



*President:* Mr. INSANALLY  
(Guyana)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.*

**TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE PRIME  
MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY,  
JOZSEF ANTALL**

*The PRESIDENT:* The Assembly will now pay a tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, Mr. Jozsef Antall.

Mr. Antall's contributions to the processes of change and democratization in Hungary have earned him an important place in the history of our times. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey our heartfelt condolences to the Government and the people of the Republic of Hungary and to his bereaved family.

I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary.

*The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.*

*The PRESIDENT:* I now call on the representative of Angola, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

*Mr. VAN-DUNEM "MBINDA"* (Angola): The people and the Government of Hungary mourn the irrecoverable loss recently suffered by Hungary and the whole world with the passing away into eternal rest of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. This illustrious statesman, a staunch supporter of the struggle for the independence of the people of Hungary, was no stranger to us. He always inspired great respect and admiration in his European colleagues and many other people throughout the world.

At this time of grief and sadness for our brothers in Hungary, allow us, on behalf of the African Group accredited to the United Nations, to express to the bereaved family and to the Government and the people of Hungary our sincere condolences. May his soul rest in peace.

*The PRESIDENT:* I now call on the representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

*Mr. HATANO* (Japan): On behalf of the Asian Group, I should like to extend to the Government and the people of Hungary our sincere condolences on the untimely passing of their revered Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Jozsef Antall.

As modern Hungary's first democratically elected leader, Prime Minister Antall strove to enhance the stability and prosperity of his nation by opening its markets and strengthening its ties with Western Europe and other parts of the world, including Asia.

Prime Minister Antall's vision and steadiness of purpose proved to be a bulwark against the uncertainties prevailing throughout Eastern Europe. His success in

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Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.78  
6 January 1994

ENGLISH

reshaping his nation will serve as a model and source of encouragement to Hungary's neighbours as they confront similar challenges. Indeed, with the passing of Prime Minister Antall, the international community has lost a truly effective leader.

**The PRESIDENT:** I now call on the representative of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

**Mr. MALESKI** (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): On behalf of the members of the regional Group of Eastern European States, I should like to pay a tribute to the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, His Excellency Mr. Jozsef Antall, who passed away on 12 December 1993.

Mr. Antall was heading the Government of a country that is a factor for peace in a troubled area. It is widely appreciated that his Government, in bilateral contacts and in multilateral forums, promoted understanding and cooperation in Europe. His work of reforming Hungarian society will also be remembered.

I ask the delegation of friendly Hungary to convey to the family of the deceased Prime Minister and to the Government and the people of the Republic of Hungary our deepest condolences.

**The PRESIDENT:** I now call on the representative of Ecuador, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States.

**Mr. AYALA LASSO** (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The death of Mr. Jozsef Antall, Prime Minister of Hungary, has brought us great grief. His contribution to the cause of democracy and the economic and social development of the Hungarian people will be remembered by all, not only for its intrinsic importance but also because of the exemplary manner in which he conducted himself in leading the Government at a time when major changes were taking place in Eastern Europe and throughout the world.

Jozsef Antall lived up to the great challenges that always arise in times of significant change and he guided the politics of his country clearly towards the strengthening of democratic institutions. During the revolution of 1956, he was a valiant and dynamic youth leader, a fact which earned him the admiration and respect of all. But those were difficult times of authoritarianism and oppression, and Jozsef Antall had to pay in arbitrary imprisonment for his dreams of democracy and freedom.

His love for his country grew in adversity, and he expressed it in books and articles on the most diverse of

issues: 350 books and essays on politics, education and history bear witness to the breadth of his talent and the depth of his love for his people. When the dawn of democracy shed its light upon Hungary, Mr. Antall found the atmosphere conducive to the development of his ability to take action in the guidance of his country. He was Prime Minister of Hungary from 1990 on. His work, his ideals and his successes will be remembered by all with gratitude and admiration.

On behalf of the States of Latin America and the Caribbean, I convey our deepest condolences to the Permanent Mission of Hungary and ask it to convey them to the bereaved family of Jozef Antall and to the Government and people of Hungary.

**The PRESIDENT:** I call on the representative of Portugal, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States.

**Mr. CATARINO** (Portugal): It is with deep sorrow that I wish to pay tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, Jozsef Antall, who passed away this week.

Prime Minister Antall, who was also President of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, was known for his courageous and combative posture in the accomplishment of difficult tasks. He always liked to participate in political talks and in the drawing up of domestic and foreign-policy-related activities, in which he assumed a leading and prominent role during the Hungarian revolution. He was a well-known writer who earned widespread recognition, notably, gaining many Hungarian, foreign and international prizes and awards.

I shall limit myself now to recalling the dynamic and persistent character of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his many endeavours in his country's democratization process.

I should like to conclude by expressing my Group's sincere and heartfelt condolences and feelings of sympathy to the Government and people of the Republic of Hungary and to the bereaved family of the late Prime Minister.

**The PRESIDENT:** I call on the representative of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

**Mrs. ALBRIGHT** (United States of America): I should like on behalf of the host country to convey to the Hungarian people and Government our sincere condolences and profound sorrow on the sad occasion of Prime Minister Antall's death. The Prime Minister's passing is a loss not

only to Hungary but also to democratic nations around the world.

As Hungary's first post-Communist Prime Minister, Mr. Antall will be remembered for his strong leadership and his commitment to freedom during these historic times. Prime Minister Antall was considered by Americans to have been a key figure in the historic transformation of Hungary into a true democracy. His dedication to the transatlantic relationship and his friendship with our country will always be remembered by the people of the United States. He was a friend to the United States and an active partner in the international effort to deepen and secure democracy, stability and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe. His loss will be greatly felt in Europe and here in the United States.

Our thoughts and prayers are with Prime Minister Antall's family and the people of Hungary at this difficult time.

**The PRESIDENT:** I call on the representative of Hungary to speak in reply.

**Mr. ERDÖS** (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): At this sad time for Hungary I should like to express sincere thanks for all the expressions of condolence and sorrow we have heard from you, Mr. President, the representatives of the regional Groups and the delegation of the host country, the United States. I shall convey those expressions to the bereaved family and to the people and Government of my country.

The late Prime Minister of Hungary, Mr. Jozsef Antall, was the first Hungarian Head of Government for many decades to be elected democratically. He had the unique and extraordinarily difficult task of guiding the country through a process of historic transition, which, it seemed, nothing could make any easier.

Mr. Antall's death is a great loss for democracy in Hungary. We pay tribute to his memory.

#### **AGENDA ITEM 44 (*continued*)**

### **STRENGTHENING OF THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

**(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/536)**

**(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.47)**

**The PRESIDENT:** Members will recall that the General Assembly concluded its debate on this agenda item at its 63rd meeting, held on 24 November.

I call on the representative of Canada to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.47.

**Mrs. FRECHETTE** (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to submit for the Assembly's consideration draft resolution A/48/L.47, on strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations.

I am happy to be able to submit a draft resolution sponsored by so many countries. I should like to draw attention to the fact that Azerbaijan and Japan wish to be added to the list of sponsors. The support of Colombia, on behalf of the Group of 77, of China and of the vast majority of the Western Group, as well as of many of our colleagues from Eastern Europe, is elegant proof - if proof were needed - that we can work together harmoniously when we are united in a common concern to solve problems of undoubted importance. We congratulate all Groups on their excellent participation in the preparation of this draft resolution.

The summer session of the Economic and Social Council helped greatly in defining the problems, identifying the core issues and finding the appropriate language for the draft resolution that is before the Assembly. This exercise was also an opportunity to confirm the validity of resolution 46/182 and of the guiding principles that it contains. In fact, the goal of the draft resolution that we are submitting today is quite simple; it is to affirm the guiding role to be played by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs in complex emergencies; to confirm that Department's mandate and responsibilities in the field of natural disasters; to invite the agencies to cooperate fully at all stages of an emergency; and, finally, to confirm the leadership role to be played by the Emergency Relief Coordinator.

Beyond these affirmations, it is up to the Assembly to evaluate, in particular, the performance and adequacy of the tools made available to the Coordinator. In this regard, the draft resolution points out that consolidated appeals are intended to meet the needs of all. However, it seeks to increase their impact by demanding that they be based increasingly on immediate needs in the field. It also notes the considerable increase in the utilization of the Revolving Fund, identifies measures that should be taken to speeding up repayment and requests the Secretary-General to conduct consultations. Finally, the draft resolution requests the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, in full conformity with its mandate, to find a solution to the financing of the rapid response in the initial stage of an emergency.

The reality of the problem and the urgent need to find a solution are universally acknowledged. The draft resolution opts for an interim solution, which has the advantage of tackling the immediate problem while permitting the Department of Humanitarian Affairs to draw from the interest earned by the emergency Fund - though with a duty to preserve the Fund's revolving nature. Nobody is in any doubt that the Department of Humanitarian Affairs must not become involved at an operational level. Moreover, the provision in question takes great care to specify that this facility should be used only in exceptional circumstances - essentially in the initial stage of an emergency, where insufficient capacity exists at the field level.

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee must - as the draft resolution requests it to do - find a comprehensive and definitive solution for managing and financing the crucial problem of rapid response, and that this be done by the time of the Economic and Social Council's substantive session in the summer of 1994.

Speaking of the role of ECOSOC, I conclude with an idea for the General Assembly's consideration: in the future, the Economic and Social Council could be entrusted with the primary responsibility for considering humanitarian affairs questions, given that this is, above all, a question of coordination. Within the framework of the implementation of the resolution on restructuring and revitalizing the economic and social sector, this idea could be given the attention it deserves in the perspective of a better division of work between the General Assembly and ECOSOC.

**The PRESIDENT:** The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.47. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution by consensus?

**Draft resolution A/48/L.47 was adopted** (resolution 48/57).

**Mr. NOTERDAEME** (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union, which welcomes the adoption of this resolution and thanks all the groups that contributed to the drafting of this text. Special thanks go to the delegation of Canada, which spared no effort to achieve this result.

We take this opportunity to thank Mr. Eliasson most sincerely for his efforts in the implementation of United Nations humanitarian assistance. It is quite certain that this aspect of United Nations activities would not have had the same impact without his determination and dedication. With perseverance, he gave new impetus to United Nations

humanitarian assistance and added his personal touch to recent activities.

His task has not always been easy. Mr. Eliasson made a decisive contribution to the drafting of resolution 46/182 and was subsequently called upon to implement it. New concepts were introduced and needed to be established. Mr. Eliasson did so most convincingly. He was also called upon to deal with broad-ranging emergencies and he certainly contributed to the preparation of the United Nations system for addressing emergencies, be they major and complex or natural disasters.

We wish him all the best in his new duties and we hope that his successor will continue along the same path. Now that the framework has been established, that person will be faced with implementing and improving United Nations humanitarian assistance. Several aspects have yet to be settled and could be further improved. That person must have an in-depth knowledge of the United Nations system and at the same time be capable to carry on diplomatic activities at the highest level. He must also have vision and a constructive imagination if he is to anticipate crises and react to emergency situations. He must also be able to deal promptly with management problems that remain within the Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

The European Union is convinced that the Secretary-General will appoint the most capable person for confronting this difficult and often onerous task.

**The PRESIDENT:** May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 44?

*It was so decided.*

#### **AGENDA ITEMS 38 AND 39 (continued)**

#### **ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND Non-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA**

- (a) **REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/48/22)**
- (b) **REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/48/43)**
- (c) **REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/467 and Add.1, A/48/523, A/48/691)**

**(d) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL AND DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (FOURTH COMMITTEE) (A/48/657)**

**(e) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/48/L.29, A/48/L.30, A/48/L.31/Rev.1, A/48/L/36)**

**UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA**

**(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/48/524)**

**(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/48/L.37)**

*Mr. BATU* (Turkey): Turkey has given continuous support to efforts aimed at the total elimination of the apartheid system and has, on all available occasions, participated actively in the debate on this item in the General Assembly.

It is a source of particular pleasure for my delegation that the Multi-party Negotiating Process in South Africa has been successfully completed and that the agreements on an Interim Constitution and an Electoral Bill have been concluded. These agreements constitute a historic step forward in establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

It is our sincere hope that all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, should respect agreements reached during these negotiations, recommit themselves to democratic principles, take part in the elections to be held in April next year, and resolve their internal problems by peaceful means. We support the process of peaceful democratic change in South Africa, which, we believe, is for the benefit of all South Africans.

The unanimous decision of the General Assembly to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa on 8 October was an appropriate response on the part of the international community to the historic progress in that country. It was also a strong signal to the South African people that the international community as a whole and the United Nations in particular are ready to assist them in the economic reconstruction of their country.

In accordance with that same decision - resolution 48/1 - and as a result of the Transitional Executive Council's assuming its functions, the embargo on the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa was also lifted a few days ago. We hope that the Transitional Executive Council will succeed in making the necessary arrangements for the

first free and fair elections and assist the Government until 27 April 1994.

The lifting of economic and financial sanctions has opened the door for assistance in addressing the socio-economic problems of South Africa. We believe that financial and other forms of help will be needed in the areas of human-resource development, employment, health and housing. Turkey firmly believes that with the dedicated efforts of all their political parties and the active support of the international community, South Africans will succeed in creating a non-racial, democratic and prosperous society.

The creation of a climate of peace during the period leading to the elections is essential. The continuing violence which has already claimed too many lives and which threatens the process of political settlement in South Africa must not be allowed to derail the process of peaceful transition. The international community has a right to expect all South Africans to contribute to the efforts to establish the peaceful and non-violent conditions that are essential for democratic elections.

We firmly believe that the international community will continue to support the final stage of the democratic process in South Africa. In this framework, all the parties in South Africa should solemnly commit themselves to this goal.

*Mr. CISSE* (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The international community, having resolutely and consistently supported all the efforts to eradicate apartheid from South Africa, now has every reason to rejoice at the current developments in that country, which is gradually finding its place once again in the community of civilized nations.

This feeling of satisfaction is shared by Senegal, and it is all the more justified because South Africa is currently at a turning point in its history, with the signing on 18 November 1993 of the agreement on an interim constitution and the organization, for the first time in that country, of multi-party, free and democratic elections, scheduled for 27 April 1994.

This now irreversible process is to lead to the establishment of a government that represents the deepest aspirations of all sectors of South African society. It can be attributed primarily to the sacrifices made by South African men, women and children, and in particular to the maturity and political courage of President Frederik F. W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress.

The awarding of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize to these two major statesmen attests, if there were any need for it, to

the hopes born of their resolve to lead the South African people out of the troubled waters of apartheid. Happily, the international community understood very well what was involved when it responded favourably to the appeal made on this very spot by Mr. Nelson Mandela for the lifting of economic, trade and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa within a time-frame which has now almost elapsed.

This step-by-step response has the advantage of helping to make the achievements irreversible and of promoting the success of the April 1994 elections. It also makes it possible to create favourable working conditions for the government that will emerge from the elections. However, we must take care that difficulties do not crop up along the way, because, *inter alia*, of the determination of those who oppose the democratization of South African society to undermine what has been achieved so far.

That is why the international community must maintain constant vigilance and must, when necessary, do everything possible to stop the violence and its attendant cortège of victims, which could endanger everything. All the violence must be brought to an end quickly so that all sectors of South African society can, in dignity and clearly, exercise their free choice and establish a united, democratic and non-racial society. The strengthening of the agreement signed on 18 November 1993 to establish an interim constitution and to prepare for the forthcoming elections depends on this.

In this connection, I would congratulate all the parties involved in the negotiating process, and I would also invite those which have not yet joined it to become part of this movement of progress and realism so that the political maturity of the South African people can be reinforced and the work of the international community can be duly validated.

This is a task that must be accomplished so that after 27 April 1994 South Africa, a country with enormous potential, can become reconciled with the rest of Africa and the world, where it is called upon to play a large part. Political courage is necessary if the transition is to be successful, and if a fitting tribute is to be paid to the men, women and children who valiantly gave their lives for the victory of democracy.

I cannot conclude without paying a special tribute to Presidents Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk who, with perceptiveness and determination, have undertaken to lead their great country towards reconciliation, national unity, progress and forgiveness and have thereby given us great hope. Senegal, which has always supported the anti-apartheid struggle and has taken many initiatives to help establish the conditions for a frank and constructive dialogue

between all the parties concerned, placed its faith in these two major leaders very early on. For that reason, I would like to express to them here once again our support and full solidarity as well as our encouragement and best wishes for success in their noble enterprise of building a free, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, reconciled within itself and with the world.

I would also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, particularly its dynamic Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, for the work it has done. I pay a tribute also to all those within the United Nations who contributed to exerting the necessary pressure on the advocates of apartheid until the results we welcome today were achieved.

**Mr. ABDELLAH** (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour today to speak on behalf of the delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union, Mauritania, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Algeria and my country, Tunisia, in the context of the Assembly's consideration of the question of the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Our Organization, which, over the past 30 years, has taken to heart the question of South Africa by mobilizing the international community, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations in a united front against the policy of apartheid, has, since the changes which have taken place in that country, devoted its activities to an intensive, pro-democratic campaign aimed at creating a new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We welcome the fact that the unflagging work of the Organization, in which our five countries played an active part within a national framework, within the Arab Maghreb Union or even within regional organizations, has led to the encouraging results that we are witnessing today in South Africa.

Though the Assembly has lived through the various painful events of the policy of apartheid as an institutionalized system, it has also been fortunate enough to witness, during this session, the common commitment of leader Nelson Mandela and President Frederik de Klerk and of the people they represent to ensure the establishment of a new society united by the same values and the same ideals.

The phase we are witnessing today has given the political evolution in South Africa a universal dimension, because it is in accordance with the objectives for which our Organization and all its Member States have fought. In fact, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid are proof of the concerted efforts and the commitment of the international community in these areas to ensure that equal rights for all peoples are guaranteed in a framework of peace, justice, equity and respect for human rights.

We have taken due note of the fact that the anachronistic laws of the apartheid regime have been repealed. That breakthrough, which was mandated by decisive and positive international pressure, encouraged the various opposing parties to move ahead with their irrevocable commitment to ensure the country's transition towards democracy and equality of opportunities, independently of race or colour.

The various achievements which followed this stage, thanks to dialogue, to cooperation and the acceptance of others, made possible multi-party constitutional negotiations based on the principle of the participation of all and on mutual respect.

It is in this spirit that our five countries welcomed the establishment and the functioning of the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa, the first institutionalized framework which will finally, and for the first time, enable the majority to participate at the governmental level in a process which will determine the future of the country.

The countries of the Arab Maghreb Union quite rightly feel that this Executive Council will play a leading and historic role in guiding the country in a spirit of national unity while awaiting the outcome of the first non-racial elections in South Africa next April. We hope that free and democratic elections will contribute to stabilizing the situation in South Africa.

These positive events must not, however, lead us to excessive euphoria. In fact, in the opinion of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, the situation in South Africa and the scope of violence there remain a source of great concern to the international community. This same assessment is corroborated by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, who believes that the efforts of the international community must not diminish in this decisive phase. Finally, leader Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk did not fail to note the dangers facing the transition in South Africa, as the democratization process continues to raise concerns among minorities and among factions who are still resisting change.

Indeed, acts of violence over the recent period have heightened the atmosphere of fear in South Africa, at a time when the most important decisions are being taken and when

the most remarkable progress is being made - and that despite the appeals for peace and reconciliation heard on all sides and despite the presence of the United Nations Observer Mission, entrusted with supervising the Peace Accord and increasing security and stability in the country during the transition period.

Aware of the threats that still loom over the democratic process in South Africa, the delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union launch a solemn appeal to all parties to oppose the adversaries of democracy to contain the wave of violence and in this way to preserve the achievements reached at the cost of great sacrifice and indescribable suffering. We feel that in a world headed towards a more serene and interdependent future, there is no longer a place for the anachronistic and devastating idea that one particular area should belong exclusively to one ethnic, religious or cultural group at the exclusion of another. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most telling testimony of the devastation that such an idea can lead to.

The international community has shown its full understanding of the South African tragedy, in particular by responding to the appeal launched by leader Nelson Mandela from this very rostrum for the lifting of economic sanctions. It was to encourage political tolerance and to enable the South African people to channel their determination and their efforts towards reconstruction that the historic decision to lift sanctions was taken. And it is in this same spirit that in February 1993 the decision was made to halt the boycotting of sports and cultural activities in South Africa. However, we deem it necessary for all parties in South Africa, in particular the new extreme-right groups, to fully understand and appreciate this initiative, which remains contingent on the peaceful pursuance of the transition.

The delegations of the Arab Maghreb Union would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization and to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their tireless efforts in ensuring the resumption of peaceful negotiations. Our delegations feel that the question today before our Assembly must be one of the priorities of the international community. The precariousness of the situation in this transitional phase calls for further vigilance and determination on our part. We appeal to all parties to take duly into consideration the present and future challenges they must meet in a fully responsible manner.

We hope that very soon South Africa will truly be a homeland for all South Africans, regardless of their colour or their ethnic background. In its regained dignity and in the commitment of a people that has been reconciled, South Africa will then be able to rejoin the international community with full rights. This will represent a victory not

only for all South Africans but also for all of Africa and for the entire international community.

**Mr. MWAUNGULU** (Malawi): The Special Committee against Apartheid should be commended for its report (A/48/22) on the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, should also be commended for the unflinching leadership and guidance he has provided. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the United Nations system and the international community have, over the course of years, made enormous contributions to the fight against apartheid and to the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. On behalf of my Government, my delegation wishes to thank them all for the successes that are in sight. At the same time, we urge them to face the challenges that still remain.

My delegation recognizes that the issue of South Africa is a complex one. The only historical parallels reside in the similarities between the struggles of peoples everywhere throughout the centuries against oppression and injustice. Apartheid was a heinous and cruel system that man designed against his fellow man.

There is some history in the southern African situation that, in the view of my delegation, is relevant at this stage. The Union of South Africa, which was let go by the British in 1910, was the model for the Central African Federation, which the British Government, in collaboration with the settlers in Southern Rhodesia, imposed in 1953 on the African majority in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The Africans opposed and defeated that scheme, and it came to an ignominious end in 1963. The Central African Federation would have been a copy-cat dominion or union, similar in every way to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

An important historical perspective on the South African issue is also to be found in the following words used by Sir Harold Macmillan, a former British Prime Minister, in an address to a joint session of the South African Parliament in February 1960:

"The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it."

Those words represent courage and foresight. They were spoken at a time when the national struggle was asserting itself strongly in the whole of Africa and more and more African countries were on the road to independent

statehood. My own country, Malawi, was in this category. In South Africa itself, the African National Congress, under Mr. Nelson Mandela, and other leaders and other political parties were waging a determined struggle against oppression and injustice rooted in apartheid, in the face - at the time - of a brutal and violent response from the regime. The words of the British Prime Minister were lost as soon as they were uttered.

There is another historical perspective in the case of southern Africa. In May 1972, in Bulawayo, Mr. Ian Smith, at the time Prime Minister, made a statement that continues to haunt him to this day. He said that independence for Southern Rhodesia would not occur - "not in my lifetime, not in a thousand years". We all know that his thousand years turned out to be a mere eight, and Mr. Ian Smith is still alive today, living comfortably and safely in an independent Zimbabwe. This is a good message to the right-wing groups in South Africa which are bent on torpedoing the great achievements that have, against all odds, taken place. The members of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), the Conservative Party and their allies have nothing to fear but fear itself. Violence and the threats of civil war should not be allowed to succeed in South Africa. These negative forces must be made to heed the call by the United Nations and the entire international community to cooperate and take part in the Multi-party Negotiating Process and the Transitional Executive Council and work for the successful implementation of the interim constitution and the general election scheduled for 27 April 1994.

On behalf of the Malawi Government, my delegation salutes Mr. De Klerk, President of the Republic of South Africa, and salutes that great son of Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC), for the political will and determination they have shown, against all odds, in spearheading the political process of change in South Africa - which, we all hope, will lead to a successful general election in April of next year. It is indeed fitting that their achievements, which must include the other political parties and groupings closely involved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process, have been crowned by a Nobel Peace Prize.

My delegation, however, recognizes that there is a great deal of work to be done before and leading up to 27 April 1994. The Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority can work effectively only if they receive all the support necessary and the resources they need to function. The stemming of violence should be priority number one. This is a matter that the South Africans themselves should resolve.



People of goodwill everywhere would like to see a peaceful transition to a multi-party, non-racial and democratic South Africa, with a government elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Admittedly, the role of the Transitional Executive Council is crucial, particularly the work of the Sub-Councils on Law and Order, Stability and Security, on Defence and on Intelligence. Those structures should be seen to be working for all South Africans in the control and eventual elimination of violence. The success of the democratic process in South Africa depends on how effectively they are made to function. The South African Government carries the heaviest responsibility in this regard.

My delegation supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in the preparations he is currently making to increase the level and magnitude of United Nations assistance to South Africa in the run-up to the general election in April next year. There is need, therefore, to enhance and strengthen the United Nations organizational presence in South Africa. My delegation fully supports the Security Council initiative in this respect.

My delegation believes that the more electoral observers there are in the field, the better. The call by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid in this regard is timely. The international community, particularly the European Union, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Organization of African Unity, among other bodies, should also take the lead in this endeavour. It is extremely important at this stage to take all the actions necessary to ensure that the general election in April next year is held in a peaceful atmosphere and that its outcome is seen to be free and fair.

It will be a long time before the deep wounds of apartheid are healed for both black and white. My delegation strongly believes that national reconciliation must go hand in hand with national reconstruction and a fair and equitable distribution of the country's tremendous wealth to those who have been denied for too long, the majority African population. This is a challenge the South Africans can meet themselves, but only with the help of the United Nations system, the international financial institutions and bilateral donors.

Finally, my delegation would like to add its voice to calls made in this Hall by other delegations for the Committee on the elimination of apartheid not to end its mission prematurely - at least, not just yet.

**Mr. LI Zhaoxing** (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Thanks to the long and steady efforts made by the South African people and the international community, positive changes have taken place in South Africa. Since July this year, multi-party negotiations have been held in South

Africa, and it was agreed through these negotiations that the non-racial election, the first of its kind in the history of South Africa, is to be held on 27 April 1994. At the same time, leaders of 19 South African parties have ratified a package agreement which contains the draft constitution. Recently, the Transitional Executive Council was officially established. The Chinese Government warmly welcomes these major developments in the South African peace process.

China has all along sympathized with and supported the South African people in their just struggle against apartheid and for racial equality and democratic rights, and has always favoured the peace process in South Africa. We laud the determination and endeavour of the African National Congress (ANC) and other South African parties concerned for the political settlement of the question of South Africa. We also appreciate the series of reform measures adopted by President De Klerk since he took office.

At present, the peace process is still faced with many difficulties. The continued occurrence of violence poses a threat to it, and China condemns any attempt to undermine that peace process. We sincerely hope that all the parties in South Africa will bury the hatchet, overcome difficulties, adopt effective measures to stop violence, implement the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and observe the agreements already reached to create conditions through the effective work of the Transitional Executive Council so that the general election will be held smoothly and on schedule. We also hope that a new, unified, democratic and non-racial South Africa will be established, thus contributing to peace, stability and economic growth in Africa.

The United Nations has done a great deal of useful work in eliminating the policy of apartheid and in promoting a political solution to the South African question, and that work is highly appreciated by the international community. China has consistently supported and appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary-General for the settlement of the South African question and has attached special importance to the role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and African States.

On 24 September this year, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC, delivered an important statement during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, urging the international community to consider the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa. That appeal has received a broad and positive response, and the relevant General Assembly resolution was adopted by consensus. On 28 October this year, the concerned departments of the Chinese Government announced the decision to resume China's economic and trade relations with South Africa. We

shall also actively promote direct trade exchanges and economic cooperation between the Chinese and South African economic and trade enterprises. China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, will continue to work with other members of the international community and contribute to an early political solution to the South African question.

**Mr. MARKER** (Pakistan): Four decades ago the United Nations first addressed itself to the issue of South Africa and the evil of apartheid. Four days ago, Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk received the Nobel Peace Prize. This occasion signalled the closure of a long and painful chapter in the history of South Africa. The leaders of the two communities, who had for years related to each other in hostility and distrust, were jointly honoured for their efforts to create a new South Africa. My delegation salutes these two courageous statesmen for their courage and vision in steering South Africa from the dark forces of apartheid and moving it towards freedom, tolerance and equality.

The ceremony in Oslo was an apt acknowledgement of the many positive developments that have taken place in South Africa recently. On 18 November the participants in the multi-party negotiations ratified an agreement on a transitional constitution in South Africa. The constitution sets out the political culture of a free South Africa. The will of the people will be reflected in the national parliament comprising the national assembly and the senate. Every South African will have the right to elect his representatives, in both the national and the provincial legislatures. A government of national unity will rule the country for five years, until the promulgation of a permanent constitution. The Bill of Fundamental Human Rights, which constitutes an integral part of the constitution, guarantees equality of race, freedom of speech, an independent judiciary and universal franchise. These are the hallmarks of a truly democratic polity.

The provisions of the interim constitution embrace the attributes of a free and egalitarian society. We earnestly hope that the elections of 27 April 1994, following which the interim constitution will become operational, will be held on time and in a free and fair manner. There are, of course, fringe elements in South Africa that have yet to shed the bias and the prejudices inherent in apartheid. We are confident that the people of South Africa will not allow these elements to derail the process of peaceful change in the country.

It is also incumbent upon the international community to give full and wholehearted support for the consolidation of the democratic process in South Africa. In this context, we fully support the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid for the deployment of a

sizeable United Nations force for monitoring the elections in April next year. This world body, which has invested so much of its prestige and resources in support of peaceful change in South Africa, should oversee the final steps towards a democratic, multiracial society.

We also support the view that the United Nations monitors should be in place well in advance of the election date. We are happy to note that the Secretary-General has already begun preparations for undertaking this important task.

Sanctions played an important role in the demise of apartheid; they have now been lifted. The oil embargo was also nullified with the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, which held its first meeting just a few days ago. The international community will have to go far beyond the lifting of the sanctions. Large-scale economic and technical cooperation will be required for putting South Africa on the road to sustainable development. The economic powers, the financial institutions, private banks, and multinational companies will now have to play their full role in the revitalization of South Africa.

The world should now move from censure to support. We should not allow the repetition of the recent phenomenon of political independence being undermined by economic failure. In view of our intense involvement in South Africa, it is our moral and political responsibility to ensure that a prosperous and progressive South Africa rises from the ashes of apartheid.

Pakistan has been a strong and steadfast supporter of international efforts to end apartheid in South Africa. That commitment is reflected, *inter alia*, in our long-standing presence in the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. We have participated actively in the deliberations of that Committee, which has tangibly benefited the South African people. It is important to ensure that the Fund continues to extend substantial legal, humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of apartheid in South Africa, in particular to the returning refugees and exiles. In that context, I would like to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Peter Osvald of Sweden for providing inspiring leadership to the Committee in its effort to extend assistance to the disadvantaged segments of South African society.

We share the hope expressed by Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria in his statement yesterday that the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly will complete the consideration of the item on apartheid; it should soon be possible to delete this item from our agenda. If it is indeed to be retained, then that should be as an example of the ascendancy of the forces of tolerance and cooperation and as

a tribute to the statesmanship and vision of the exceptionally able political leadership which South Africa was privileged to witness at this sensitive stage in its history. It is our hope that at the forty-ninth session South Africa will be represented by a freely elected democratic Government and that the pain and the anguish of apartheid will be behind us for ever.

**Mr. VILCHEZ ASHER** (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am honoured to make this statement on behalf of the countries of Central America: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Panama and Nicaragua.

The countries of Central America - especially Nicaragua, as a member of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa - are very pleased to be celebrating the fact that the odious system of racial segregation is coming to its inevitable end in South Africa.

The current positive developments in South Africa give us a credible basis for greater hopes of a brighter future, with the advent of a democratic, truly united, non-racial South Africa. That objective will be attained by a gradual process, in which the April 1994 elections will be a fundamental step; for the first time there will be free and fair democratic elections in which, also for the first time, the black South African majority will be able to exercise the right to vote. Those elections will enable the South African people to establish the first multi-racial Government in their political history.

The current process began with a multi-party dialogue, with the participation of the main South African political and other organizations, representing about 90 per cent of the population. Important steps were agreed upon by consensus, with the final aim of establishing a Government of national unity. An interim Constitution was drafted, also on the basis of consensus among the parties; this demonstrates the democratic nature of the process.

The final constitution will be drafted by a constituent assembly in an innovative process that incorporates mechanisms to avoid or overcome obstacles. A 60 per cent majority vote will be required for approval. This will enrich the constitutional debate and will help define further change in South Africa.

We pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, the undoubted leader of the South African people, without whose presence and leadership it would be nearly impossible to imagine what we are celebrating today. Imprisoned for 25 years for defending and fighting for his noble ideals, he shows us that great causes such as justice and human rights cannot fail to triumph in the end. With patience, humility and

perseverance, emphasizing dialogue and marginalizing the violence of which he and his followers were victims, Mandela and his people achieved what many would consider a miracle: the end of apartheid.

The sacrifices of Nelson Mandela and many others were not in vain. Just a few days ago the Nobel Prize Committee awarded him, together with President Frederik de Klerk, its highest honour, also honouring, through them, all those South African citizens, whatever their colour, who struggled for the elimination of apartheid because of their conviction that all human beings are equal and that there is not, and never can be, a superior race.

Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk have earned a place not merely in the history of South Africa, but in the history of mankind. Their words and deeds will be a model for all those who firmly believe in peace, national reconciliation, democracy, justice and human rights. The end of apartheid comes as a result of the enormous effort of the South African people, of the mature and dedicated leadership of Nelson Mandela and Frederik de Klerk, and of the sustained support of the international community.

There have been meaningful steps forward on the long road to freedom for the South African majority: the date of the elections has been announced, electoral agreements have been adopted and the Transitional Executive Council has been established. All this makes change in South Africa irreversible. But nevertheless there are grounds for caution and constant vigilance by the international community. Political violence continues, along with threats to derail the transition to democracy. Therefore, the struggle must continue against the historic enemies of the South African people: poverty, injustice and human rights violations.

In our view, the United Nations must continue, despite what has been achieved, to help solve the problems of South Africa and attain the objectives of the General Assembly's Declaration on Apartheid, adopted by consensus in 1989, and all the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The United Nations must also play a central role in monitoring the April 1994 elections. In that connection, we welcomed the appeal by the President of the Security Council for flexibility in planning United Nations participation in the April 1994 elections, and the Secretary-General's replies in that connection.

The countries of Central America wish to take this historic opportunity to congratulate the Special Committee against Apartheid on the work it has done. We also congratulate the Secretary-General and all the countries that have participated in, and continue to support, the building of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We pay

tribute also to the people of South Africa, who with valour and resolve have been struggling for their goals of freedom and justice, eager for and committed to national reconciliation and democracy.

Despite everything else that has happened, 1993 has been a positive year. The Israel-Palestine agreement and its subsequent developments, despite problems and pitfalls, and the irreversible end of apartheid are special events ensuring that 1993 will be long remembered - in spite of the continuing crises in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Western Sahara, Liberia, Somalia and the fact that there are other unresolved conflicts. We hope that, by the efforts of their peoples, and leaders and with the cooperation of the international community, it will be possible to resolve them so that we can consolidate the new international order for which we yearn so earnestly. In his statement at the Johannesburg World Trade Centre on 17 November, Nelson Mandela said:

"We can build a society based on brotherhood and our common nature, a society based on tolerance. That is the only road open to us. It is a road to a glorious future on our beautiful planet. Let us join hands and walk forward into the future."

**Mr. WLOSOWICZ** (Poland): Let me begin by expressing my delegation's conviction that this is the last time the General Assembly will be addressing the question of apartheid. This dark chapter of history, this heinous crime against humanity, has reached the point of no return and will soon be closed. It will always be seen as the strongest warning to mankind's future generations. We will remember the victims of apartheid and the heroes who have fallen in their long and painful struggle against this scourge.

As significant developments are gaining momentum in South Africa, we expect an early dawn of a new era for this country as a free, democratic, non-racial State that is a true home for all its inhabitants, regardless of the colour of their skin.

On 24 September Mr. Nelson Mandela, in his address to the Special Committee against Apartheid delivered from this very rostrum, referred to the historic changes that had occurred in his country and called upon the international community to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa.

On 19 November, agreement was reached on an interim constitution for South Africa. While difficulties still remain, this constitutes a new stage in the transition to a non-racial society.

On 7 December the meeting of the 32-member Transitional Executive Council (TEC) took place, ending nearly three centuries of white-monopoly rule in South Africa. We are certain that the Council will show its effectiveness in overseeing the running of the country until democratic elections take place next April. Since the multilateral Council has become operational, Poland fully supports the decision to terminate the oil embargo against South Africa.

I would like to salute the wisdom and courage of Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk for achieving such considerable progress in the peaceful dissolution of white minority rule, the system that brought pain and humiliation to millions. In our view the Nobel Peace Prize could not have been given to better hands.

South Africa's road to democracy is facing crucial tests. Right-wing white and conservative black leaders are threatening to unleash a campaign of civil disobedience and even armed resistance if the Government implements majority rule without accommodating white minority demands for self-determination. We hope that the Inkatha Freedom Party and an array of Afrikaner separatists and supremacists will refrain from boycotting elections and from the armed insurrection that has been hinted at. It is our strongest conviction that only peaceful negotiations and the cooperation of all parties concerned will bring a solution to the violence which generates a climate hostile to the democratic process in South Africa. The United Nations should continue its active involvement in that process, including the supervision of the elections to take place in April 1994. Poland, if requested, will be ready to provide a number of election monitors for that purpose.

**Mrs. Fréchette** (Canada), *Vice-President, took the Chair.*

In conclusion, please allow me to express the opinion that lasting peace and prosperity for South Africa and the entire region will not be assured if systemic reforms are not supported by economic growth and a speedy solution of the exacerbated socio-economic problems of that country. The state of South Africa's economy must be seen in a wider international context, especially a pan-African context. The United Nations system should be ready to address this issue when South Africa once again becomes an equal partner and a member of the international community.

**Mr. NYAKYI** (United Republic of Tanzania): The remarkable progress made in the last few years, and particularly since 1989, towards the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, can be gauged from the nature of the debate in the Assembly, the number and content of the resolutions

adopted and the voting pattern of Member States on the resolutions on apartheid. At the height of apartheid repression and oppression in the 1980s, the number of political resolutions adopted annually by the General Assembly ranged from 8 to 12. Last year, the number dropped to 5. This year the Assembly is being called upon to adopt only 2 such resolutions. This is an indication of the emerging consensus that the developments that have taken place in South Africa since this time last year constitute the profound and irreversible changes envisaged in the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

The agreement reached in the Negotiating Council on an interim constitution and for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission, an Independent Broadcasting Authority and a Transitional Executive Council, as well as the enactment by Parliament of the necessary legislation enabling the establishment of these transitional structures, together constitute a profound transformation of the situation in South Africa. While the road to the final destination remains long and treacherous, it cannot be denied that, whatever happens in that country, things will never be the same again.

For this achievement, my delegation congratulates all the parties in the negotiations, in particular the representatives of the long-oppressed and disenfranchised majority people of South Africa, for their perseverance and capacity for compromise throughout the protracted negotiations, which have made possible the achievement of these historic agreements.

We welcome the convening in Cape Town on Tuesday, 7 December 1993, of the inaugural meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The media are guilty of an exaggeration in characterizing the meeting as marking "the end of minority rule in South Africa". The more accurate description is that of the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Cyril Ramaphosa, himself a member of the TEC. Many of us will agree with him that Tuesday, 7 December 1993, "marks the beginning of the end of minority rule". This was underlined by the statement of his Government counterpart, Roef Meyer, that the task of the TEC was to level the political playing field and that it was not an alternative Government.

We in the Assembly urge the speedy establishment of the other transitional structures. While all of them have important and urgent functions to perform, there can be little doubt that the most pressing tasks at the moment relate to the electoral process. The date 27 April 1994 is just around the corner, and the massive preparations required are yet to begin. The Assembly must therefore use the present debate to urge the TEC to speed up the establishment of the

Independent Electoral Commission, so that the electoral process can get under way.

But the rest of us need not wait for that to happen before we set in motion the preparations for our own contribution to the process. The people of South Africa, through the Negotiating Council, have called for the involvement of the international community in the preparations for and conduct of the elections.

As the Multi-Party Negotiating Council resolution adopted on 6 December 1993 makes clear, the United Nations is expected to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process, and is also called upon to coordinate all international observers and, as a matter of urgency, to put in place the necessary arrangements to that effect, in particular ensuring that the international observers are deployed in an effective and coordinated manner in close cooperation with the Independent Electoral Commission. This responsibility entails a lot of work which will require a great deal of detailed planning. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his decision to dispatch a needs-assessment mission to South Africa and expresses the hope that it will report at the earliest possible date.

The fact that progress towards a new South Africa has been made does not mean that we can now lower our guard. Vigilance remains essential, not only because the destination is still far off, but also because there are still serious obstacles along the way that threaten to derail the process.

One of them is the endemic violence which continues to tear the country apart. Too many lives have been lost in this violence - 13,000 since President De Klerk came to power. The world cannot allow this senseless carnage to go on. In the run-up to the elections in April next year, it is especially important that everything be done to stop the violence in order to provide an atmosphere for free political activity.

As many delegations have stressed in the debate on violence in South Africa over the last eight years or so, while all South Africans have a responsibility for ending the violence, the primary responsibility lies with the Government of South Africa. It is the authority responsible for ensuring the security and safety of all its citizens and it must be called upon to exercise that responsibility.

Until President De Klerk's recent admission of the existence of a third force, the Government consistently denied that it had a hand in fomenting the politically inspired violence which has plagued the townships since the mid-1980s. Yet the evidence of an invisible hand in the so-called black-on-black violence was so compelling that the

Government's continued denial of the complicity or connivance of the security forces and their surrogates convinced only the naive. Regrettably, the admission has not affected the situation materially. Many of the Goldstone Commission's recommendations have yet to be implemented. The foreign mercenaries that have been used to foment violence remain in the country. The failure to investigate reports on violence, some implicating leading Government ministers in political assassinations, suggests more than indifference on the part of the Government.

Looming on the horizon as a very serious threat to the peace process is a new type of violence represented by organized right-wing forces led by former members of the South African Defence Forces (SADF). The international community has had ample warning about the intentions of these forces, particularly as they relate to the electoral process. Everything possible must be done to deter them.

All the foregoing means that there is an urgent need to increase the presence of the international community in South Africa and to raise its visibility. External monitoring of the violence has helped to deter it, to some extent. But it has not been adequate. The need to do more, especially in the face of threats to disrupt the electoral process is self-evident.

The expectation that, in addition to its continuing role in monitoring the violence, the United Nations should play a central role in the electoral process imposes a particular responsibility on the Organization. My delegation urges the United Nations to take up the challenge and pledges its full support for these efforts.

The United Nations presence in South Africa at the moment is very small. We welcome the arrangements now being made to raise it to 100. Still, it will be too small to meet the challenge, which is difficult enough at the moment but is certain to be made more difficult by the problems of the electoral process.

We do not wish to anticipate the report of the Secretary-General's needs-assessment mission to South Africa, but it is quite clear that the people of South Africa have very high expectations about what the Organization can do to help in the peace process. We must not disappoint them.

The international community got it wrong in Angola. The result has been that the people of Angola have had to pay a heavy price - 1,000 people dying every day. Our getting it wrong enabled Jonas Savimbi to cry "foul". The prestige and moral authority of the United Nations also suffered as a consequence. We must get it right in South Africa, not only because we have the bitter lesson of Angola

to learn from, but also because we cannot afford to get it wrong there. The consequences of getting it wrong in South Africa are too frightening to contemplate. We must deny Savimbi's South African counterparts any excuse to cry "foul".

To do so, we must endeavour to station at least one monitor at every polling station. Money may be tight, but my delegation believes that the world community can afford the costs involved, if only because the alternative, a racial conflagration, will be far more costly. We have invested so much in the peace process in South Africa that we cannot afford to fail on the eve of success.

**Mr. GAFFAR** (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Over the past two years, South Africa has been witnessing more and more political reforms, the most important of which were the repeal of the apartheid laws and the initiation of constitutional talks which have led to the agreement on the draft interim constitution, the electoral bill, and the agreement on holding constitutional elections on 27 April 1994.

All these agreements have led to the formation of the Transitional Executive Council, which brings together currents of opinion that represent all the segments of the populace to share in the responsibility of monitoring the performance of the executive authority during the transitional period. We welcome the creation of that Council which will contribute to the process of constitutional reforms.

We attach particular importance to the recent agreement relating to the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa, which we consider to be the beginning of a new era in South Africa's history that will take shape on the rubble of three centuries of apartheid rule. This agreement will lead also to the restoration of national unity and peace in South Africa.

It is only fair to say that these developments stem from the sincere desire of all the people of South Africa to put the past behind them and to turn a new leaf in their relations with each other through the initiation of profound and far-reaching political changes. We cannot but reiterate our support for the process of constitutional reform currently under way in South Africa, and we hope that all the parties concerned will reach solutions to all the outstanding technical problems relating to those reforms.

The recent constitutional reforms in South Africa have led the international community to change its stance with regard to the restrictions previously imposed on South Africa. The aim of this is to encourage that country to pursue further the reform process. That was most manifest in the historic resolution 48/1, adopted at the beginning of

this session, in which the General Assembly set forth the principles for lifting the prohibitions and sanctions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals in the areas of trade, investment, finance, travel and transportation. The resolution also provided for lifting the embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and on investment in the petroleum industry there as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

In this respect we must congratulate the people of South Africa most warmly on the constitutional reforms that have been achieved so far. The international community has made clear its position *vis-à-vis* the importance of those encouraging developments by lifting the economic and oil embargo against South Africa and by acting in a manner that is truly consonant with the wishes of the people of South Africa. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General to assist the people of South Africa in the overall process of political change. We must also commend the efforts of the Observer Mission in South Africa to further the political process there.

The negative trend that emerged in the process of political change in South Africa could have affected adversely the process of reform were it not for the wisdom shown by the leaders of the various South African political parties. That negative trend was the killing and violence that has claimed the lives of many innocent victims over the past few months because of their ethnic origins or tribal affiliation. While we support the process of political and constitutional reform in South Africa, we cannot but voice our deep concern over the continuing cycle of violence and killing in that country. In this respect, we should like to underline the importance for all parties to exercise self-restraint and to forgo such acts of killing, so that they may ensure the success of the political reform process. We also express our heartfelt hope that all the disputes among the people of South Africa will be resolved by negotiation and constructive dialogue.

**Mr. KITTIKHOUN** (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly's consideration over more than four decades of the South African Government's policy of apartheid is this year entering its crucial phase. Undoubtedly, the light at the end of the tunnel seems to be well within reach. However, much remains to be done.

At their meeting held at United Nations Headquarters on 4 October last, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries noted with great satisfaction that through the multi-party negotiations in South Africa, 27 April 1994 had been set as the date for the first democratic elections. While

expressing the hope that the elections will make it possible to establish a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, the Ministers expressed their great concern over the escalation of political violence in South Africa, and in that regard they implored the South African authorities to shoulder their primary responsibility of ensuring the maintenance of security for all citizens. Along the same lines, in its presidential statement of 24 August 1993, the Security Council recalled its resolution 765 (1992), which stated that it is incumbent upon the South African authorities to take all measures necessary to bring an immediate end to the violence and to protect the lives and property of all South Africans.

The current situation in South Africa remains, in fact, of great concern. Extremist elements continue to threaten to plunge the country into civil war in order to halt the peaceful transition towards non-racial democracy, which is in the interests of all South Africans. Worse still, according to a report (AFP, 8/12/93) of the standing commission to investigate violence in South Africa, chaired by Judge Richard Goldstone, some police act like death squads, killing political militants, including those of the African National Congress (ANC). This year alone, the number of deaths tallied at the end of November had reached almost 4,000. In short, killings, massacres of innocent civilians and senseless violence of all kinds are still daily occurrences in that country, and this poses the risk of derailing the process of peaceful transition that was so difficult to undertake.

Faced with this situation, the international community must forcefully make known its utter disapproval of the ongoing violence and its refusal, under any circumstances, to allow this violence to hamper South Africa's political transition. To this end, resolute efforts should be made and rigorous new measures should be taken to ensure that country's smooth and peaceful transition towards a democratic and non-racial regime.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes the establishment, on 7 December, of the Transitional Executive Council. For the first time in South Africa's history, blacks now have the right to an equal say in the management of the country's affairs, including in the areas of defence, maintenance of order, finance, foreign affairs and local and regional government. We earnestly hope that that Council will effectively accomplish its historic task, especially in preparing for the first multi-racial legislative elections, scheduled to be held in April 1994.

Forced to live together on the soil of South Africa, black and white South Africans and others are called upon to forget their past and, together, to create stable conditions for the proper organization and holding of the impending multiracial elections.

The South African people have already suffered far too much, and they, like other peoples, have a right to the peace that will enable them to rebuild their homeland. Undoubtedly, they will benefit greatly from the peace they are building in this new, united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

*Mr. SIMMONS* (Australia): When the Australian representative addressed the Assembly during the debate on this item at its forty-seventh session, we sounded a note of concern at the way in which the long-overdue process of political reform in South Africa had begun to drift. We registered the need for all the parties to that process to bring to bear the leadership necessary to re-establish the momentum of change.

It is therefore with immense relief that, today, we take note of the road that has been travelled since then and of the historic agreements that have been reached - most notably, on the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, which is now operational, and other bodies that will ensure a level playing-field for the conduct, next April, of South Africa's first democratic, non-racial elections. The elements of an interim Constitution have also been agreed.

In what we most sincerely hope will be the General Assembly's last debate on the question of apartheid in South Africa - and the last regular session of the Assembly to be held without the participation of a delegation from a united, democratic South Africa - it would be understandable if we were to dwell on what the international community has achieved as a result of its long campaign, in support of and in partnership with the democratic forces in South Africa, to end the system of institutional racism in that country.

But we must not rest on our laurels. The process of democratization in South Africa remains vulnerable and requires our continuing support. Specifically, we must solemnly associate ourselves with the call made by the Security Council in its statement of 23 November, and reiterated in the principal, omnibus draft resolution on apartheid we shall adopt shortly - a call to

"all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multi-party talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, to recommit themselves to democratic principles, to take part in the elections and to resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only". (S/26785)

We have seen some in South Africa - people who fear that their narrow interests may not be preserved under the new, democratic dispensation - threaten to undermine that dispensation. We have seen violence in South Africa - a

phenomenon that, last year, we described as shocking and tragic - worsen. The international community must make it clear to those currently boycotting the Transitional Executive Council process that they should join the majority of South Africans in supporting the transition to democratic elections and a new, post-apartheid Government and should end any threats of secession and violence. By refusing to participate in the democratic process, they can only face increasing marginalization.

Secondly, we must mobilize to provide the support and assistance that the Multi-party Negotiating Council has sought from the United Nations, along with other international organizations, in the conduct of the elections next April. These elections, which are so vital to the future stability and orientation of the country, must be, and must be seen to be, fair, democratic and above the reproach of those who will not fail to challenge their validity and legitimacy.

Time for this is short, and the task is a daunting one. The elections, involving the enfranchisement of the vast majority of the South African population for the first time, are only four months away, but the Independent Electoral Commission is not yet operational and not yet staffed. It is essential that planning in the United Nations Secretariat be accelerated so that the United Nations may be able to respond quickly and effectively to this challenge.

Thirdly, following the lifting of all sanctions, except the mandatory arms embargo, against South Africa, as a result of the call made in this place by Mr. Nelson Mandela on 24 September, we must do everything possible to accelerate trade and investment in South Africa. The sanctions were effective in bringing the apartheid regime to its senses. Now that sanctions have been lifted, it is imperative that South Africa enjoy the advantages of full participation in international trade and investment. The economic and social distortions of apartheid have left the South African economy in a parlous state. As Mr. Mandela told us on 24 September, the very fabric of South African society is threatened by rising rates of joblessness, homelessness and violent crime.

Once the new democratic order is established, the expectations of the victims of apartheid will be high, justified and urgent. Social and economic benefits will have to flow quickly if the tasks of healing and nation-building in a society long dislocated by apartheid are to be completed successfully. The new Government of South Africa must have the wherewithal to promote and sustain economic growth that will benefit not only South Africa but, indeed, other African countries as well.

Australia is proud of its record in the years of the struggle to end apartheid, and it is proud of its record in



responding to the challenges of the fast-evolving situation in South Africa today. Australia has been an active member of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, which has provided high-level impetus and guidance on Commonwealth policies for the abolition of apartheid in South Africa.

Having long adhered rigorously to the sanctions regime against South Africa, and having been instrumental in the further refining of Commonwealth sanctions in the crucial financial area, Australia announced the lifting of all sanctions, except the mandatory arms embargo, against South Africa. This announcement was included in a statement that Foreign Minister Gareth Evans made in New York on 24 September 1993 - the day of Mr. Mandela's historic statement. Measures designed to stimulate trade with and investment in South Africa were announced shortly afterwards.

Australia is a long-standing contributor to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, and, pending the absorption of those programmes into normal United Nations country programmes, will contribute to them next year.

Australia will continue to assist change in South Africa through the provision of aid under Australia's special assistance programme for South Africans. In 1993-1994, \$A 7 million will be provided to help South Africa during the period of transition to democracy. Australian projects will include assistance in respect of the electoral process, economic policy and planning, the media, Civil Service training and local government reform.

Finally, Australia has contributed human and financial resources to the Commonwealth Observer Mission in South Africa and has well-advanced plans to provide assistance, bilaterally and through United Nations and Commonwealth channels, in the preparation and conduct of the democratic, non-racial elections in South Africa next year.

It is fitting that our last words in the debate in this place on apartheid should be a tribute: a tribute certainly to the wisdom and pragmatism of Mr. De Klerk, who was able to lead his constituency out of the vicious and bankrupt dead end of the apartheid system, but a tribute above all to his fellow Nobel Peace Prize recipient, Mr. Nelson Mandela, whose heroism, steadfastness and noble personal sacrifice inspired a generation of people within and outside South Africa and whose vision for his country he eloquently presented here on 24 September:

"Our common victory against the only system to be declared a crime against humanity since the

defeat of nazism is in sight. The historic need to end this crime as speedily and peacefully as possible requires that we, the peoples of the world, should remain as united as we have been and as committed as we have been to the cause of democracy, peace, human dignity and prosperity for all the people of South Africa."

*Mr. HAAKONSEN* (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

In the light of the epoch-making political developments in South Africa over the last year and most recently the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, it is very appropriate that we are now debating the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Hopefully, by next year the fulfilment of this goal will render further references to apartheid in this Hall superfluous.

The Nordic countries trust that before the convening of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly the entire South African people will for the first time in the country's history have exercised their right to vote in general elections, and that a democratically elected government will be in place.

We do not intend to comment in detail on the fundamental political developments which have already taken place and which led to the adoption earlier in this session of the General Assembly of the landmark resolution 48/1. The importance of these developments was further highlighted last week when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in Oslo to President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela, President of the African National Council (ANC).

Needless to say, the Nordic countries share the great satisfaction expressed by other delegations with the important agreements reached within the framework of the multi-party negotiations. We also welcome the establishment on 7 December 1993 of the Transitional Executive Council, which will have a crucial role to play in the coming months, in particular in levelling the political field before the elections.

The transition towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is now on firm ground. The next important phases are the period leading up to the elections and the period of the consolidation of democracy. It is imperative that the international community, and in particular the United Nations, continue to render assistance in support of this process.

As one of its very first acts, the Transitional Executive Council on 7 December 1993 endorsed a resolution adopted

by the Multi-party Negotiating Council containing a request to the international community, including the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Union and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as individual Governments, to provide a sufficient number of international observers to monitor the electoral process.

It is vital that the request for electoral assistance be met with an urgent and positive response from the Organization. We appreciate the Secretary-General's timely decision to send, as early as last week, a mission to South Africa in order to discuss in more detail the role of the United Nations in the electoral process and to prepare a cost estimate for such an operation. Considering that the elections are scheduled to take place in little more than four months, it is imperative that a report from the Secretary-General be presented urgently in order for the appropriate decisions to be taken at the earliest possible time.

It is obvious from the decision by the Multi-party Negotiating Council that the United Nations is expected to play a coordinating role in the international monitoring of the electoral process. We fully agree that the United Nations should play such a role, which makes it even more necessary to avoid delays caused by insufficient planning and bureaucratic procedures.

Obviously, the international community cannot ensure that the electoral process will proceed smoothly. We can render assistance, but the prime responsibility rests with the South African people. We urge all parties to participate constructively in this process in order to ensure free and fair elections, and to respect their outcome.

In this context, the high level of political violence gives rise to considerable concern and we call on all parties to refrain from violence and to do their utmost to prevent it from derailing the electoral process. We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the valuable work carried out by the United Nations and other international observers which have contributed to curbing the political violence in South Africa.

Understandably, the period leading up to and including the elections on 27 April 1994 is the prime object of attention at present. In the view of the Nordic countries, however, consideration of the need for international assistance during the transitional period following the elections should also begin as soon as possible. It is important that a comprehensive analysis of the needs be prepared at an early stage. If necessary the dispatch of a needs-assessment mission could be considered. In any event, we believe that future United Nations assistance to South Africa should be channelled through the existing

operational agencies on the same conditions that apply to other countries.

The Nordic countries have already decided to continue to assist South Africa during the transition to democracy and to support its economic and social development following the abolition of apartheid, and we are prepared to make a substantial contribution to the international election-observation effort.

We look forward to the adoption without a vote of the draft resolutions before us and would like to thank the Special Committee, and especially its Chairman, Ambassador Gambari, for its constructive approach to the preparation of the texts. It is important that unanimous international solidarity once again be demonstrated in support of the process towards elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

**Mr. SARDENBERG** (Brazil): The question we are gathered here today to consider - a question we have been discussing for more than 40 years now - lies at the heart of the purposes and principles of this Organization. It has to do with peace and justice. It has to do with self-determination and decolonization, with human rights and democracy.

It is thus extremely gratifying for us to be able to address this question in a strikingly different and more positive mode, with our eyes turned no longer to the evil of racial discrimination and its destabilizing consequences for a whole region, but to the bright outlook, warranted by concrete events, for a new era of justice and democracy in South Africa.

Among the most outstanding achievements of the United Nations we must no doubt include the awareness that the unconscionable doctrine and practice of apartheid, no matter what attempts are made to disguise its horror, in fact represent a blatant and systematic assault on human dignity. The world was outraged by the persistence of apartheid policies in South Africa over a protracted period of time, in defiance of the recommendations and demands of the United Nations. For far too long it was a moral stain on the closing chapters of decolonization in Africa.

I wish to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, whose untiring efforts and spirit of leadership enabled the Committee to play a role of fundamental importance in this Organization's struggle against apartheid.

Few are the moments in history when eloquence in the condemnation of evil can be replaced by well-founded expressions of hope for the future. An exceptional moment of precisely this nature is expected to take place in South Africa next April, when genuinely free and democratic and hence non-racial elections are to be held for the first time, marking the complete and definitive replacement of apartheid by government of the whole people, by the whole people, for the whole people.

The long-overdue demise of the apartheid system by means of a negotiated and peaceful transition, and the prospects for the definitive eradication of that system by means of the civil and political enfranchisement of all segments of the South African people, are indeed motives for celebration and for justified gratification by all those who have been contributing with their efforts to the building of a united, non-racial democracy in that African country of the South Atlantic region.

The Brazilian Government pays a most sincere tribute to the South African statesmen who have been ably guiding their people in the building of a new society in peace and justice. Their able leadership of the transition process amidst the dangers of violence, intolerance, political divisions and old prejudices is a most noble undertaking that calls for, and is receiving, the well-deserved recognition of the international community.

The statement made by the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, from this very podium last September before the Special Committee against Apartheid, highlighted the historic significance of the current political developments in South Africa and their impact on the international standing of that country. The Brazilian Government has welcomed the positive developments in the multi-party negotiations over the last several months. In particular, we are encouraged by the decision to hold free and democratic elections on 27 April 1994 and by the agreement reached last month on the adoption of an Interim Constitution for South Africa, which laid the essential groundwork for the continuation of the transition process during its current crucial phase. A historic step was taken with the recent establishment and installation of the Transitional Executive Council, which provides for the participation of the black majority in State affairs during this interim period.

The United Nations has not been slow to respond to these developments. Indeed, in the very first resolution adopted at the current session of the General Assembly, we recognized that the transition to democracy had already been enshrined in the law of South Africa and we therefore decided to lift the sanctions imposed on that country by the General Assembly.

As was pointed out by Mr. Mandela, international sanctions have been instrumental in expediting the end of apartheid. By the same token, it is only appropriate, now that South Africa is bracing to face the new challenges of national reconciliation and economic development, that the international community should also respond accordingly by shifting gears from sanctions towards cooperation. We are aware that the efforts to overcome the legacy of apartheid will require hard work on the part of the brave people of South Africa. International cooperation will have a most important role to play in supporting those efforts.

Brazil looks forward to developing mutually beneficial ties of cooperation with the new South Africa, ties based on geographical proximity, shared human values and a common aspiration for economic and social development. We welcome and support the full participation of South Africa in cooperation efforts within the South Atlantic community of nations.

While we are glad to express our recognition for the outstanding achievements in the South African transition process, it should also be noted that we do share the concern expressed by many South African leaders on the danger represented by the remaining obstacles to that process, most particularly the problem of violence. The many serious incidents over the past few months have underlined the crucial need for decisive measures to stop the violence and to ensure a peaceful climate for the transition process, particularly during the electoral campaign. We encourage all South African parties to work together to address this most urgent question in earnest, with a view to achieving effective solutions in the short term.

As a member of the Security Council, Brazil has been strongly supportive of the decisions taken within that body to consolidate and strengthen the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa, which, along with other international observer units, constitutes an important stabilizing presence in South Africa during the current critical period. As indicated in the presidential statement issued by the Security Council on 23 November, it is essential that the United Nations be prepared to consider playing a role in assisting the electoral process in South Africa and that it be ready to give expeditious consideration to a request for assistance in that regard.

In conclusion, while we know full well the difficulty and dimensions of the tasks still to be carried out by the South African people and by its leaders, it cannot pass unnoticed that the debate we are holding this year has the quality of a historic watershed. It is indeed our hope that, in the future, the concept of apartheid will be confined to the history books. Even if its heavy legacy does not disappear overnight, may we always be able to say that such an

abhorrent system belongs fully to the past, a past that must never be repeated.

*The PRESIDENT:* In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX) of 10 October 1975, I now call on the Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

*Mr. ANSAY* (Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Madam, for giving me the opportunity to address this body on an issue of extreme importance to the Organization of the Islamic Conference: the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

From the beginning, the United Nations has repeatedly affirmed that the policy of apartheid is a crime against humanity, incompatible with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it seriously undermines international peace and security. I should like to pay a particular tribute at this point to the important role played by the Special Committee against Apartheid and its Chairman, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. Under his stewardship, and with the help of his able staff, the Special Committee was able to bring about the positive climate that was conducive to the General Assembly's adoption by consensus of this year's omnibus draft resolution.

The Islamic Ummah, represented by the OIC with its membership of 51 countries, inspired by the divine concepts of Islam, also strongly rejected all types of inhuman racial discrimination imposed upon the struggling people of South Africa and against all peoples still suffering under the yoke of racism.

The struggle of the people of South Africa against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid has now entered a crucial phase. The countdown to next April's first multiracial general elections ever, which we hope may usher South Africa into a new democratic and non-racial era, has begun. We note with satisfaction the progress achieved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process on the important issues of the formation of the Transitional Executive Council and the draft interim constitution. The South African Parliament's approval of measures relating to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the inauguration of the multiracial Council on 7 December 1993 were welcome developments. The meeting of the 32-member Council marks the effective end of Africa's last bastion of white minority rule.

However, the negative position taken by another party and its allies with regard to the Multi-party Negotiating

Process and on the central issues pertaining to South Africa's transition to a democratic, non-racial era, and their non-participation in the meeting of the Transitional Executive Council are matters of concern. It is important that at this crucial juncture all black political organizations pool their efforts and refrain from obstructing the transition process, which would only benefit the white supremacists in their nefarious designs to maintain the status quo.

The recent upsurge in violence in South Africa is also a cause of tremendous concern to the OIC. Such a spiral of violence needs to be checked immediately and effectively.

Following the call made in this Hall by Mr. Nelson Mandela, a true statesman and a valiant freedom-fighter, the General Assembly's unanimous decision to lift all economic sanctions against South Africa was another significant milestone in that country's recent political history.

Now that the sanctions are no longer in force, the international community needs to continue its support for the African National Congress and other black political organizations in their efforts to seek a peaceful transition to democracy. The United Nations should also be enabled to provide tangible assistance to the Transitional Executive Council in organizing the April elections.

At this important juncture in the history of South Africa I would reiterate that the OIC member States once again affirm their total solidarity and support for the people of South Africa and their political organizations, especially the African National Congress, which has, under the sagacious leadership of Nelson Mandela, made a tremendous contribution to the elimination of the abominable system of apartheid in South Africa. In this context we most heartily congratulate Mr. Mandela and Mr. De Klerk for their joint efforts towards peace, culminating in and crowned by the recent awarding to them of the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of their commendable efforts.

The situation in South Africa has been the subject of attention for all Islamic summit meetings and ministerial conferences, as well as at the annual Coordination Meetings of OIC Foreign Ministers. The last OIC Coordination Meeting of Foreign Ministers, which was held at United Nations Headquarters, after examining the report of Mr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary-General of the OIC, on the situation in South Africa and the report of the

meeting of the OIC Committee on South Africa held at United Nations Headquarters on 24 September 1993, once again reaffirmed, in its final communiqué of 29 September 1993, its support for the struggle of the people of South Africa against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and it expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the Multi-party Negotiating Process on the important issues of the formation of the Transitional Executive Council and the draft interim constitution, as well as on the commencement of preparations for the holding of the first general elections on the basis of universal suffrage on 27 April 1994. It emphasized the importance of fostering close relations between OIC member States and South Africa, including its Muslim community, as well as the need to provide economic and technical assistance to South Africa as it ushers in a new non-racial and democratic era. It also authorized the Secretary-General of the OIC to monitor closely the transition process and the April elections.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the continuous and total solidarity of the OIC with the people of South Africa in their struggle for the establishment of a truly democratic society in their country.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

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