



General Assembly

PROVIS IONAL

A/44/PV.50

14 November 1989

ENGLISH

Forty-fourth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 9 November 1989, at 10.00 a.m.

President: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)

later: Mr. TELLMANN (Norway)  
(Vice-President)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: fifth report of the General Committee [8] (continued)
- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [28] (continued)
  - (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
  - (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa
  - (c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports
  - (d) Reports of the Secretary-General
  - (e) Report of the Special Political Committee

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

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

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: FIFTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/44/250/Add.4)

The PRESIDENT: I draw the attention of representatives to the fifth report of the General Committee (A/44/250/Add.4). This report concerns the request by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item, entitled "Enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations".

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item be included in the agenda.

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this additional item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The General Committee also decided to recommend to the Assembly that the item be considered directly in plenary meeting.

May I also take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that the item will be considered in plenary meeting on Wednesday, 15 November, in the morning, as the first item.

AGENDA ITEM 28 (continued)POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members that three countries - Papua New Guinea, Somalia and Uruguay - which for pertinent reasons did not inscribe their names on the list before the deadline for the debate on agenda item 28 have requested that their names be inscribed at this late stage. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly decides to allow the names of those three countries to be inscribed.

It was so decided.

Mr. STRESOV (Bulgaria): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly and wish you all success in the discharge of your duties. Your valuable contribution and personal commitment to the struggle against apartheid will undoubtedly facilitate our work on this agenda item.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always followed with great concern the situation in the southern part of the African continent. Its consistent position is that the system and policy of apartheid in South Africa is at the core of the conflict. This anachronistic policy is all the more striking when viewed against the background of the general improvement in the international climate and the growing confidence and active dialogue among States.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

The new positive trends in the development of international relations and the new awareness of the need to resolve regional conflicts by political means have resulted in substantial changes in the political situation in southern Africa. The selfless struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid régime, its condemnation by the international community, and the growing political, economic and social crisis in the country have forced the Pretoria régime to announce that "fundamental reforms" are being conducted. Regrettably, it is becoming clear that these broadly advertised "reforms" do not go beyond the framework of cosmetic measures, nor do they attack the roots of the system of domination by the white minority.

Censorship and the propaganda campaign mounted by the Pretoria régime cannot obscure the real conditions in South Africa. The apartheid legislation has remained practically unchanged. The state of emergency was extended again last July, permitting unrestrained use of the powerful repressive machinery. A number of political organizations have remained outlawed. The release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners has not resolved the problem. Nelson Mandela, the outstanding South African fighter for civil and political rights, and many other political prisoners are still behind bars.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

This year's report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/44/22) is no exception in providing abundant evidence of the repressions and violence employed by the Pretoria régime in its attempts to perpetuate the system of apartheid. We are convinced that apartheid can be neither reformed nor changed. It should be eradicated - a goal that can be attained only through the joint efforts of the entire international community. We believe that further sanctions against the Pretoria régime would help to resolve this problem.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always supported the growing anti-racist democratic movement in South Africa which, despite the repressive measures of the apartheid régime, is winning an increasing number of followers.

No one can deny the fact that the African National Congress is playing a prominent and important part in this movement. That is also evident from the broad international support for its peace plan for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic State in South Africa, included in the Harare Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity.

Our country has always expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States for the complete elimination of the system of apartheid.

Bulgaria believes it is particularly important now to complete successfully the decolonization process in Namibia under the provisions of the United Nations plan, which would help to eliminate this source of tension in the southern part of Africa. We welcome the commencement of the elections in Namibia. The United Nations is called upon to carry out a uniquely difficult and responsible mission: to guarantee the Namibian people their right to self-determination and independence. Our country fully supports and is prepared to assist actively that mission.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

In conclusion I should like to declare that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to contribute to the international community's joint efforts aimed at turning the southern part of Africa into a region of peace, security and co-operation.

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): The problem of apartheid remains one of the principal concerns of the international community. It still occupies an important place on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Assembly has been seized of the problem, year in and year out, since the Government of South Africa proclaimed its policy of apartheid in 1946. This continued preoccupation by the General Assembly with the problem has been motivated by the hope that the international community will succeed eventually in bringing to an end this policy, which has dire consequences for the majority of the inhabitants of southern Africa.

Notwithstanding the hundreds of resolutions on the elimination of apartheid adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, apartheid remains the backbone of the racist policy of the régime. The results of that policy, which are clear to all, are the ever-renewed state of emergency, the continued detention of the leaders of the political opposition as well as the curfews and restrictions imposed on the black majority.

There have been a number of political changes with which the racist régime has tried to delude the world into believing that it intends to deal in real earnest with the fundamental problem which has tormented the population for over 40 years. However world public opinion, which has become familiar with such trickery, has not allowed those purported changes to blind it to the persistence of that régime in criminalizing opposition to apartheid, the continued media censorship, the illegal detention and execution of political opponents regardless of any appeal for

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

clemency from any part of the world. Under such circumstances, how can there be a grain of credibility to the changes with which Pretoria tries to deceive the world? How can Pretoria think that it can make world public opinion believe its proclamation?

Apartheid is a cancer that can be cured only by amputation - not by palliatives or sedatives. The time has come for the régime in South Africa to realize that fact, to face reality with courage, and to stop trying to fly into the face of history. It knows that its policy is doomed. It must have become aware that in the face of the heroic resistance of the people of South Africa and its leaders and their struggle to create a democratic society of freedom, equality and justice in the place of the present society of repression, privation and despotism, the policy of apartheid will collapse.

My delegation supports the people of South Africa in their heroic struggle and shares their desire to enjoy freedom, because in the Arab region the Palestinian people are subjected to a policy similar to that of the Pretoria régime. Our people have risen in revolt against that policy and have rejected the practices and continuation of Israeli occupation.

The General Assembly has already condemned apartheid and the Security Council has imposed sanctions on the Pretoria régime because of its persistence in its inhuman policies. In addition, the ninth summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement has condemned Pretoria for its genocidal acts against the unarmed majority of the population. It also condemned very strongly the ongoing and escalating collaboration between the two racist régimes of South Africa and Israel, and took note of the similarity of the oppressive and repressive measures adopted by both régimes.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

The conference reiterated the call for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council on the apartheid régime.

With regard to the collaboration between the two régimes, it has been revealed that with Israel's assistance, South Africa has manufactured a missile capable of delivering nuclear weapons, in return for the supply of weapons' grade uranium by South Africa to Israel. Consequently, we believe that the General Assembly should consider this situation, which has been confirmed in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid now before the Assembly. The report draws the Assembly's attention to the economic and military collaboration between Israel and South Africa.

We fully support the recommendations in the Committee's report, particularly those relating to the prerequisites of the process of negotiation, namely the lifting of the state of emergency; the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of the restrictions on individuals and organizations opposing apartheid and the repealing of press restrictions and censorship; the withdrawal of military forces from the black townships; and the halting of all political trials and executions.

We also fully support the Committee's recommendations which call on the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter as long as the South African Government persists in its policy.

We should also keep a close watch on the implementation of the arms embargo.

Many of the problems of this world are moving towards settlement and many societies are taking a keener interest in the upholding of human rights. It is high time that the South African régime did the same.



Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): The first resolution adopted by this session of the General Assembly was on apartheid, and the special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is scheduled for December. This is significant, for it can be seen that the question of apartheid will retain priority on the agenda of the international community until this abhorrent system of racial discrimination is completely eradicated.

Today we are witnessing a relaxation of tensions, progress in the democratization process and major breakthroughs towards full enjoyment of human rights on a global level. In this changing world the persistence of the evil of apartheid is like the remnant of a dark past.

Indeed, this abhorrent policy negates the most basic value common to all cultures: respect for the dignity of man. This institutionalized system of racial discrimination deprives the majority population of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It constitutes a continuous and flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A social system that defies the essentials of societal justice can sustain itself only by suppression and the use of force; violence is inherent in such a system.

It is a matter of deep concern for us that the state of emergency has been extended for the fifth consecutive year. The legal cover for the application of a range of repressive measures has thereby been prolonged. We appeal to the South African Government to terminate the state of emergency immediately. Statements that the state of emergency might gradually be phased out clearly fall short of what is called for. For even if the authorities did not apply the full range of extraordinary powers provided for under the state of emergency, the potential of these repressive measures would remain a serious threat that could be carried out

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

at any moment as long as the state of emergency is not definitely and comprehensively ended. Therefore, the repeal of the state of emergency clearly constitutes a prerequisite for negotiations.

Certainly, we have welcomed the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners. It is an encouraging sign that they could take up political activities. But, alas, hundreds of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, are still waiting for an amnesty. We firmly renew our demand for an immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Moreover, we demand the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all organizations and persons fighting against apartheid. Similarly, we call for a cessation of all political trials and politically related executions. We note with dismay that more than 40 persons have been executed in South Africa so far this year. The controversial "common purpose" doctrine that has been involved in a number of cases since the conviction of the Sharpeville Six has heightened our doubts concerning legal proceedings in South Africa.

For years we have appealed to the South African Government to enter into negotiations with the genuine leaders of the majority population. Obviously such negotiations can take place only when the necessary climate is created. The demands we have just spelled out are surely among those that must be fulfilled in order to bring about negotiations. Furthermore, negotiations can be fruitful only when the parties agree on some basic features of their objective. In our view, an unequivocal commitment by the South African Government to abandon apartheid and hold democratic elections on the principle of one man, one vote would decisively enhance prospects for an early negotiated solution to the problems of South Africa.

The news from South Africa over the past weeks has given the impression that the chances for a peaceful resolution of the situation have increased. But we have

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

to state, to our regret, that the South African authorities have not yet taken the necessary steps to create the climate conducive to negotiations. And, certainly, we have not witnessed any bold steps towards the eradication of apartheid so far.

However, we have taken note with interest of expressions of intent by the South African Government to set out on a new course. These signals relate to the situation in South Africa and to the relationship with the neighbouring countries in southern Africa. The coming weeks will show whether the deeply entrenched suppression of the majority population and the long-standing policy of destabilization will give way to a more co-operative approach. We fervently hope that these positive statements will soon be followed up by concrete actions.

At this critical juncture of developments in South Africa a particular responsibility devolves upon the international community. More than ever before we are called upon to use all appropriate means in order to advance prospects for negotiations. It is definitely not the time to consider any relaxation of existing pressure and sanctions. That will have to await evidence of significant and irreversible change. Meanwhile, existing measures should be maintained.

Austria will continue to implement the concrete autonomous national measures it adopted in keeping with Security Council resolutions 418 (1977), 558 (1984), 556 (1985) and 569 (1985). My country will also in the future contribute on a regular basis to the various programmes and funds, inside and outside the United Nations framework, that are alleviating the suffering of the victims of apartheid. We therefore again this year co-sponsor the draft resolutions on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid and on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. The front-line States will remain a priority area for Austrian development aid.

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

At his inauguration as State President Mr. De Klerk said:

"Our goal is a new South Africa: a totally changed South Africa, a South Africa which has rid itself of the antagonisms of the past."

We agree that a total change is necessary, for the antagonism of apartheid is the daily painful and very present experience there.

The mass democratic movement has clearly demonstrated its preference for, and ability to reach, a negotiated and peaceful settlement. Now the whole world is waiting for concrete action on the part of the Government. We sincerely hope that it will take the necessary measures soon and enter into serious negotiations with the genuine leaders of the majority population without further delay; for today there exists a conjuncture of circumstances which could create the possibility of ending apartheid through negotiations and transforming the country peacefully into a non-racial democracy. Do not let this historic chance pass by.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Ukrainian SSR, who is a Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): When we look at the current developments in southern Africa we are forced to realize their complexities and contradictions. In that region we see close interaction between events which show progress in the cause of the liberation of Africa and those which for a number of years have been seriously disturbing all who cherish the principles of freedom, democracy, justice and humaneness.

The Ukrainian SSR, steadfastly demonstrating its solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for peace and independence, views the current elections for the Constituent Assembly as an important and historic landmark not only in the development of the lengthy process of self-determination for Namibia but also in the general situation in the region of southern Africa. Particular significance is

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

now attached to strict compliance by all the parties concerned with the obligations under the settlement plan.

The example of the Namibian question makes it possible to draw at least the following instructive lessons: no violence is capable of stifling the aspirations of peoples for freedom and independence. Political, social, racial and other conflicts must be resolved by political methods, through negotiations, as the most painless methods for all countries.

Furthermore, we cannot overlook the fact that the primary cause of the dangerous conflict in southern Africa has not yet been eliminated and that as long as the apartheid régime exists there will be neither peace nor security in that region.

The situation in southern Africa is characterized by an intermingling of various factors. On the one hand, the De Klerk administration is allegedly demonstrating its intention to have a political settlement of the conflict. It is setting free a few prominent political prisoners and it has authorized a number of peaceful anti-apartheid demonstrations and meetings. On the other hand, it is continuing its old policy of mass repression on the basis of race.

The facts provided in the report (A/44/22 and Corr.2) of the Special Committee against Apartheid convincingly illustrate that the fine-sounding promises of the Pretoria régime are not in conformity with the continuing fundamental mechanisms of the apartheid system, with its well-established criminal practices.

Since 1984 no fewer than 51,000 persons have been arrested. Political summary trials and executions of fighters against racism are continuing. Under the laws of the régime a person may be sentenced even on the basis that he may have subscribed to the common goals of his comrades in the struggle. One hundred children are still in prison. The forcible resettlement of persons in connection with the

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

racist policy ofbantustanization is continuing. The extension of the state of emergency in June of this year for the fourth year and the increase in the hudgetary allocations for the police by 28 per cent are scarcely illustrations of the régime's intention to reduce the level of repression. Today we note that there are new threats against the anti-apartheid newspaper The Nation, showing that there is continuing repression against the mass media in the Republic of South Africa.

Yet, without forgetting for a moment that apartheid is alive and well, it would be a mistake not to see the arrival of a new stage in the development of events in South Africa. The Pretoria régime is compelled to enter into contacts with the outlawed African National Congress, to liberate certain of its leaders, to authorize mass anti-apartheid meetings in Soweto and to express its readiness to enter into negotiations for the purpose of resolving the conflict in the country. All this is emblematic of the important victory for the liberation movement and de facto recognition of the failure of the attempt to put down the ever-increasing resistance of the people by force of arms and repression. Of course the landmark that has been reached can be viewed realistically without any extremes. It would be an unforgiveable mistake either to underestimate it or to overestimate it.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Not to take into account the new events in the development of the political situation in South Africa would be tantamount indirectly to denying the effectiveness of the long-standing efforts of the struggling people of that country and of the international community, and of measures aimed at isolating and boycotting the racist régime. It would be tantamount also to missing the opportunity that is emerging for a peaceful settlement of the dangerous conflict.

At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR does not agree at all with those who, while overestimating Pretoria's encouraging steps, find it possible to prevent the application of sanctions against South Africa.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR bases itself on the unquestionable fact that sanctions have been and remain the most effective instrument in the hands of the international community in its efforts to move the racist régime towards negotiations on the peaceful elimination of apartheid. In this context I should like to emphasize particularly the many activities of the Special Committee against Apartheid, headed by that tireless fighter against apartheid, the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Joseph Garba, who has made a great personal contribution to the cause of mobilizing world public opinion to struggle against the shameful system of apartheid. The election of the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid as President of the General Assembly is a recognition of Ambassador Garba's valuable work in the struggle for the ideals and principles of the United Nations.

We should also like to pay due tribute to the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa for its work. The Ukrainian SSR has taken an active part in that work and considers an oil embargo to be one of the most effective instruments in applying economic

pressure on South Africa, and fully supports the recommendations in the Group's report (A/44/44), especially the appeal to the Security Council to adopt a mandatory embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa.

I should also like to refer to the effective assistance provided by the Centre against Apartheid, headed by Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, to the Special Committee and other United Nations organs.

This year will undoubtedly go down in history as a landmark in the struggle against apartheid. It is important to point out that the new peaceful initiative aimed at the political settlement of the conflict in the country was put forward by the African National Congress (ANC). It is precisely its proposals that were adopted and used as a basis of the well-known Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) of 21 August, which contains a specific programme of action to ensure the peaceful elimination of apartheid. How can we forget these convincing words of the Secretary-General of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, who was liberated after 26 years in prison:

"The ANC throughout its history has been a constant adherent of the policy of peace and negotiations. We were in favour of peace in 1912, when we established the organization; we stood for peace in our long-standing struggle; we are for peace today; and we shall be for peace tomorrow".

That statement gives the lie to the thesis of those circles that for years have been attempting to represent the national liberation movement as an adherent of the policy of resolving conflicts by force alone.

The OAU Declaration has been extensively supported by the international community since it reflects the interests not only of the people of South Africa but also of the whole southern African region, and the interests of peace and security in general.

The Ukrainian SSR believes that the OAU Declaration constitutes a concerted and carefully weighed programme which opens up a genuine path towards the



(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

elimination of apartheid by political means. Fully supporting its recommendations, we proceed from the premise that the Declaration is an objective reflection of the dictates of the time. The continued policy and practice of apartheid has no future: it is doomed to failure. It leads to further mindless violence and is contrary to the vital interests of the whole of southern Africa. The extent to which the Pretoria régime's subsequent actions show an understanding of that serious fact will decisively determine the fate of the essential negotiations at hand.

It is quite clear that genuine negotiations can take place only if the appropriate political climate has been established in South Africa. To that end, as a minimum, the state of emergency must be repealed; Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners must be released; the ban on activities of individuals and political organizations opposing apartheid must be lifted; troops must be withdrawn from black townships; and all political trials and executions must cease. The implementation of those legitimate demands would be the litmus test of the serious intention of the new leadership of South Africa to accept a peaceful settlement.

At the present historical stage the question of strategy and tactics has taken on new urgency, the most important effective position of the United Nations and of the whole of the international community in ensuring a speedy elimination of apartheid, which is the shame of our time.

Having time and again analysed the existing situation, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that comprehensive mandatory sanctions remain the most effective means of overcoming the resistance of those circles of the dominant white minority in South Africa that persist in their attempt to maintain the outdated system of apartheid. The OAU Declaration, which proposes a programme of action to ensure genuine negotiations, rightly contains an appeal to all countries of the

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

world to intensify their pressure upon the apartheid régime and to introduce comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Contributing in every way to the speedy implementation of the OAU Declaration is the priority task of the whole international community. Total support of the Declaration by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and its approval by countries of the community are important landmarks on the way to its general approval. A special role in this responsible undertaking will be played by the special session of the General Assembly in December this year. Our delegation is ready to make its positive contribution towards ensuring the adoption of decisions that will speed up the dismantling of apartheid by peaceful means.

We are far from having any illusions. We clearly understand the difficulties in the way of the solution of the problem of apartheid through negotiations and political means. But today this course seems to me to be the most acceptable and rational.

In conclusion, I once again express the Ukrainian people's deep feelings of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and the firm conviction that they will triumph and that all the peoples of goodwill must be united in contributing to that victory.

Mr. MUSA (Malaysia): The question of apartheid has been before this Assembly for over four decades. It is now amongst the longest-standing issues before the General Assembly. During this time the black majority population of South Africa have had to endure unspeakable crimes unleashed upon them by the heinous system of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination that is apartheid. After four decades of sustained pressure both internationally and internally, we still cannot take comfort in being able to say that at long last the beginnings of the end are in sight, that those weaned and nourished on the righteousness of segregation and discrimination will be persuaded by reason and humanity to recant their fundamental articles of faith. It was in 1911, with the passing of the Colour Bar Act, that the first legal discrimination was instituted in South Africa. Since then a whole unholy body of legal instruments has been enacted to effect a systematic perversion of all the values held sacrosanct by all men. These statutes still remain on the books and provide the legal foundation for the single-minded pursuit of repression by the practitioners of apartheid against the majority population of South Africa.

When we try to evaluate the impact of recent developments in South Africa on the prospects for real progress in the restitution of the birthright of the blacks in South Africa, we must look for the proof of irreversible change as much in the practices and policies of the racist régime as in the very underpinnings of such a dehumanizing creed. Clearly the pillars of apartheid remain intact. The policy instruments designed to establish a permanent black underclass, separate and unequal, in South Africa have not been repudiated. The Colour Bar Act, the Native Lands Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the policy of bantustans, and the separate educational system - all remain firmly in place.

(Mr. Musa, Malaysia)

The state of emergency has been renewed for the fourth consecutive year. Brutal repression continues with undiminished vigour. The mass arrests, detention, forced removal of population have not abated. The banning of political organizations, the restrictions imposed on former detainees, the criminalization of political opposition and the abuse of the courts to silence dissent, and official tolerance of vigilante and death squads - all thrive within the criminal system of apartheid. Apartheid continues to be the cornerstone of the ruling National Party's policy. South African President De Klerk flatly rejected the fundamental demand of the blacks for one man, one vote for the simple and obvious reason that this would lead to majority rule. Indeed the segregated elections held on 6 September 1989 were yet another indictment of the Pretoria régime's contempt for the democratic process. The elections were clearly a sham, and many blacks have had to pay a heavy price to demonstrate to the world that they were nothing but a travesty of democracy. More than 20 demonstrators died, amongst them children and elderly women. More than 1,500 were arrested; they join the thousands of political prisoners languishing under inhuman conditions in South African jails. Nelson Mandela, the embodiment of the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa, remains denied of his fundamental freedom and human rights. South Africa will remain an area of darkness so long as man continues to inflict the heinous indignities of racism and discrimination on his fellow man.

The Pretoria régime's recent posture of apparent readiness to introduce changes amounts to nothing more than frantic attempts at making cosmetic changes on the reprehensible face of apartheid. These political gestures have not sprung from a change of heart on the part of the racist régime; rather, they have been forced upon it as a result of international and internal pressures. The attempt at

(Mr. Musa, Malaysia)

cultivating the image of reasonableness and willingness to engage in dialogue is also intended to stave off further sanctions against the racist régime.

The arms, oil, financial and economic sanctions are taking their toll on the South African economy. The oil embargo alone, according to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, has cost Pretoria \$25 billion over the past 10 years.

The aims and justification for sanctions were clearly stated by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their recent meeting in Kuala Lumpur. In the Kuala Lumpur Statement on southern Africa they

"agreed that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change. Their purpose was not punitive, but to abolish apartheid by bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until that change was irreversibly secured."

(A/44/672, annex, para.7)

International pressures must therefore be increased on the most critical areas of the apartheid economy. One such field where a tightening of measures would make a decisive impact on the economy is that of financial sanctions. With a debt burden of \$1.2 billion, South Africa is in critical need of access to international markets to draw much-needed financial flows to salvage its deteriorating economy. In this connection, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, with the exception of one, also called on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher measures against South Africa.

My delegation believes that sanctions, complete and well co-ordinated, can serve as a powerful and effective weapon to eradicate in its totality this racist system which is a scourge and affront to humanity. Half-hearted, selective and voluntary efforts will not do.

(Mr. Musa, Malaysia)

Those that still maintain and profit from their ties with the racist régime must recognize the moral repugnance with which the international community views their relations with South Africa. Equally, the moral weight of international opinion must be brought to bear on those who seek to benefit from opportunities created as a result of strict compliance with sanctions by other States. Indeed, we must devise measures to prevent those who are morally callous from profiting from the successful implementation of sanctions.

The imposition of sanctions, while intended to exert pressure on the racist régime to negotiate with genuine leaders of the majority population, must be accompanied by concrete assistance from the international community to the black population in South Africa. To this end Malaysia has made contributions to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF). We commend the good work done by IDAF in providing legal assistance to prisoners in South Africa as well as their families and dependants. We therefore call on the members of the international community to increase their contributions to those in South Africa engaged in the noble struggle for liberation from the yoke of apartheid. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), as well as the mass democratic movement, have been amongst those that have had to bear the brunt of resistance against apartheid. We wish to pay tribute to them and to all valiant fighters against apartheid for their fortitude and courage in their just struggle to enshrine equality, justice and human decency in their land. The support and unrelenting pressure of the international community can make a valuable contribution to advance the cause of our brothers for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In this regard we should like to reiterate our unequivocal support for the declaration on the question of Africa of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the OAU, issued in Harare on 21 August 1989.

(Mr. Musa, Malaysia)

In its defence of apartheid, Pretoria has pursued policies and practices of brute force not only against the hapless majority black population in South Africa but also against the front-line States. Acts of aggression, destabilization and State terrorism have been systematically mounted by South Africa and its surrogate forces against the front-line States. Such brutal acts of destabilization are undertaken in the vain hope that they will buy time and ease pressure on the racist régime to dismantle apartheid. Since 1980, such destabilization has resulted in losses to the front-line States amounting to \$45 billion, with 1 million people killed and several millions more disabled. The security needs of the front-line States must therefore be addressed to ensure their unhindered development. One way to enhance the resilience of the front-line States is to strengthen their economic independence. Extension of assistance to these States in specific areas of need would also enable them to face up to threats from South Africa. In this regard, Malaysia has pledged \$2 million to the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund established by the Non-Aligned Movement, as our contribution to the front-line States and national liberation movements in South Africa.

Let me conclude by quoting the Secretary-General, who in his report on the work of the Organization stated:

"The eradication of the unjust and anachronistic system of apartheid in South Africa has been a prime responsibility and a universally acknowledged goal of the United Nations. ... It is clear that a mere dilution or softening of apartheid will not answer the expectations of the majority of the people of South Africa nor of the world as a whole." (A/44/1, p. 7)

(Mr. Musa, Malaysia)

Until that goal is achieved we must continue to exert all efforts to support the just struggle of the majority population of South Africa. We must continue - and we must never tire in the endeavour - to focus world attention on the abhorrent system of apartheid by discussing this item again and again and again in the General Assembly, and indeed at any international forum, until we reach the day when a new South Africa, in which all men can live in freedom and equality, is upon us.

Mr. MLLIJA (Albania): South Africa's apartheid policy remains one of the biggest evils of the present time and its victims, the Azanian and Namibian peoples, are being subjected to the most inhumane rule by the racist régime, which represents the interests of the small white minority. It is justifiable, therefore, that this agenda item should be the subject, at this session too, of general preoccupation and unanimous condemnation of racism and the forces that tolerate it. In the same manner, the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world and all progressive forces goes to the Namibian and Azanian peoples, thus providing major backing for their struggle to break free from the chains of racial domination.

The situation in the southern part of the African continent is undergoing a process of constant change, which is also reflected in internal developments in Azania and Namibia. Despite conditions of ongoing terror, the resistance of the masses of the people in these countries continues to grow and gain in strength. This broad, sweeping movement comprising extensive segments of the people has become organized; it is shaking the very foundations of South Africa's racist régime, deepening its political crises and upsetting the ruling authorities.

Under these circumstances, together with the traditional police violence that has culminated in a situation in which the country is being kept under martial law, the Pretoria racists are engaged in a huge propaganda effort on reforms "to change"



(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

the apartheid régime. The cosmetic content of these reforms will not deceive anyone, least of all the Azanian people, for the country's situation has not at all been changing for the better. Quite the contrary, martial law has been extended, prisons still hold thousands of people and reprisals know no limits or logic, sparing not even defenceless people - children, women and the elderly. Racist laws are enforced most savagely, and the basic rights of the overwhelming majority of the population are trampled underfoot.

By placing Pretoria's reform propaganda against the existing bitter reality, the masses of the people fully understand the goals the current manoeuvres of the racists are designed to attain. They aim at prolonging the present anti-people's régime and at perpetuating racism under a new cover.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

What the racists are out to achieve is apartheid by another name. These developments and the experience gained in the struggle and resistance of other African peoples against colonialism and racism make the Azanian people even more aware that they will gain their freedom and democratic rights only through struggle and their own efforts, and that apartheid cannot be reformed. It is a system with racism at its foundation and, as such, it must be uprooted.

The brutal repression of the rights of the Azanian people that the racists practise on the domestic level is reflected in their foreign policy through aggression, pressure, blackmail and attacks against neighbouring countries, which seriously endanger the independence of those countries as well as the peace and security of the region. The expansionist policy pursued by South Africa makes it a destabilizing factor in the region. Upheld by its supporters and advocates - the big imperialist Powers and multinationals - South Africa stands as a real threat to the freedom of the South African peoples and to their peaceful and normal life.

The Azanian people are not isolated in their struggle against the racist Pretoria régime. The solidarity of the peoples of the world has been a source of constant support, but most evident has been the powerful support of the African peoples, particularly the front-line States. Their support stems not only from the fraternal links as peoples of the same continent and region, but also from the fact that in the past they experienced the same oppression and the same humiliation, the identical suffering and deprivation.

It is not nature's crime to have made races; what is a crime is to practise racism as practised in Azania and Namibia against the peoples of those countries. In these times, when human society has reached high levels of civilization, emancipation, technical and scientific progress, the existence of apartheid is an unjustifiable anachronism, an affront to the entire international community. The persecution, imprisonment and killing of thousands upon thousands of innocent

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

coloured people for the sole reason that they demand equal rights with the white people are in contradiction with basic human and democratic principles. Enclosing entire population groups in bantustans which are ruled by the law of the club and the bullet, by violence and the most degrading treatment, are reminiscent of the dark practices of concentration camps. Hence, the apartheid policy, which rests on oppression and exploitation, must be brought to an end once and for all.

In our opinion, now, at the end of the twentieth century, opposition to apartheid is a must; it is a great human obligation for progressive peoples and forces. The Azanian people and the Namibian people should not be oppressed and murdered for aspiring to gain the most basic rights and to live free in their own countries. The all-round pressure of world public opinion, including economic and diplomatic pressure, on the South African racists must be intensified and multiplied, overcoming in the process the schemes and conspiracies of the imperialist Powers, which, serve, through political, military and economic engagements with South Africa, serve their neocolonialist and expansionist interests.

The Albanian people and Government have maintained a resolute and unflagging stand on all forms of racial and national discrimination practised against any people in the world. Abiding by this principled stand, we have continuously condemned the apartheid policy that the South African régime has elevated into an institutionalized system of one of the most brutal forms of discrimination, by the white minority's domination over the coloured majority of that country's population. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never had, and does not have now, any relations whatsoever with South Africa's racist régime, and it never will have so long as the apartheid régime is in power and the coloured population is oppressed and deprived of its freedoms and rights.

(Mr. Mlloja, Albania)

Convinced that the Azanian people's struggle will be crowned by victory, the Albanian delegation once again reiterates its unreserved support for their just struggle to eliminate the apartheid régime and to determine their own destiny, and for all the constructive efforts of the African peoples to achieve freedom, national independence and social progress.

Mrs. RAKOTONDRAIMBOA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French):

Governments in Pretoria come and go, but they all look very much alike - at least that is the impression we have. Mr. F. W. De Klerk came to office in the midst of a great public-relations campaign about his vision of a new South Africa, teasing the oppressed majority with the promise of a constitution under which all races could, with equal rights, contribute to the common future of the land. The entire international community held its breath, waiting for the arrival of this new South Africa of justice and equity.

However, the facts impose on us the observation that so far Pretoria has taken no basic initiative to confirm its protestation about being eager for change. The state of emergency has solidly entered its fourth year, enabling the death squads and other licensed killers to continue to suppress those opposed to that iniquitous régime, and to do so with impunity. Nelson Mandela and the majority of political prisoners are still in jail. Further repressive measures have been taken against liberation movements, particularly the trade unions, youth organizations and religious groups. A total of 88 individuals, according to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, had been sentenced to death for political reasons and were awaiting execution in June 1989. Thirty-seven people have reportedly been executed. The "common-purpose" doctrine, so dear to South African white justice, makes possible the mass sentencing of individuals who have been recognized to be innocent of the alleged crime. Torture is standard practice in South African jails and is used even against children under the age of 18, some

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

hundred of whom are still said to be victims of that practice. The South African Government is using particularly energetic measures against the press and the mass media. World public opinion has been shocked to learn of the suspension, banning, arrest and detention which Pretoria now applies to foreign journalists.

To this list must be added the townships and bantustans, with their burden of human suffering - with people being subjected to police vindictiveness and condemned to vegetate in full view of the lights of Johannesburg and the carefully tailored lawns and arrogant skyscrapers of the cities built by the white minority. Yes, these are monuments to their power but, even more, they are tragic testimony to the sweat and blood of the black majority.

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

The supporters of the racist régime would present this sombre picture of reality as the first promising indication of change. Their appeal is that the new Government must be given time to show what it can do, that leading prisoners have already been freed and that authorized demonstrations and public transport and facilities are now open to all. South Africa has indeed enacted cosmetic reforms in order to improve its image and avert the threats hovering over its debt rescheduling. It has freed political prisoners from their small gaol cells in order to turn them loose in the great common prison of the South African Republic in which gaolers have been replaced by police terror, bombings, torchings and, more recently, the use of toxic chemicals.

We are far from the image of pragmatism and moderation projected in President De Klerk's electoral campaign. It is in a climate of continued violence that his Government would find a peaceful solution to apartheid and insist on the renunciation of violence by liberation movements as the first test of its good faith.

Like the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), my delegation is convinced that the vicious circle of violence can be broken and that apartheid can be eliminated by peaceful means if Pretoria is prepared to enter into genuine and sincere negotiations. Madagascar subscribes to the principles set forth in the Harare Declaration and urges the people of South Africa in its struggle to adopt a common position on negotiations to bring about the elimination of apartheid and on steps towards the transformation of the country into a non-racial democracy. Like the rest of the international community, we think that before any negotiations are undertaken it is essential to create a climate favourable to their successful advancement.

The time has come for the minority régime to face up to its destiny: life in Africa amidst Africans. Given the various economic communities of the world,

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

South Africa has no alternative but to make peace with the majority of its citizens. That is the price of its prosperity.

My delegation remains convinced that the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council, under Chapter VII of the Charter, is still the most appropriate and effective means of bringing a peaceful end to apartheid. Consequently we support not only the retention but also the strengthening of sanctions, in particular financial sanctions, together with concerted action to implement and monitor steps taken individually or collectively by States, since the lack of co-ordination and consistency is being exploited by a growing number of States. In Harare, Kuala Lumpur and Belgrade, the international community has increasingly recognized the effectiveness of sanctions. If any doubts still persist on this score, Mr. De Klerk himself dispelled them when he stated that South Africa could not continue to live in isolation, that although relatively rich, it could not be economically self-sufficient.

We once again urge the permanent members of the Security Council to lift the veto they have imposed. The interests they have at stake will be more stable and better protected if, thanks to increased pressure, South Africa created an egalitarian society, thus ceasing to be a country shunned by mankind.

Until then, however - and here I quote the Malagasy Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement before the Assembly on 12 October:

"We see the problem in two parts: full recognition of black nationalism as a factor that will determine the political, economic and social future of South Africa; and, as a corollary, equal and full enjoyment of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights by the black majority.

"Until there is agreement on these two points, and they are translated into reality, everything will remain at the level of good intentions. It is very easy to deny those good intentions by making exceptions of special and

(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

emergency situations, and then we can do nothing to put an end to the cycle of cynicism, bitterness, impatience and violence - violence carried out for the sake of freedom, and therefore justified". (A/44/PV.30, pp. 34-36)

The Malagasy delegation commends the Special Committee against Apartheid on the manner in which it is carrying out its responsibilities in encouraging international action against apartheid and urges all States, as well as intergovernmental or non-governmental organizations, to increase their co-operation with the Special Committee. Our delegation reaffirms its full support for national liberation movements, in particular the African National Congress of South Africa, which are pursuing their noble objectives in order to end apartheid through political struggle, armed struggle and other means, and which have reaffirmed that they prefer to use peaceful means to achieve their legitimate goals. Our delegation hails the courage, perseverance and spirit of co-ordination of the trade unions and women and youth organizations. We hail the entire black majority, which has not been diverted by privation, torture, or the shadow of the gallows from its goal: to live in freedom.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): This is a critical time in the history of South Africa. All eyes are trained on Namibia. And all of us assembled here are anxious to see a successful culmination of the process which began some eight months ago - the transition of Namibia to complete independence.

The winds of change we have witnessed in Namibia do not seem to have had much of an impact across the southern border. The situation in South Africa, as the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid points out, remains as grim as ever. Under the renewed state of emergency, the régime persists in its repressive measures in its attempts to curb even peaceful anti-apartheid activities. What its enforcement machinery cannot achieve through overt means is thought to be accomplished through covert means, including the use of vigilante



(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

activities. A disconcerting development in recent times is the increasing use of the judiciary to eliminate opponents through the invocation of the "common-purpose" doctrine and tendentious criminalization of peaceful dissent.

Some would like us to believe that things have changed, that Pretoria has become more responsive. Various examples are trotted out to buttress this argument. But isolated examples in the miasma of apartheid are like rare clear morsels in rotten fruit.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Apartheid cannot be salvaged by intermittent measures that appear conciliatory or are forced out of the Pretoria régime through the weight of world public opinion and the resistance of the oppressed. We all know, for example, what happened to Mangena Jeffrey Boesman, despite a unanimous resolution adopted by the Assembly just a month ago. What is incorrigible must be abandoned, to be replaced by a system that is just, humane and equitable.

Attempts are being made to suggest that apartheid is in the process of being reformed. The idea seems to be to present it in a repackaged form. That, clearly, is not acceptable to the people of South Africa. We in the United Nations as the world's conscience, as supporters of the dis-privileged and oppressed, must continue to side with those in South Africa who believe that the greater contamination of apartheid cannot be cleansed with a few handfuls of deceptive, so-called reform measures. Our job here is to ensure apartheid's demise, not its prolongation in disguise.

The question of peace, a primary concern for us here in the United Nations must also be addressed. There can be no peace in the southern African region so long as apartheid continues. While on the one hand it results in the denial of freedom and dignity to the majority of the people of South Africa, on the other it is the cause of acts of aggression and terrorism against neighbouring independent States. The economic cost of destabilization has been estimated to run into billions of dollars. Human suffering and deprivation, the many lives lost - these can never be measured in terms of money. There is only one solution and one prescription for this disease, and that is, as I said earlier, the total rooting-out of apartheid.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

While we welcome the release last month of a few political prisoners, most, including Nelson Mandela, continue to be incarcerated. Such cosmetic measures will not do. Pretoria must show a genuine desire for real change. Each day that passes the prospect of violence intensifies. The people of South Africa want the problem to be resolved peacefully, to see apartheid eliminated peacefully. This is a laudable objective that we share. Peaceful transition can be achieved only through negotiations between Pretoria and the genuine representatives of the people of South Africa. But Pretoria has first to create a climate conducive to the initiation of such a dialogue. This would require: the lifting of the state of emergency; the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of the ban on individuals and political organizations; the repeal of press restrictions; the termination of all repressive measures; and the ending of violence all round. Pretoria must also affirm unambiguously that the objective of such a negotiating process would be to dismantle apartheid and establish majority rule through universal adult franchise in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, within a specified time frame.

But, until that happens, there should be no let up in the sanctions against South Africa. Indeed, the enforcement of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter remains the only effective way to pressurize the Pretoria régime into fulfilling the conditions necessary for peaceful change. There is convincing evidence that sanctions have worked - not that we had any doubts about their efficacy - and the international community must act in concert further to tighten and extend the range and scope of the sanctions. Nothing could be more painful to the people of South Africa than the prolongation of apartheid. They have themselves called for sanctions. How can the international community

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

ignore that call? Indeed, how can anyone argue against mandatory sanctions when apartheid persists as the worst possible sanction against the vast majority in the country itself?

The Non-Aligned Movement, since its inception, has been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. In a convincing expression of its solidarity with the oppressed, the Non-Aligned Movement set up the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund to provide emergency assistance to those that bear the brunt of apartheid - the front-line States and the national liberation movements in southern Africa. The support that the Fund has received in the past three years has been very encouraging, with pledges amounting to nearly half a billion dollars. It is our hope that such concrete acts of international solidarity will be reinforced by equally concrete sanctions by countries which are in a position to strengthen them effectively, and whose responsibility in this regard cannot be denied or evaded.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate India's total opposition to the policy of racial discrimination whenever, wherever and in whatever form it is practised. Our links with the struggle in South Africa date back to the turn of the century. So much has changed since then; so many nations have gained freedom and independence. But the people of South Africa remain enslaved and brutally treated by apartheid. This state of affairs must end. That apartheid persists even today is perhaps the greatest irony of our time; we must all act in concert to end this tragedy.

Ms. CHAN (Singapore): Reflecting on this agenda item reminded me of an article that appeared in the Government Gazette, one of the few remaining daily

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

newspapers in South Africa. That article, which was reprinted in the New York Times on 23 September 1988, reads as follows:

"Nearly 800 South Africans became officially members of a different race group last year, according to figures quoted in Parliament and based on the Population Registration Act. They included 518 Coloureds who were officially reclassified as White, 14 Whites who became Coloureds, 7 Chinese who became White, 2 Whites who became Chinese, 3 Malays who became White, 1 White who became an Indian, 50 Indians who became Coloureds, 54 Coloureds who became Indian, 17 Indians who became Malay, 4 Coloureds who became Chinese, 1 Malay who became Chinese, 89 Blacks who became Coloureds [and] 5 Coloureds who became Black".

This absurd but true story illustrates how virulent, resilient and adaptive apartheid is and can be. The régime that was the author of that evil system has not lost its political will to survive and to preserve its privileges and domination in the face of mounting internal and international pressures. Apartheid has the quality of a political chameleon but, whatever its guise, its fundamental evil nature is still the same. The international community cannot stand by and allow this evil and anachronistic doctrine to survive into the twenty-first century.

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

In recent years we have seen many changes taking place in South Africa. More and more cracks are appearing in the legal framework of apartheid. The notorious Pass Laws were abolished in 1986. In March this year the South African Government set up a mechanism to open a handful of neighbourhoods to all races. In June 1989 South Africa's governing National Party made public a five-year plan for political reform in which it envisaged giving the black majority democratic participation in national government through an intricate federal system of ethnic, cultural and geographical voting blocs that would govern their local affairs and deal with national issues through legislative consensus. Following that, in October this year the South African Government released unconditionally Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners. More recently, Mr. F. W De Klerk has allowed peaceful demonstrations to take place and indicated that he might phase out a national state of emergency that had been in effect since June 1986.

For the whites who have grown up in the unadulterated apartheid society those changes are viewed as major concessions. Among the black population, however, they are seen for what they are - mere cosmetic and tactical changes designed to defend apartheid. It would seem that the Pretoria régime has merely given up trying to enforce what has become unworkable in its complex system of apartheid. However, with each piecemeal gesture towards conciliation new contradictions appear in the enforcement of laws that perpetuate white minority rule. For example, while the South African Government has repealed the Pass Laws, this new freedom of movement of blacks has been circumscribed through other laws that prohibit squatting. Similarly, the National Party's five-year plan for political reform is based on the premise that decisions of a new national legislature would be reached by consensus, meaning that minority groups such as the 4.5 million whites would, in effect, have the same power as the black majority.

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

The inconsistencies are further illustrated by the case of Mr. Walter Sisulu's own family. The New York Times reported on 22 October 1989 that two days before Mr. Sisulu's release the Government had lifted its restrictions on political activities by his wife, Albertina, but not by his son Zwelakhe, a journalist. This meant that if the Sisulus discussed politics at the dinner table their son would not be able to join them.

In short, at the core the changes do not address legitimate black South African aspirations. As Rory Riordan, the editor of Monitor, a human rights journal in Port Elizabeth, has said, "Apartheid is a much bigger beast than the laws that regulate it". The bedrock issue is the elimination of the apartheid system and the need to devolve political power to the country's black majority. We agree with this view entirely.

How long can the Pretoria régime continue with its policy of reforming apartheid and ignoring the inalienable rights of the black majority to self-determination, a fundamental principle of the United Nations? South Africa must surely know that it is fighting a lost cause. With the growing rapprochement between the two super-Powers there has been an outbreak of détente around the world. The prospects for peace in southern Africa look brighter now than at any time in the 1970s. Today, Namibia, which has been a mere extension of South Africa's apartheid policies, is on the verge of becoming independent. After Namibia's independence it can only be a matter of time before South Africa itself is liberated from the yoke of racism.

Some Afrikaners may think that they can withstand the pressure to dismantle apartheid by rallying behind the modern-day equivalent of the Voortrekkers' lager of circled ox wagons. If that were so, the Afrikaner would need only to look across his borders to see the advance of history's tide. The tide of black nationalism that led to the birth of Ghana in 1957, the end of Rhodesia in 1980,

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

the independence process in Namibia and, in between, the freeing of an entire continent is now at South Africa's doorstep. There is no buffer zone left. The Afrikaner stands alone, and in trying to preserve an untenable régime South Africa has become a destabilizing, isolated force in the African continent. It is only a matter of time before apartheid is consigned to the rubbish bin of history.

Already there are signs of the white community's progressive fragmentation under pressure. The results of the recently held whites-only elections in South Africa, the growing emigration of whites from that country as compared to the rapidly growing black population, and the unequivocal condemnation of apartheid by the Dutch Reformed Church - the bastion of Afrikanerdom - are all signs that portend the eventual demise of the apartheid system. Even a legal commission appointed by the South African Government to study the feasibility of a bill of rights for that country concluded in its report in March this year that it was imperative to include the right to vote for the country's disenfranchised black majority. Even white South Africans are sending the Pretoria régime the message that apartheid is doomed.

What can the international community do to hasten the end of the Pretoria régime and help bring about a peaceful, political solution in South Africa? Besides reaffirming our political support for the black struggle in South Africa we can take effective action by applying comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. This is essential if we are to bring peaceful change in South Africa. The sanctions report prepared for the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on southern Africa concludes, in a passage on pages 180 and 181, as follows:



(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

"For the white minority, negotiating fundamental change and giving up a monopoly on power will be a long, difficult and worying process. It is a road that will be taken only when it is the only one available. Sanctions are essential to demonstrate that the option of reforming apartheid is too expensive and is internationally unacceptable. Sanctions are necessary to push Pretoria down the demanding path to genuine negotiation."

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Singapore is a member, solidly supports the anti-apartheid struggle. At the ASEAN Ministers' Meeting held in Brunei Darussalam on 3 and 4 July 1989 the foreign ministers of the six member States reaffirmed their condemnation of apartheid and called for the total elimination of the apartheid system. They also expressed their solidarity with the African people in their just struggle for liberation and justice and demanded the early release of African nationals in South Africa, including Mr. Nelson Mandela. The ASEAN foreign ministers also noted that the existing economic and other sanctions against South Africa adopted by the international community had already had a significant effect on that country and called for their wider, tighter and more intensive application.

Singapore has consistently supported General Assembly resolutions condemning the repressive policies of the Pretoria régime. In compliance with United Nations resolutions calling for the complete cessation of the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, and with the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa the Singapore Government has decided to ban the carriage of oil to South Africa by Singapore-flagged ships with effect from 15 September 1989. Shipping companies owned by the Singapore Government will include end-user clauses and other conditions in their charter agreements to ensure compliance with the embargo. Singapore-registered ships violating this ban will have their registrations cancelled.

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

An administrative ban on the export of oil and petroleum products to southern Africa also came into effect on 15 September this year. The Singapore Government has issued a circular informing companies trading in petroleum and petroleum products in Singapore of this administrative ban. In addition, Singapore firmly discourages contacts of any kind, including political, economic, military, cultural and sports contacts, with South Africa. Singapore is ready to co-operate in any collective international effort that will effectively prevent oil trade with South Africa and isolate the Pretoria régime.

The time for easy and comfortable choices in South Africa has run out. Difficult and tough decisions must be made now. The Pretoria régime should work seriously towards the full integration of blacks into the country's social and political structures. When this happens, the whites in South Africa will learn, as the whites in Zimbabwe already have, that there is no reason why blacks and whites cannot live together to build a nation. The achievements of Zimbabwe in the political, economic and social spheres testify to this fact.

Black southern Africans are not opposed to whites in South Africa. It is the policies of apartheid that they oppose and will continue to oppose by all the means available to them. The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group presented this reality clearly in its report, issued in 1986, when it stated:

"The blacks have had enough of apartheid. They have confidence not merely in the justice of their cause, but in the inevitability of their victory. The strength of black convictions is now matched by a readiness to die for these convictions. They will, therefore, sustain their struggle, whatever the cost."

My delegation welcomes the recent release of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners from South Africa's prisons. However, their release can acquire real meaning only if it is seen as a first step towards the eradication of

(Ms. Chan, Singapore)

apartheid. The South African Government should follow this up by taking the following additional action: first, release unconditionally all other political prisoners and detainees, including Mr. Nelson Mandela, this being a necessary and crucial step towards a settlement; secondly, lift the state of emergency; thirdly, unban national liberation movements and all political exiles; fourthly, begin a process of dialogue with the true representatives of black South Africans, especially Mr. Nelson Mandela.

These steps should be implemented immediately because for South Africa time is running out.

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): This is the third time in four years that I have had the opportunity to stand at this rostrum to address the issue of apartheid. Since my last statement before the Assembly, in 1987, much has happened in southern Africa.

Recently, I returned from Namibia. I had led the Canadian Parliamentary Observer Mission to study the situation and offer comments to our Government and to those with whom we work about the future. One cannot travel through Namibia without witnessing at first hand the devastating effects the system of apartheid has wreaked upon a people and a society. Even as I speak, the voters of Namibia - 210,000 on the first day - are turning out in a massive display of support for a constitutional process that will liberate that country from apartheid and establish a democratic Government. The success of these elections and of the constitutional process to follow should provide South Africans and others in the region with a valuable demonstration of the feasibility of fundamental change through a peaceful, democratic and negotiated approach.

No civilized nation can countenance a system which denies basic human rights to people because of their colour. The tyranny of racism tears at the social fabric of communities and nations. Ultimately it destroys their economies and

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

causes instability and disorder within and beyond their borders. Only freedom, freedom for all, can provide a basis for economic well-being and political stability. The protection and enhancement of human rights is therefore a fundamental tenet of Canadian foreign policy.

Canada has fought against apartheid because we believe that it is fundamentally wrong. We also believe that it is an issue on which our joining forces with other nations, here through the United Nations and in the Commonwealth, has made a significant difference. We believe that, thanks to these efforts, we have reached a critical juncture. With more steady pressure, we hope that the institutionalized system of racism in South Africa will soon be in retreat. However, despite some new and hopeful signs that some progress is perhaps being made, there are still, regrettably, few indications that the South African Government is embarked on a concrete plan to dismantle apartheid.

Canada, on its own initiative and in concert with others, has therefore adopted a variety of measures to convince the South African Government that it must take concrete action to bring about fundamental change. We have acted with financial and trade sanctions, an embargo on the import and export of arms, a ban on sporting contacts, support for the front-line States, assistance to the victims of apartheid, programmes to encourage dialogue among South Africans of all races, and to refute the repugnant censorship and propaganda emanating from Pretoria.

Without the pressures that have been exerted on a steady basis, internally within South Africa and externally by the international community, would there have been the unprecedented peaceful marches and rallies in South Africa? Would there have been the release of leaders? Would there have been contacts between the South African Government and anti-apartheid Church leaders?

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

There is no question but that sanctions have worked. Before his resignation as Governor of the Reserve Bank of South Africa last spring, the late Gerhard de Kock candidly acknowledged that South Africa was "bleeding". He warned that

"if adequate progress is not made in political and constitutional reform, South Africa's relationships with the rest of the world are unlikely to improve."

Law and Order Minister Vlok has himself admitted that

"if sanctions are introduced against us we can do nothing .... We do not live alone in this world."

These statements, at the very least, point to a recognition of the problem, although action clearly still is wanting.\*

---

\* Mr. Tellmann (Norway), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

There are growing signs, however, that a new generation of South Africans is seeking change. Young, white middle-class students have joined with the black majority in calling for the transformation of the South African society. The Dutch Reformed Church, once a champion of white supremacy, is distancing itself from apartheid.

Acceptable change requires dialogue, which in turn requires mutual acceptance of legitimacy by each party of the other. This depends on the acceptance of non-violence as the sole mechanism of change. In this connection, the negotiating position of the African National Congress, contained in the Harare Declaration, represents a useful contribution to talks. We are encouraged by its stress on a negotiated settlement and its call for negotiations in the context of a mutual suspension of violence.

This idea was also put forward by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group in 1986. Last month's Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, which I attended as a member of the Canadian delegation, reconfirmed that this negotiating concept remains as valid today as when it was first put forward in 1986.

We are also encouraged by the African National Congress's recognition that discussion and co-operation with other legitimate voices of opposition in South Africa are worthy of pursuit.

I think it is important to recognize that the contribution of the Commonwealth to bringing this issue to the centre stage of international affairs in the past four years has been immense, from the imposition of a substantial range of sanctions at the Nassau meetings in 1985 to the tightening of measures in Vancouver two years later. During the past two years leadership has been given by the Special Committee of Foreign Ministers, chaired by Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Clark.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

At Kuala Lumpur last month Commonwealth Heads of Government reiterated their preference for a negotiated and peaceful settlement. At the same time, they made the point that the constitutional system was a matter for all the people of South Africa to decide. They also agreed that existing sanctions and pressures should be maintained and increased. Indeed, financial sanctions were tightened. Only when there is evidence of clear and irreversible change should we consider lifting sanctions. Commonwealth Heads of Government called upon the wider international community to do likewise. I would add that this applies especially to those countries with significant trade and financial links to South Africa.

The Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur reconfirmed in their communiqué that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change. In this connection, it is important to note that there are many creative steps that can be taken to promote the impulse for change in South Africa.

We believe, for example, that the international community should be prepared to support and encourage occasions when prominent South Africans can discuss a future without apartheid. This can help break down the isolation of the Afrikaner community and help identify ways to dissipate the fears and mistrust which are barriers to change.

Canada has spent heavily on projects to bring together South Africans of different races. We have supported human rights and professional organizations trying to break down and compensate for the barriers of apartheid; we have promoted the idea of non-racial justice through the arts and popular culture; we have assisted both mainstream and alternative media with training and legal advice, in order to make available a true picture of South Africa; we have financed successful and effective non-racial camps, conferences and township encounters to bring home

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

to white South Africans an understanding of the lives and hopes of their black countrymen. We have instituted a \$1.6 million Dialogue Fund to support projects along those lines, in addition to other projects to assist victims and opponents of apartheid. We also have a significant programme to assist in countering South African censorship and propaganda.

In addition to those projects, we are spending annually about \$8 million for educational programmes, legal and humanitarian assistance to detainees and their families, support for the trade-union movement and economic and social development programmes. Canada has demonstrated its readiness to help not merely in words but in concrete ways.

In this context, I wish to acknowledge the leadership of Mr. Garba, President of the Assembly, on this issue we are addressing today, particularly in directing arrangements for the upcoming special session on apartheid. Canada will be participating in that session, which we view as an important opportunity for the United Nations community to demonstrate its solidarity on this issue.

There have been many noteworthy events in the past few months. There are elections in Namibia, which will liberate that territory from apartheid; there have been some peaceful demonstrations in South Africa; and there is much talk both inside and outside the country of dialogue and the possibility of negotiation. It is as important now as ever before to keep up the international pressure for change.

We are today at the edge of hope. The importance of this debate is that, like the upcoming special session, it provides a further opportunity for the international community as a whole to unite in expressing condemnation of apartheid and to call for its speedy and early eradication. This message is fundamental for the entire human family.



Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): For more than 40 years the racist policies of South Africa have been discussed, debated and condemned in the United Nations. Yet, despite the united moral voice of the international community, the system of apartheid - a system of injustice and institutionalized racism which is contrary to all civilized values - remains in place in that country and repressive measures continue. For more than three years the state of emergency has been imposed and reimposed by South African authorities. Basic human and political rights have been refused to black South Africans, who make up three quarters of the population. The gaoling and exile of black leaders and of others who have sought to speak out continues. The infamous Group Areas Act, with its bizarre injustices of the homeland system, remains untouched. A racially segregated educational system, the Population Registration Act, racially segregated parliaments - all these remain intact.

A year ago, in the plenary debate, delegations commented on a few tentative steps that were then being taken by the South African Government. We said at that time that, whatever change had occurred, it had been painfully and disappointingly slow, and, while welcome, the steps remained totally inadequate as any sign of a commitment on the part of the Government of South Africa to put an end to the system of apartheid.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

We must acknowledge that in recent weeks we have again seen some encouraging hints that change might be coming. We have seen the unconditional release from prison on 15 October of eight political leaders, including Walter Sisulu. Following those releases we have seen the holding of large rallies which have not been disrupted by the Government; and we have seen indications that a real dialogue between black and white leaders might be possible. But it is still too soon to judge whether those moves are a signal of real change or little more than cosmetic measures designed to weaken international pressure. So far what we have seen may have been straws in the wind but there has been little yet that gives real substance to signs of changed intentions.

What is needed now from the Government of South Africa is that it fulfil its first tentative words of peace by deeds; show courage and initiative in casting aside discredited and repressive policies that can never be the solution to South Africa's chronic political and economic problems; show courage and initiative in creating the conditions in which free negotiations on political and constitutional change can take place by lifting the state of emergency, freeing unconditionally, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and allowing free political expression and organization; and show courage and initiative by putting an end to the whole pernicious system of apartheid and seeking a peaceful path to reconciliation at home and abroad.

Following the release of Walter Sisulu and his colleagues from prison, the South African society has not collapsed, nor has law and order broken down. The celebrations and meetings which accompanied those releases have been exuberant, but orderly, and have not posed any danger to the safety of the community at large. The worst fears of the racist South African society have not been realized. The waters have been tested and the way ahead shown clearly for the South African Government. No more excuses can be accepted for failure to take the path forward.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

The Australian Government believes that whatever positive steps are being taken by the South African Government are a response to internal and external pressures for reform. This means that the international community continues to have a significant role to play in maintaining those pressures for the elimination of apartheid.

One very effective form of pressure is, of course, the application of sanctions, including comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, which my Government is on record as being willing to support. The Australian Government believes that the justification for sanctions against South Africa is the pressure they create for fundamental political change. Their purpose is not to bring Pretoria to its knees but to bring it to its senses, to bring it to the negotiating table and keep it there until change is irreversibly secured.

Even leading South African Government figures have acknowledged the pressures brought by sanctions on the South African economy. On 5 May this year Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said that austerity measures were necessary to enable the country's foreign exchange reserves to withstand what he called "the economic onslaught against South Africa". A few days later the late Gerhard de Kock, then South African Reserve Bank Governor, acknowledged in a public speech that international pressures, particularly financial sanctions, had crippled South Africa's ability to deliver sustained economic growth. This trend could not be reversed without "adequate progress in the field of political and constitutional reform. South Africa's economic future", said de Kock, "is inextricably entwined with its political future." So the message of sanctions has been understood.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

Australia, at the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur last month, strongly concurred in the common view that this was not the time to consider any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures, that this would have to await evidence of clear and irreversible change, and that in the meantime all existing sanctions and measures should be maintained.

The Australian Government believes that, in particular, financial sanctions applied by the private sector, Governments and non-governmental organizations have been and continue to be one of the most effective forms of pressure on Pretoria, by denying the flow of new capital needed to finance South Africa's growth and making it harder for South Africa to support financially the hugely expensive Government apparatus of apartheid.

A meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on southern Africa, of which Australia is a member, chaired by the Canadian Foreign Minister and held in Canberra in August of this year, called for a tightening of conditions for debt repayment, the imposition of further restrictions on trade finance, and the monitoring of a ban on medium- and long-term lending.

The recent meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur similarly recognized the importance of pressure on South Africa's dealings with the international financial community and went on to discuss the development of new forms of pressure through the extension of and intensification of financial sanctions, in particular by calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit term to 90 days; and calling on relevant Governments to make trade credits harder to get by taking South Africa "off cover" with official Government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

My delegation notes and welcomes the inclusion of those measures in the new draft resolution on international financial pressures on the apartheid economy of South Africa, which we are to consider in a few days time.

As a result of discussion at the Commonwealth meeting, the Government of Australia has offered to provide substantial initial funding for an independent agency to review and report on a regular basis on South Africa's international financial links and to gather and publicize factual information on financial flows to, and financial policies concerning, South Africa.

Beyond this, Australia takes a prominent and determined stance against apartheid and its injustices in a full range of areas, in some cases on our own, and in other cases in company with other like-minded countries. Some of our measures have been aimed particularly at white South Africans to bring home to them the personal costs of apartheid and to encourage them to be instruments of change within South Africa: namely, our ban on representative sports exchanges between Australia and South Africa, the cessation of air links, and our withdrawal of consular facilities for visa issue from South Africa.

Other measures have a wider purpose and have been taken together with our Commonwealth partners. Australia has implemented all the measures agreed by Commonwealth leaders in Nassau in October 1985 and in London in 1986. All these measures are now established in Australian law and policy.

We believe that there are also positive measures that Governments can take to encourage and support change in South Africa and to strengthen the stand of the international community against apartheid.

For example, since 1983 the Australian Government has sponsored a wide-ranging visits programme that enables prominent opponents of apartheid to visit Australia and discuss issues with Government agencies, private groups and the media.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

We also maintain a wide range of contacts with representative strands of black opinion in both South Africa and Australia, where the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) maintain offices. Within South Africa, Australia has an extensive and expanding range of contacts with the mass democratic movement, Churches, trade unions, professional groups and the many other human rights and community groups which so bravely and consistently challenge the forces of apartheid.

The Australian Government has also expanded its development assistance to those countries facing military and economic destabilization by South Africa as a result of their support for the international campaign against apartheid, and funds extensive education and training programmes for South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid.

There can be no doubting the determination of the United Nations to end apartheid, even if so far it has not yet led to the attainment of that goal.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

But, inevitably, apartheid's days are numbered. Inevitably, justice will prevail.

We cannot and must not regard these debates as repetitive rituals. We must maintain the pressure. South Africa must be given the unmistakable message that apartheid policies cannot and shall not be tolerated. They are anathema to the basic tenets of a civilized world.

Mr. DOWEK (Israel): There are issues on which one's stand and beliefs are so obvious, so natural, so clear that one does not feel the need to find new approaches or new formulations to state his position. This is the case of my delegation when it comes to apartheid.

My delegation states with force, without the slightest hesitation or afterthought: Israel and the Jewish people reject and condemn apartheid in the most categorical and unequivocal manner, both as an ideology and as a political system. Together, with the entire community of nations, they call upon South Africa to abolish apartheid, to desist from any kind of racial discrimination and to grant full equal rights to all its citizens - black, white and coloured. Israel and the Jewish people tell Africa and the world, forcefully: we are with you in the just struggle to eliminate apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination. Our commitment is not motivated by political or tactical considerations. It is unconditional and absolute. It is not only our duty as decent and enlightened human beings, it is also part of our innermost being and reflects our deepest beliefs. We support and shall continue to support all peoples striving for justice and racial equality beyond any political considerations and regardless of their stand as to our own struggle for national survival.

From time immemorial, Israel and the Jewish people have had an inborn atavistic repulsion and abhorrence for any form of racial discrimination. They

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

stand, and have always stood, for the absolute equality of all races - social, economic and political.

Judaism is indeed the first and oldest monotheistic religion from which Christianity and Islam stem. It is the religion that gave mankind the Ten Commandments and most of the social norms and values that are steering the civilized world to this very day, and have done so long before anyone else dreamt of adopting and compiling humanitarian instruments. The people who brought to the world the divine message that men, all men, have been created in the image of God and are equally his beloved sons cannot but have the utmost repugnance for each and every manifestation of racism. Historically, the Jewish people have always been at the forefront of all struggles for liberty, equality and peace. They have suffered more than any other people on the face of the Earth from the darkest racism and worst forms of racial discrimination culminating in the atrocious holocaust of 6 million Jews during the Second World War. Furthermore, from the dawn of time, the Jewish people have been, and they remain, an ethnically multi-racial people and society, from pale white to ebony black and passing through the widest range of all possible shades. No slogan, no United Nations resolution, no inflammatory speech can change these sharply evident facts.

It is with deep sorrow that my delegation has to point out that the just and noble struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination is once again harnessed, shamelessly, to the unholy diplomatic jihad waged against Israel and the Jewish people. Year after year under this agenda item some delegations, disposing, it seems, of irresistible political leverage, make consistent but rather fruitless efforts to equate Judaism and Zionism with apartheid and racial discrimination. They succeed in having adopted a series of patently biased and slanderous resolutions singling out Israel in relation to South Africa. Furthermore, in



(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

complete disregard of minimal common sense and well-documented facts, they try to create the impression that the situation prevailing in that country is similar to the one prevailing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. My delegation finds no need and no point to engage in a full-fledged argument with those delegations as it did in the relevant Committees. Their goals and tactics are so transparent, so evident, that they necessitate no comment or refutation.

Indeed, my delegation prefers to address itself to the African delegations and, through them, to the peoples of Africa and all the peoples and Governments that genuinely strive to eradicate apartheid from the face of the Earth and refuse to let themselves be manipulated by anti-Semitic manoeuvres. Israel fervently hopes that no one will be allowed to weaken and stain the noble cause of the struggle against apartheid by misusing it as a propaganda gadget or as a tool to promote other forms of racism.

Apartheid is too great an evil to be manipulated cynically. Apartheid is the scum of the Earth. Apartheid is a scourge that is to be eradicated from the root, together with all other forms of racism, anti-Semitism - and I mean by anti-Semitism the hatred of the Jew - and all sorts of discrimination on ethnic, racial or religious grounds. Racism, as terrorism, is indivisible. One cannot oppose it in one part of the world and support or acquiesce in it in another. One cannot condemn racial discrimination against one's people and race and instigate racial discrimination against other peoples and races.

Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, and racism are two opposites. Racism is the absolute opposite of everything for which the people of Israel stand for: Jewish tradition and history, the Torah and the moral values of Judaism from which Zionism stems. It is hardly a coincidence that those who

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

have the audacity to speak in the same breath of racism, Zionism and nazism are the very same who advocate openly racist and anti-Semitic ideas and reject expressly the two most salient symbols of Zionism: the right of the Jewish people to return to the land of Israel and the very concept of democracy - genuine, true democracy - as the corner-stone of freedom and social progress.

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

Many of them have the worst record of violations of human rights against their own citizens. Some maintained up to the last decade as a legal and rightful social system slavery - yes slavery - the buying and selling of human beings as if they were cattle to be disposed of. One of them went so far as to use lethal gas in its implacable repression of one of its defenceless minorities, at the cost of thousands of innocent victims.

Let me now come to the allegations against my country. Israel's diplomatic ties with South Africa and its very limited commercial relations with it in no way imply supporting or condoning apartheid. The Government of Israel has repeatedly stressed before the South African Government its total rejection of apartheid and of all regulations based on racial discrimination. Israel has never ceased calling forcefully upon South Africa to rescind all measures that contravene the basic liberties of all its citizens. Furthermore, it is no secret that Israel's economic relations with South Africa are relatively insignificant. Its investment represents 0.1 per cent of the overall investment in South Africa. Allow me to remind the Assembly that there is 99.9 per cent that is still unaccounted for. As for trade, International Monetary Fund statistics show in the most irrefutable manner that Israel accounts for less than one half of 1 per cent total volume of South Africa's exports and three quarters of 1 per cent of its imports. These same statistics show that South Africa's trading partners are scattered everywhere - in Europe, America, Asia, the Arab world, the Soviet bloc and even in Africa. In all, South Africa has 140 listed commercial partners - not 13, as some United Nations reports would like us to believe.

Yet only Israel is singled out by the Arab propaganda machine and branded as supporting apartheid. It is not Israel that sells oil to South Africa. Israel, regrettably, has no oil. Studies by the Shipping Research Bureau in Amsterdam confirm beyond doubt that most of South Africa's oil imports come from Arab

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

countries and that this percentage is constantly increasing. Mr. T. Froyshes, Norway's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1985, stressed these crude facts in a statement before the Norwegian Parliament, saying:

"Ninety-five per cent of the oil supplied to South Africa comes from Arab States on the Persian Gulf - one half of this in direct shipments".

In spite of the complacent silence of the world community, everyone knows that this annual trade amounts to billions of dollars. Yet the Arab countries are at the forefront of those who exert unbearable pressure on all parties to single out Israel in relation to South Africa and to adopt resolutions condemning it repeatedly. Clearly this is part of their political warfare against Israel. It has nothing to do with the struggle against apartheid and against the scourge of racism. In spreading the "Big Lie", the myth of an imaginary "alliance" between apartheid and Zionism, they are trying - without success - to impart to Israel the spurious image of being beyond the pale of civilized nations. The reality is different. It is much more sober and muted. In this respect Israel is no better - but also no worse - than any other country. The singling out of Israel and the unsubstantiated resolutions against it are one more striking example of the double standards, or should I say the absence of standards, imposed on the world community by the Arab bloc in its relentless efforts to weaken Israel's international position.

The anti-Israeli rituals carried out in this arena, under Arab prompting, would have been merely laughable were they not undermining the just struggle against apartheid and becoming a menacing caricature which, put in Orwell's "mobile truth" and "double think", not only makes people say the opposite of what they know is the truth, but even makes them think the opposite of what everyone knows to be the truth.

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

The current tragic events in South Africa, which are taking their daily toll in human life, cannot but move Israel to call once again for an end to the racist system of apartheid. A policy based on racial discrimination can lead only to instability, bloodshed and the suffering of innocent people. Only societies based on equality and human dignity can guarantee peace, security and well-being to all their components.

This position has the widest possible support not only in Israel but also among the Jewish people at large. The Jewish community in South Africa itself has always stood against apartheid and recently has once again called officially for its elimination.

The World Jewish Congress, at its meeting in Vienna, declared solemnly that it "Reaffirms the dedication of world Jewry at large to the struggle against all forms of racism and racial discrimination, including the age-old scourge of the Jewish people, anti-semitism, and the State-provoked form of racism, apartheid. It recalls that this struggle against racism and racial discrimination was one of the principal goals for which the World Jewish Congress was created in 1936, conforming to the ethical and moral heritage of Judaism."

Israel's greatest hope is that the Government of South Africa, in pursuing the longed-for path of peace and dialogue, will eschew bigotry and create conditions that will enable its people to live in full equality, mutual respect and peace. For Israel, the only possible solution, the only solution that will bring peace and harmony to all sectors of the South African population, is indeed the total abolition of apartheid by law and the eradication of any and all forms of discrimination in daily life in South Africa. It is also Israel's belief that the South African Government should be encouraged to move in the direction of a

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

permanent and constructive dialogue, on a national as well as an international level.

On 11 August 1985, in his capacity as Prime Minister at the time, Mr. Shimon Peres issued an official statement declaring that the Israeli Government was unconditionally opposed to the policy of apartheid in South Africa, that apartheid was completely contrary to the very foundations upon which Jewish life was based and that Israel would not agree to any discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or colour, or on any other grounds.

Since then this staunch position has been reiterated in decisions and statements at the very highest level of the Israeli Knesset and Government. From this very rostrum the present Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir said:

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

"These and other issues remain unresolved, however, and they demand serious and responsible attention. First among these is the repugnant reign of apartheid in South Africa.

"Israel, founded upon basic moral and democratic values, cannot remain silent in the face of racial discrimination, wherever it may occur. We reject and condemn apartheid as a political, social and economic system."

(A/41/PV.16, p. 61)

In Israel's opinion, apartheid is not reformable and must be abolished.

"Israel also believes that violence is not the path to reform in South Africa. We must urgently foster a climate that will facilitate a political settlement if we are to avoid a further drift towards economic chaos, suffering and bloodshed. We hope responsible leaders on all sides will act to create such a climate and that the Government of South Africa will initiate negotiations that will satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africans ..." (*ibid.*)

Only a few days ago, President Chaim Herzog said:

"Israel has denounced and continues to denounce the foolish policy of apartheid. It contravenes Israel's principles as a democratic State, and especially the Torah and Jewish tradition. Dr. Herzl wrote as long ago as 1902 that, after he succeeded in his efforts to liberate the Jewish people, he would devote his time to liberating the African nation. However, with the hypocrisy that characterizes the treatment of the issue of South Africa and its connections with Israel, the world's application of a double standard reaches new heights."

The unwavering commitment of Israel to the struggle against apartheid and racism is but a logical reflection in modern times of the long-standing beliefs of

(Mr. Dowek, Israel)

the Jewish people, dating from the very outset of its millenary history as embodied in its most sacred teachings:

"Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why then do we deal treacherously every man against his brother..." (The Holy Bible, Malachi 2:10)

"Why did the Creator form all life from a single ancestor? So that the families of mankind shall not lord one over the other in the belief that they have sprung from superior stock, and so that all men recognize their common kinship in the collective human family." (The Talmud Tosefta Sanhidrin 8:4)

In conclusion, I shall add one fundamental axiom, which I would like our African friends never, never to forget. Here I quote again the former Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Peres, who stated in a speech before British Members of Parliament;

"Israel will never make a compromise on apartheid or condone any kind of racial discrimination. The Jewish person who would do so thereby ceases to be Jewish. It is as simple as that."

Mr. YADAB (Nepal): The annual debate on this item in the General Assembly provides the international community with an opportunity to reaffirm its solidarity with the majority people of South Africa in their struggle for equality, liberty and justice. Year after year the General Assembly has reviewed the situation in South Africa. It has adopted resolutions condemning apartheid as a crime against humanity. It has denounced the brutal repression of the majority people by the racist régime of South Africa. Despite all this, the racist régime continues to ignore world public opinion and persists in the universally condemned policy of apartheid.



(Mr. Yadab, Nepal)

Recent developments in international relations have increased hope for a peaceful solution of regional conflicts. In southern Africa the process of independence for Namibia is well under way. International pressure was one of the important reasons why South Africa was persuaded to accept the agreement on Namibia. The international community must remain vigilant until Namibia emerges as a fully independent country. Namibia presents an example of what the international community, acting in unity, can achieve in forcing South Africa to change its universally condemned policies.

The present climate of international relations makes this the most opportune moment for increasing pressure on South Africa. As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid mentions, sanctions and boycott are hurting the minority régime in South Africa. The action taken by the countries of the world against South Africa are as yet not co-ordinated. Even so, leaders of the minority régime have started to talk about reforming apartheid so as to create a new South Africa. Recently, some positive steps have also been taken by the Government of South Africa. I would mention in this context the release of eight long-term political prisoners. But the fact remains that apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be totally eliminated.

The release from prison of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other leaders of the struggling people of South Africa has been welcomed by all, but many other leaders of the people, including Nelson Mandela, remain in prison. Many are facing life sentences just because they had the courage to speak out against apartheid and for equality and justice. Police brutality against political dissent has not decreased, nor has the ban on such dissent been lifted. Vigilante groups continue to terrorize the opponents of the régime. As recently as last September the racist

(Mr. Yadab, Nepal)

régime held elections for a segregationist Parliament despite overwhelming opposition to such elections. Discriminatory laws are still on the statute book.

These stark facts reveal the duplicity of the South African authorities. Unless the Government released all political detainees, repealed all discriminatory and repressive laws and ended the state of emergency, it would be premature to expect real change in South Africa. Only such measures can reassure the world that the South African Government is serious when it talks about a new South Africa.

(Mr. Yadav, Nepal)

The racist régime is coming under increasing pressure both within South Africa and from the international community. In spite of the repression, more and more people are speaking out against apartheid in South Africa. I wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the heroic men, women and children of South Africa who have staked everything for the sake of freedom, justice and dignity. Theirs is a dream of a non-racial, democratic South Africa. Leaders of the oppressed people have time and again reiterated their commitment to such a goal. This goal can be achieved if the minority régime is willing to dismantle barriers to the beginning of a genuine dialogue with the leaders of the majority people. The struggling people of South Africa have made great sacrifices for this dream; the international community owes them firm support in every possible way to enable them to attain this noble objective.

I wish also to take this opportunity to pay our tribute to the front-line States on the great sacrifices they have made. Despite the campaign of destabilization and aggression waged by the racist régime, they have not wavered in their support of the struggling majority of South Africa.

The Pretoria régime shows no sign of willingness to negotiate with the leaders of the majority for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa. The only option left for the international community to force South Africa to heed reason is imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime. As I mentioned earlier, even an unco-ordinated boycott and limited sanctions have produced some positive results. The actions taken by Nordic countries deserve special appreciation. Implementation of the oil embargo has to be tightened and strictly monitored. Similarly, loopholes in the arms embargo urgently need to be closed. Trade embargoes and disinvestment measures taken by individual countries will have far greater effect if they are co-ordinated and

(Mr. Yadav, Nepal)

standardized. This is equally true of sports boycotts and cultural boycotts. Only such co-ordinated measures by the international community can force the Pretoria régime to dismantle apartheid, thus paving the way for the establishment of a society with equal rights and opportunity for all its people.

In conclusion, I wish to place on record the deep appreciation of my delegation for the valuable work being done by the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Special Committee has been in the forefront of the campaign against the Pretoria régime and has effectively co-ordinated the international struggle against apartheid. By its work the Committee has rendered invaluable assistance in raising international consciousness against the criminal system of apartheid.

Mr. PHOFOLO (Lesotho): The General Assembly has been seized of the problem of apartheid for decades now. The inhuman character of the policy of apartheid has been analysed and its atrocities catalogued. It has subsequently been rejected by the world community as an affront to all forms of civilized society and universally condemned as a threat to international peace and a crime against humanity.

The codification of racial discrimination into the laws of South Africa that constitutes the essence of apartheid has reduced even the judiciary and the courts of law in that country from their noble standing as defenders of people's rights to the ignominy of being enforcers of oppression and injustice.

We have over the years heard how fundamental human rights, taken for granted elsewhere as self-evident, are still denied the majority population of South Africa, including the right to participate in the political life of their country, and how the majority of those who decide to stand up for their rights are subjected to brutality and humiliation under the apartheid laws, including torture, imprisonment and even execution.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

We have witnessed how a number of well-calculated measures and devices have been employed by the South African Government to entrench the privileged position of the white minority population in that country. The imposition on the black people of South Africa of so-called Bantu education, which is inferior to that given the whites, was intended in particular to perpetuate for ever the miserable predicament of the black population, which as a group is entirely dependent on its white masters.

But the culmination of the policy of apartheid was the Balkanization of that country into bantustans, treacherously designed to alter the population chemistry of South Africa overwhelmingly in favour of the whites. Millions of black people of South Africa were systematically deprived of their citizenship, some forcibly removed from the cities and other areas only to be resettled in some far-off barren enclaves called tribal homelands dotted around the circumference of the territory of South Africa. The architects of apartheid were never concerned about the immorality of squeezing 25 million black South African people into only 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa while reserving 87 per cent of the most fertile land for the minority of only 5 million whites. It is for anybody to speculate about the intended political ends of such an inhuman policy.

For us in Lesotho apartheid is a daily experience, a reality that confronts us daily as a nation, touching at any given time the lives of families and individuals alike. Being a landlocked country completely surrounded by South Africa, Lesotho cannot escape some form of social interaction and economic interdependence with South Africa. An overwhelming majority of our labour force depends on South African mines and other industries for employment; almost all our exports necessarily have to go through South Africa and we depend on South Africa for its ports, roads and rail transport systems. We have relatives across the border in

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

South Africa, and when there is instability in that country Lesotho becomes the nearest country of asylum for South African refugees.

As we all know, Lesotho's historical dependence on South Africa was inherited from the colonial era, when it was widely believed by our colonizers that Lesotho would eventually be merged into a larger republic of South Africa.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

But let there be no doubt about the consistency and clarity of my country's policy towards apartheid. We categorically reject any notion that the system of apartheid can be reformed, for we are convinced that this inhuman system, which has rightly been universally condemned as a crime against humanity, must urgently be dismantled and uprooted, in all its forms and manifestations.

We remain faithful to our obligations towards the refugees and other displaced persons in southern Africa, and our commitment to all United Nations conventions remains unshaken. In expressing our desire for peaceful change towards a democratic South Africa, we do not cease to call on South Africa to fulfil its obligations to create the basic conditions conducive to dialogue, including the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations, the facilitation of the unconditional and peaceful return home to their fatherland of all exiles and the lifting of the state of emergency.

While we understand the world's indignation at South Africa's indisposition towards dismantling apartheid, and the need to exert pressure, we have publicly conceded our inability to impose economic sanctions against South Africa because of our geopolitical realities, but we have equally made it clear that we cannot stand in the way of those members of the international community that are in a position to do so. All that we have always asked for is that consideration be given to our special circumstances and that the international community should assist us to withstand the inevitable adverse impact of those sanctions on our economy and our social welfare.

For us in the Kingdom of Lesotho, our involvement in the global movement resisting the apartheid policies of South Africa is a matter that we cannot avoid. His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II, in addressing the Assembly only a few weeks ago, put it more accurately when he said:

(Mr. Phoofofo, Lesotho)

"We owe it to our founding fathers to continue to say that there should be no discrimination between our respective citizens; we owe it, as a Government, to all the black peoples, Basotho included, to join in this common cause with everything we have at our disposal." (A/44/PV.26, p. 14)

The Government in South Africa remains defiant in the face of all international efforts to bring about peaceful change towards genuine democracy in that country, and continues to ignore the decisions and resolutions of this world body in that regard, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes that every human person has the same inalienable rights, regardless of race, colour or religious belief.

We are convinced that the General Assembly at this forty-fourth session would be failing in its historic responsibility if it were not to express once again its unreserved condemnation of the continuing brutality of apartheid in South Africa and to reaffirm its full support for the South African people and its authentic leaders in their legitimate struggle for the total eradication of that unjust system as well as for the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people enjoy the same fundamental human rights.

The Assembly, more than ever before, has a unique opportunity to advance the cause of freedom and justice in South Africa by intensifying pressure on the Pretoria Government to speed up the process of dismantling apartheid. This unique opportunity is presented by the irreversible crisis now facing apartheid in South Africa, which has in part been precipitated by the effectiveness of the pressures exerted by the international community on that country.

The growth of the internal mass democratic movements and the growing consensus, even among the white population in that country, that apartheid is both



(Mr. Phoofole, Lesotho)

irrelevant and detrimental to the welfare of all, are beginning to shake the South African Government into realizing that apartheid can no longer be sustained against the will of the South African people. Military adventures have met with resistance, and all political arrangements aimed at cosmetic reforms to side-step the demands of the South African people for a democratic society have experienced dismal failure, attesting to the validity of the judgement of the world community that apartheid is unreformable.

A scenario is unfolding in South Africa that must be correctly analysed and be viewed in its true perspective. The leaders of the ruling nationalist party have recently changed the positions of power in that country. We have noted with interest promises of change that the new leadership has made public. We have noted that eight political prisoners have been released from long detention. We have also noted the apparent relaxation of the violent suppression of political demonstrations. However, apart from those promises and the release of a handful of political prisoners, every thing that constitutes apartheid remains firmly in place.

We have taken serious note that, while the new leadership is publicly calling for negotiations, Nelson Mandela and the majority of other genuine leaders of the black South African people remain incarcerated in prison. We are also deeply disturbed by the fact that those few who have now been released are still subjected to severe restrictions, and that the peoples' mass political organizations remain banned. We are convinced that the present situation still creates severe problems for the ushering in of a climate conducive to dialogue and negotiations.

As if the black people of South Africa had anything to be grateful to the South African Government for with regard to the release some political prisoners, the sympathizers with apartheid have started to advocate restraint by

(Mr. Phoofofo, Lesotho)

the international community in applying pressure on South Africa, citing this recent release of prisoners and the verbal promises as evidence of the existence of a new momentum for the eradication of apartheid.

No heed is given to the fact that even those fine words and promises still indicate the intention only to reform the system of apartheid. The people of South Africa are calling for the total eradication of apartheid and racism in all their forms. Above all, if the Government in South Africa is seriously calling for national reconciliation and dialogue, and yet the leaders of the black people remain restricted or in prison, we find it difficult to contemplate that those are indeed conditions under which genuine negotiations can be conducted.

Let us also not forget that the people of South Africa have heard those promises before. The Assembly will recall that some years ago one South African leader, J.B. Vorster, faced with increasing international pressure, asked the world for a period of six months to implement the necessary changes in South Africa, but instead used that time to strengthen South Africa's stranglehold in Namibia. Nothing was delivered to satisfy the aspirations of the black people of South Africa.

In the forefront of the fight against apartheid we have the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, to which we pay a special tribute for its commendable efforts in preparing an excellent report and for the crucial role it has played in bringing to the world's attention the continuing brutality of apartheid. Once again the Special Committee against Apartheid has acquitted itself well in discharging its noble mandate.

As in all previous years, the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid is a catalogue of instances of unrelenting oppression by the South African Government of the majority population of that country. We hear about

(Mr. Phoofole, Lesotho)

the continuing political trials, death sentences and executions, forced population removals, death squads, bannings and press censorship.

At this juncture, allow me to congratulate the people of Namibia on the occasion of the holding of its first national elections. It is our hope that those elections will indeed be free and fair and that all parties will accept the verdict of the ballot.

Although the General Assembly meets this year in an improved world political climate, characterized by the relaxation of international tensions and by the apparent desire for peaceful resolution of disputes, as manifested by a thaw in East-West relations, the anachronism of apartheid continues to be a source of tension and a threat to peace and stability in the southern African sub-region.

(Mr. Phoofofo, Lesotho)

It is our sincere hope that in the light of the new improved world situation the problem of South Africa will now be viewed outside the context of East-West confrontation and that the liberation movements in that country will now be viewed by all as legitimate organizations genuinely fighting for the birthright of their own people.

Lesotho shares the universal hope for a peaceful change to a stable and democratic society in South Africa. We believe that all of us in the international community have a responsibility to assist in the creation of opportunities for dialogue leading to a peaceful change in that country and that we must not fail to take advantage of opportunities when they arise. The prevailing political mood in South Africa, which is characterized by the growth of democratic movements and the increasing consensus among all the people of South Africa, black and white alike, that apartheid is irrelevant, must be supported and encouraged.

We are convinced that if the South African Government can lift the state of emergency, release all political prisoners, and allow the black people to exercise their right to come together freely in political organizations of their choice, the necessary climate will be created for the opening up of opportunities leading to dialogue and the realization by the people of South Africa of its vision and aspiration for a future democratic and peaceful South Africa.

We take courage from our knowledge that the South African liberation movements are not wedded to armed struggle and that their resort to violent means was a response to the violence of apartheid and the rejection by the South African Government of all overtures with regard to peaceful dialogue. It was Mr. Oliver Tambo, the exiled leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), who said in Lusaka in January this year:

(Mr. Phoofofo, Lesotho)

"We have not become slaves to the armed struggle and we are today as ready as in the past to participate in any meaningful political process to achieve the objective of a non-racial democracy."

It was Nelson Mandela - a leader with whose name we are all familiar - who as long ago as 1961, in an appeal to the leaders of the ruling as well as the opposition parties in South Africa, said:

"None of us can draw any satisfaction from this developing crisis. We on our part as leaders of Africans have put forward serious proposals for a way out of the crisis. We have called on the Government to convene an elected national convention of representatives of all races without delay, and charge that convention with the task of drawing up a new constitution for this country which will be acceptable to all racial groups."

It is for us all to agree on a definitive course of action for assisting the people of South Africa to build a better future.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.