initiatives to address any action that may jeopardize its implementation.

The agreement is a clear manifestation of the capacity of Mozambicans to solve their problems if there is no negative foreign interference. On the other hand, the Government of Mozambique believes that the agreement constitutes an important measure for confidence-building between the parties to the conflict. It is not an end in itself. It does not fully meet the expectations of our people and of the international community, whose hope is to see peace rapidly restored to our country. Our primary objective continues to be a general and complete cease-fire, the end of war and the normalization of life in Mozambique.

Our efforts will continue to be geared towards the attainment of that goal. In signing and committing itself to abide by the provisions of the Rome agreement, the Government of the Republic of Mozambique wished to demonstrate its determination to overcome all obstacles and to proceed towards making the peace process in our country irreversible. We are aware that peace is the fundamental condition for the mastering by the Mozambican people of the challenges before them in this historic phase. We certainly hope that the international community will continue to render its fullest support to these endeavours.

The prospects for peace in the region create appropriate conditions for the international community to work on a comprehensive and integrated rescue plan that will enable the countries of the region to rebuild their economies, which have

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

been devastated by a war resulting from the policies of apartheid in southern Africa. This constitutes yet another important requirement in the programme of action of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The Declaration calls, inter alia, on the international community to render all possible assistance to the front-line States and the neighbouring States to enable them to build their economies, which have been adversely affected by South African acts of aggression and destabilization. We believe that is a task to which the international community must give highest priority.

Mr. KUKAN (Czechoslovakia): Our Organization has been dealing with the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa with its negative consequences for the general situation in the southern part of the African continent for decades. Year after year reports on the situation were submitted, discussions were held and relevant resolutions were adopted. Year after year we were compelled to note that the efforts exerted by the international community were not bringing results. The information available spoke of the persisting oppression of the non-white inhabitants of South Africa, of the persistent illegal occupation of Namibia and of South African acts of aggression and destabilization against the neighbouring African countries.

None the less, nothing lasts for ever, and this is all the more true of régimes under which most of the population is denied the ability to enjoy its fundamental human rights, and which finds it necessary to resort to ever more repressive means to retain power. In this regard, the 1980s and 1990s will hold a significant place in history. One after another the totalitarian régimes in Central and Eastern Europe collapsed.

More positive news started to come also from other regions, including southern Africa. Who among us would have expected some three years ago that a free Namibia would join us in such a short time? In South Africa itself it seems that the Government has embarked upon the correct path of putting an end to apartheid. This is what we regard as decisive at this point. Together with all the other members of the international community, we shall, of course, continue to study closely to see whether the South African Government holds to that path and, if it does, how quickly it proceeds along it.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

We have emphasized in this forum on a number of occasions that the new Czechoslovak foreign policy lays special emphasis on respect for human rights everywhere in the world. From this point of view the existence of apartheid, a system that legalizes the oppression of the majority of the South African population and discriminates between citizens with full rights and those treated as second class because of the colour of their skin, is absolutely unacceptable. As stated in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, apartheid, a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanize entire peoples, has imposed on the region of southern Africa a brutal war, that has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and the massive displacement of innocent men, women and children, and is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality.

Czechoslovakia would resolutely oppose attempts merely to reform apartheid by means of cosmetic changes. We are just as strongly opposed to any abatement of the international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens. Naturally, this does not mean that the international community should not be sensitive to positive trends in the South African society.

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic fully shares the following basic principles of a future arrangement in South Africa, as contained in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. We think it is worth reminding members of them. They are:



(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

"(a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;

"(b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

"(c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters' roll, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;

"(d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;

"(e) All shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;

"(f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;

"(g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;

"(h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;

"(i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples." (resolution S-16/1, annex, para. 3)

While questions of the political and legal arrangement of the future South African society need not, in our view, be discussed in greater detail, we feel it desirable to say a few words on the subject of the future economic order in South Africa, which should promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans. In spite of all the difficulties caused by economic and financial isolation, the South African economy is a productive market-based economy which, after the elimination

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

of apartheid can help in the development of sub-Saharan Africa. Of course, this is only on the condition that it remains productive and market-based. From our own experience, we would like to warn against illusions about other, seemingly socially more just, alternative methods of economic development, which have brought grave economic difficulties to a formerly prosperous Czechoslovakia. We are convinced that the preservation of economic stability in South Africa is in the interest of all the inhabitants of South Africa as well as of other African countries.

We are also greatly encouraged by the positive developments that have been taking place within South Africa since the beginning of this year, as mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report in document A/44/960. We appreciate the bold and courageous policy to which President De Klerk has committed his Government. We are convinced that it opens up distinct possibilities for the dismantling of the apartheid system. Equally encouraging and statesmanlike have been the vision and forbearance demonstrated by the black leadership, which, despite long years of injustice and oppression, has renewed its commitment to a peaceful process for ending apartheid and building a non-racial and democratic society.

The downfall of such mainstays of apartheid as the Pass Laws, the Separate Amenities Act, the Land Act and the Group Areas Act and the results of the May and August talks between representatives of the Government of South Africa and the leaders of the opposition forces give us cause for optimism.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

This process makes room for wider participation by South Africa in international co-operation in the future. It is to be hoped that it will also make possible the lifting of economic and other sanctions against the future newly transformed, democratic and multi-racial South Africa.

Geographically, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is far from South Africa. However, the peoples of our two countries are close to one another because of their longing for democracy and freedom. Therefore, in conclusion I should like to express my conviction that in South Africa, too, democracy will prevail, guaranteeing peaceful development, stability and prosperity for that country and for the whole region.

Mr. DUMEVI (Ghana): The question of dismantling apartheid remains a major challenge to the United Nations. A year ago to the day, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. That Declaration, inter alia, called for urgent negotiations to end apartheid, and also laid down a programme of action with the objective of seeing South Africa transformed into a non-racial democratic country.

We acknowledge the many encouraging developments in South Africa since the adoption of the Declaration, notably the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the granting of independence to Namibia, the lifting of the state of emergency and the ongoing talks on the future of South Africa. But much still remains to be done. This has been confirmed by the preliminary report submitted to this General Assembly by the Secretary-General in July 1990. It is true that the Separate Amenities Act has been abolished, but a dozen or more notorious acts of the South African Government, popularly referred to as the pillars of apartheid, remain in place. Even the racial integration of public facilities, announced by the South African Government

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

recently, is running into trouble, as is evident from the racial violence reported to have broken out last week in Louis Trichardt, in Northern Transvaal, following the brutal attack by white extremists on several black children, ranging in ages from 4 to 12, for holding a Sunday school picnic in a newly segregated school park. Dozens of the children were reported to have been injured, and many required hospital treatment.

The Trichardt assault cannot be dismissed as an isolated incident. Coming at a time of heightened racial tensions and the resurgence of white extremism and Afrikaner vigilante groups, the reported assault clearly demonstrates that the South African authorities must do more to check the activities of those who are out to derail the present peace process.

The road ahead for the achievement of the United Nations objective of a non-racial and democratic South Africa is long and fraught with difficulties. This point needs to be stressed in view of the ongoing attempts by Pretoria and, regrettably, by some Members of the United Nations towards the lifting of sanctions against South Africa. Responsible public leaders, including the Commonwealth Committee of Nine Foreign Ministers and the July 1990 Organization of African Union Summit meeting in Addis Ababa, have strongly urged that sanctions against South Africa be maintained and strengthened. Some even, in the broad anti-apartheid coalition all over the world, seem to be persuaded that because De Klerk has expressed the desire to talk and has eliminated some of the ugly aspects of petty apartheid, the struggle to destroy the worst racist system the world has known since nazism is over. Until the entire political structure as presently constituted is abolished, until every exile unconditionally returns to his or her native land, until all prisoners are unconditionally released, until a clear commitment is made to the principle of economic democracy pertaining to the use of

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

land and all other resources, it cannot be said or believed by anyone that apartheid is ended.

The 14 December 1989 Declaration was a unanimous document in which certain political guidelines were agreed upon for dismantling apartheid. It would therefore be tantamount to a breach of faith for any State Member or group of Member States to take any action inconsistent with the Declaration merely because of narrow domestic interests. Indeed, that would send a wrong signal to the South African authorities. The reforms undertaken so far have not resulted in any significant change in the status of the majority of South Africans, who remain disenfranchised and continue to be kept out of the mainstream of the social and political life of that country. Until there is a clear and irreversible move for dismantling the entire socio-economic system that defines apartheid, the international community must continue to maintain the pressure on South Africa in the form of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. It must not be said that, just when the final battle for free South Africa has entered the last phase, many of those who have been in the trenches with us all these years abandoned the struggle, either through carelessness or enlightened self-interest. History and Africa will not forgive them for this act of neglect or, at worst, betrayal.

In this connection, the Ghana delegation would like to express its concern over the emerging alliances between the countries of the former Eastern bloc and the South African Government. Some of the former Eastern European countries on which we have in the past relied for support have suddenly turned their countries into recruitment grounds for South African labour. Others have also opened consular missions in South Africa ostensibly to cater for their nationals living there. We are appalled to note that, suddenly, the humanity of the oppressed in

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

South Africa is being bargained for economic ties with a régime that has been so thoroughly discredited. We appeal to those who do not seem to be aware of the very urgency of the situation please to help us destroy this monstrous system that remains a blot on the entire human race. No excuse can justify the haste with which some erstwhile opponents of apartheid are re-establishing links with South Africa and, sometimes, with the thinnest of excuses that do not dignify those who offer them.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

This is not the time to show division in our ranks after the common position we adopted at the end of the sixteenth special session. It is, rather, the time for us all to demonstrate even greater commitment by reaffirming support for the provisions of the Declaration and adhering strictly to the programme of action contained in it. We would urge all who supported the Declaration to demonstrate commitment and adherence to principles, and to intensify their resolve to eradicate apartheid by deeds, not words, as called for by resolution 44/244 of 17 September 1990.

We urge upon the South African authorities the early adoption of a concrete schedule for a new constitution. In particular, we urge Mr. De Klerk and his Government to speed up the process for calling a constituent assembly, to be elected by universal adult suffrage, to write a new, non-racial constitution for South Africa.

We also urge the South African Government to take early action to establish a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations by repealing all the remaining legislation, particularly the Internal Security Act, which impedes open political activity. The establishment of a peaceful climate, in our view, also demands an end to the ongoing disturbances in the townships, which have claimed several lives and destroyed property. In this regard, my delegation deeply deplores the Western media handling of the violence as "black-on-black violence"; this is indicative of fundamental racism, which we totally reject.

We must insist on the immediate repeal of the various laws that constitute the foundations of apartheid - those pertaining to the so-called group areas, the separate tricameral legislatures, Bantu education and the bantustans. These demands cannot be seen as part of any constitutional debates. They pertain to the fundamental question of human rights for all peoples. These rights, as the victims

(Mr. Dumsivi, Ghana)

of apartheid within South Africa have affirmed, cannot be matters for negotiation. Repealing them will signify that the régime is genuinely committed to a just and free South African society.

Eye-witness reports tell us that whites, camouflaged with black pigment, intervene in the township conflicts as a "Third Wave". Ample evidence has been produced that black death squads are being organized and paid by white extremists, with the full backing of the South African security forces. These squads are strengthened by the ugly climate, characterized by the sale of arms to whites in preparation for a blood bath. In 1989 alone over 2 million guns were sold over the counter to the white community.\*

While we welcome reports that leaders representing most of the spectrum of black African politicians in South Africa met last week in Johannesburg, under the auspices of Archbishop Tutu, to try to promote mutual tolerance and put an end to factional violence, which has been plaguing the black South African communities for some time now, the Ghana delegation would like to take this opportunity to urge a process of reconciliation at all levels. We also urge the various black leaderships to use their peaceful, moderating influence on their followers. At this critical juncture in the fight against apartheid, black South Africans cannot dissipate their energy in factional fighting and senseless violence, which can only strengthen the forces of white racism, whose objective is to derail the peace process and eliminate all efforts to establish a new political system in South Africa.

In conclusion, as we enter the twenty-first century, dismantling apartheid will be one of the major tasks that have to be accomplished by the United Nations. To achieve this objective, the international community must be seen not to be

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\* The President returned to the Chair.



(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

abandoning its sacred commitment, which was made loud and clear on 14 December 1989, when the General Assembly adopted by consensus a historic document - the Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

In this regard, the responsibility of the South African Government also stands clear. We are asking Mr. De Klerk and his Government to quicken the pace of transformation and remove all the apartheid laws that are still on its statute books. By so doing the South African Government will create a climate suitable to speeding up the integration of a large segment of South Africans into the main stream of affairs in that country.

We appreciate the difficulties involved. However, South Africa will be fully accepted into the international community as a full partner in our collective search for a just and free world only when apartheid is totally destroyed and there is a non-racial, democratic South Africa, in which the colour of the skin ceases to be the condition for accepting the individual into the country's full political and social life. This is the call and the challenge. History waits to see which way the entire world will go on this sad and vexing issue.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.