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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 14 December 1989, at 9.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. GARBA

(Nigeria)

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

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The meeting was called to order at 9.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): The system of apartheid is universally rejected and condemned. An anachronistic system of injustice and institutionalized racism that violates the most fundamental principles, it is an affront to human dignity that cannot and will not be allowed to survive.

We are meeting at a time of dramatic change in many parts of the world, changes for the better, changes that were unimaginable a years ago, six months ago, or even less. What we are learning is that it is possible to imagine what was once thought to be almost unimaginable and to see that justice can replace long-standing injustices in remarkably short periods of time; and that long time-frames are not always necessary for the replacement of injustice.

This special session provides an opportunity to the international community to participate in the process of change in South Africa. It provides an opportunity for us all to reaffirm our total rejection of the abhorrent system of apartheid, and to make not a hollow or an empty declaration, but a declaration that sends a clear and unequivocal message to the South African Government that no part of the system of apartheid can be allowed to continue - a declaration that, as you, Mr. President, suggested in your opening statement, is a joint venture between the international community and the entire people of South Africa, a venture in which we offer international support, encouragement and co-operation for apartheid's total abolition.

The Australian Government readily acknowledges that we have seen changes taking place in South Africa which we sincerely hope may lead to the dismantling of apartheid. But just a few weeks ago, here in this forum, I and many others noted

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

that it was still too soon to judge whether such moves are a signal of real change or whether they are little more than cosmetic measures designed to weaken international pressure. The Australian Foreign Minister, in a message to last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future, held in Johannesburg, said that

"The Government of President De Klerk is unfortunately still sending mixed signals about its commitment to negotiating real and fundamental change ... No one can be content with a mere reform of apartheid; only with the abolition, for once and for all, of that abhorrent system".

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

The Australian Government hopes that President De Klerk will find the vision to move away from the corner-stones of apartheid and respond to the legitimate demands of the people of South Africa to put an end to the whole pernicious system of apartheid and seek a path to peace and reconciliation at home and abroad. Indeed, it is only through the eradication of apartheid in South Africa that the region as a whole will be able to develop in peace.

Let there be no doubt that the international community continues to have a significant role to play in maintaining pressure for the elimination of apartheid. International pressure supports and complements internal pressure for change. The Australian Government believes that what tentative positive steps are being taken by the South African Government are a response to these internal and external pressures. We have seen the effective impact of international economic and financial measures on the South African Government and that this impact has been recognized by them and serves as an instrument for change. Even the letter from South Africa's Foreign Minister to the United Nations Secretary-General concerning this special session is a clear indication of the importance the South African Government attaches to our deliberations and this session's outcome as a voice of the international community.

I spoke before of times of fundamental change around the world. The time has clearly come now too for fundamental change in South Africa. We are seeing a welcome commitment on the part of all sides to peaceful change there.

The recent Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiation and peaceful settlement inherent in the 1989 Harare Declaration and agreed that the South African Government and the authentic representatives of the majority population should come to the table prepared to negotiate the future of the country and its people in good faith, in an atmosphere free of violence from either side.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

In recent days we have seen the holding of peaceful political rallies without posing any danger to the safety of South African society. Law and order has not broken down. Society has not collapsed. The worst fears of racists in South African society have not been realized. The waters have been tested, and the way ahead shown clearly for all concerned.

Until we have clear and irreversible evidence of change on the part of the South African Government the international community must not relax its pressure. Only after we have seen that evidence, clear and irreversible, from the South African Government can that pressure be eased.

Let us hope that the irresistible forces of democracy and justice that are triumphing in some other parts of the world today will find their parallel in South Africa, that the South African Government will respond to the demands of the South African people and the international community for democracy, justice and change and that history will record the peaceful emergence of a new post-apartheid South Africa as the crowning achievement of this decade.

Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda): We are meeting once again to discuss the venomous system of apartheid, this time in a special session, and we hope that a greater thrust will consequently be made for the eradication of that abhorrent system. Rituals have their place in societies and organizations, but the United Nations ritual of continually debating apartheid is frustrating and debilitating, particularly to statesmen who are sons and daughters of Africa and who must return to their people - people who have been waiting eagerly and patiently to see some signs of genuine liberation for their racial kin.

Each year, on the question of "The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", we are compelled to reiterate much of what we said here the previous

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year. Each year we present more examples of terror, of exploitation, of intransigence, of genocide. The only difference is that throughout the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly we have heard in different committees statements to the effect that South Africa is changing and that our resolutions do not reflect this occurrence. But what are these changes? They are comprised of gaining the ability to have peaceful demonstrations and an executive approval for the integration of beaches.

It is, however, ignored that, while these tokens of liberality are being introduced, the South African President, Mr. De Klerk, has rejected the possibility of a transitional Government that would include blacks while a new, non-racial constitution is being drafted. The President's decision, reported by The Washington Post, rules out a central negotiating position on the part of the African National Congress. Is it any wonder, then, that the item before the special session is entitled "Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa"?

The reality of the situation is that whatever minor gains have been made must be attributed directly to the effect of sanctions. The arguments of the apartheid régime in South Africa that sanctions do not work and that the situation has been defused have been proved baseless. They have been solely an attempt by the racist régime to stave off sanctions of a more comprehensive nature. In reality, the tide of history is moving steadily against the evil régime. Recent events have amply demonstrated that South Africa's political and economic power has withered and that it would be of benefit to the régime to work quickly to fashion a new society based on justice and equity; otherwise it will be faced with severe and gruesome consequences.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

When one reads of what took place before a United Nations panel in Geneva early in September, when leaders of South African business tried to present arguments that sanctions did not work and their replies to questions, one realizes that the recent refinancing of their debt will simply allow business to continue as usual. A member of the South African team before the United Nations panel, Manfred Graf von Roon, put forward the fanciful notion that everyone to the left of Dr. Andries Treunicht's hard-line racist Conservative Party was a reformer at heart. When asked what reforms his group would most like to see, von Roon replied: "The repeal of the Group Areas Act and more training for blacks". He would not bring himself to suggest what every witness claimed to be the eventual aim: the abolition of apartheid and the advent of one-man one-vote.

No, the racists will not accept the concept of one-man one-vote and they have been refinanced to continue business as usual. In Washington, Representative Howard Wolpe, Democrat, of Michigan, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Africa, was to state painfully:

"I am very disappointed with the response of the banking community. This action represents an enormous boost for the defenders of apartheid. At the time that pressure is being mounted to bring about negotiations, this action is taken that substantially reduces that pressure".

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia put it more bluntly: "Bankers are sucking the blood by supporting South Africa. They are bloodsuckers."

I feel compelled to recall briefly some aspects of what has happened over the past 25 years.

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During the 1960s, the international community witnessed the passage of a series of Draconian laws, such as the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act. They were clearly intended to provide the racist régime with the so-called legality to carry out additional and intensified acts of violence against the black population. They ultimately brought about the suspension of South Africa's participation in the General Assembly in 1974, coming after this august body finally recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. Nevertheless it was not until 1977 that a mandatory arms embargo was adopted by the Security Council, an embargo which has been continually violated.

Over the past 25 years the South African Government has increased real spending on its military budget by 200 per cent. A country which was not producing rifles in 1960 now boasts the tenth largest armaments industry in the world. Those armaments have been used primarily to subjugate its own majority population and to molest, interfere with and terrorize its neighbours. And now we have been made to understand that South Africa has test-fired an intermediate-range ballistic missile that would carry nuclear warheads. Africans have been patient for too long, and the children of those who marched peacefully under the saintly Chief Albert Luthuli are now willing to sacrifice their lives rather than be continually treated as animals.

During the past 25 years the Pretoria régime has tried unsuccessfully to stifle the resolve of the majority population in its determination to be free. The South African authorities have been selective in what they expose visitors to. This year, however, two British prelates avoided any attempt to curtail their

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investigatory activities in South Africa. The team comprised David Sheppard, the Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, his wife and Derek Worlock, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool.

From their investigations, Bishop Sheppard was forced to state the following:

"What most coloured our impressions was to visit more than a dozen black or Coloured townships. We sometimes stayed overnight, visited people in their homes, saw a variety of projects, listened at length to those who live and work there and talked with groups in the street. We had been told by many sportsmen and business visitors that things are getting better, that apartheid is rapidly crumbling, and that the troubles have calmed down. ... We found on the contrary a situation which was much more terrible than we had imagined."

The Anglican Bishop of Liverpool stated that however much petty apartheid had been removed grand apartheid was firmly in place. Issues of policy about land, segregation, education, the police and how decisions are made all come to the surface; yet, in spite of all this, responsible people are seeing sincerity in the utterings of F. W. De Klerk and the masquerading of the present Government.

Antigua and Barbuda, in viewing the new leadership under De Klerk, recognizes the fact that the Government of South Africa has no intention of responding to efforts of reason, logic, morality or persuasion. There has been much rhetoric but the only evidence of change has been in the facade and not in the policies of apartheid. Antigua and Barbuda therefore reiterates its call for mandatory sanctions of a comprehensive nature against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We urge that the majority population support the arms embargo instituted by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977) and we call upon all States to take the following action: first, to end all

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military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa; secondly, to cease and desist from the sale of items such as computers and other related equipment and technology to South Africa; and, thirdly, to terminate all investments in corporations manufacturing military equipment or supplies in South Africa.

My Government and people further urge that the following be continued or implemented: first, the prevention of the sale and supply of crude oil and petroleum exports to South Africa; secondly, the prohibition of the importation of oil or petroleum products and petrochemicals from South Africa; and, thirdly, the prevention of the efforts of South African corporations to maintain or expand their holdings in oil companies outside South Africa.

Antigua and Barbuda further urges the continuance or adoption of the following: first, cessation of investment in and financial loans to South Africa; secondly, cessation of all promotion of trade with South Africa, including assistance to its trade missions; thirdly, termination of any visa-free entry privileges to South Africa; fourthly, termination of air and shipping links with South Africa; and, fifthly, cessation of all cultural, educational and sporting contacts with South Africa.

Antigua and Barbuda thinks it imperative that such sanctions be properly introduced and adhered to by all countries concerned with justice, equality and morality. Apartheid as a crime against humanity affects us all, and since it cannot be reformed it must be totally abolished. That is why we call for its deracination. Antigua and Barbuda has banned all trading activities with South Africa since 1962 and has acted upon all the sanctions recommended by the Conference of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Nassau in 1985.

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

In concluding, I should like to quote from the Commonwealth Secretariat's Sanctions Report published earlier this year. It states:

"Exhortation will never end apartheid. Even diplomatic pressure will not be enough. Economic pressure will be needed before the white minority yields its monopoly of power. Sanctions add to that pressure and thus are an essential part of the process leading to genuine negotiations in South Africa."

The Group of Eminent Persons from the Commonwealth of Nations gave us a detailed study of South African existence. It is therefore necessary that we here intensify our actions so that graves may no longer be dug in advance for unborn children, and that the vast majority of South African inhabitants be removed from their present state of depression, deprivation, degradation and the severest forms of dehumanization. If we are not willing to act, then let us brace ourselves for the dire consequences.

Finally, we call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all remaining political prisoners.

Mr. KAM (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): First may I convey to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of my delegation and express our pleasure at seeing you elected to preside over this historic special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Your unanimous election is well-deserved recognition by the international community of your outstanding work as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

The struggle against racism and all forms of racial discrimination has received priority among the aspirations and achievements of the United Nations.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

That is because the effective recognition of equality among all human beings is one of the basic foundations of human coexistence. It is an essential assumption of civilized living and a minimum precondition for peace, justice and international security.

The pernicious and inhuman character of racism and racial discrimination finds its most grotesque and repressive form when they are institutionalized, as they have been in the apartheid régime, with total disdain for the intrinsic values of human existence and in open defiance of all the basic norms and principles governing international life.

Since the adoption of the Charter of Freedom on 26 June 1955, which was a true expression of the decision of the South African people to fight for its right to build a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, the United Nations has repeatedly discussed and denounced the Pretoria régime's continued outrageous repression of the population of South Africa and Namibia and its armed aggression against neighbouring States. Many resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council to combat apartheid, and many international agreements have been adopted for the same purpose.

The United Nations efforts to put an end to the iniquitous régime of apartheid have produced only partial results. While the mandatory embargoes agreed upon and the voluntary sanctions which have not been co-ordinated have affected the availability of strategic resources, trade, financial resources, and other general factors of the South African régime, they have not been sufficient to produce the desired result, which is the prompt and definitive dismantling of apartheid in southern Africa.

Although the rulers in Pretoria have had to make certain political concessions, such as the release of certain prisoners, and limiting some of their

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most infamous and offensive acts of repression, they have not shown any flexibility or a true will for change. The changes that have been made have come about through the sacrifice and blood of the South African people, with the valuable support of world solidarity behind them, and a favourable international situation.

The powerful interests involved in the various relationships which countries clearly identified with South Africa have with the racist régime have given rise in recent months to an international disinformation and propaganda campaign to try to mask the régime's repugnant image and lead the international community to believe that the white minority régime has initiated a process of transition towards real change aimed at reducing the devastating effects which apartheid has on the great majority of South Africans. The campaign is aimed at thwarting, at the international level, all efforts towards the total annihilation of this inhuman system once and for all.

The main advocate of this policy of lies and deceit is precisely the same Member State which, in Latin America, distorts the facts concerning independent countries and slanders their leaders only because they desire respect for their sovereignty, and desire to guide the destiny of their peoples without external interference.

The new racist administration in Pretoria, which came to power in August this year, with the enthusiastic acquiescence of the United States Administration and other Western allies, has confined itself to carrying out an ambiguous policy designed to modernize - as they claim - this elaborate system of racial submission, by changing or eliminating some practices which tarnish the image of the white minority régime. The harsh reality shows, however, that the rules, regulations and practices which support the régime of oppression have remained unchanged.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

South Africa's policy in southern Africa, in particular with regard to front-line countries, has not changed either. It continues to be characterized by aggression, destabilization, intervention, interference in the internal affairs of States, the financing of mercenaries and the violation of the sovereignty and independence of those countries. The damage done by that policy to the economies of the countries of the region is estimated to be more than \$60 billion, while thousands upon thousands of people have died or been displaced.

In Angola and Mozambique their terrorist policy has had devastating consequences. Since 1980 more than 1 million children have died and thousands of people have had to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. In Mozambique, despite the existence of the Nkomati agreements, South Africa continues to sacrifice that people by funding and supporting the mercenary murderous bands of RENAMO. In Angola, under the auspices of the American Government, South Africa continues to violate agreements entered into with the Angolan Government and continues to support the terrorist actions of UNITA.

The international community cannot give its name to deceit. Apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be destroyed, eliminated once and for all, so that it is no longer a threat to the peoples of the region.

Namibia is a clear witness to the fact that apartheid does not yield to reason but only to pressure. Only the firm and persistent struggle of the Namibian nation, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization against the colonial domination of South Africa and the apartheid régime, has allowed us to see far off on the horizon a future of freedom and independence for that martyred country.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

The conditions brought about by the resistance of the Namibian people and international solidarity were the only means of persuading South Africa to cease its opposition to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and to agree to begin serious negotiations for the implementation of the independence plan for the Territory. In this connection my delegation wishes to express its recognition of the excellent work of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), which will make possible the prompt proclamation of independence in Namibia and an end to the oppressive system of apartheid in that Territory.

My country is particularly honoured to have been able to make a modest contribution towards the achievement of Namibian independence through the participation of 20 officers from our defence forces in the military component of UNTAG, which is recognition of the professionalism of the patriotic defence forces of Panama and confirms their identification with the cause of freedom and the emancipation of peoples of the third world.

Panama is one of the States of the international community whose conviction has led them to enter into a serious and responsible commitment to the efforts and initiatives aimed at eliminating that abhorrent system of racial segregation. My country, given its multiracial ethnic composition and its history, fully understands and endorses the noble cause of the South African people and recognizes its inalienable right to fight for its freedom through all means available to it under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.

The admiration of the Panamanian people for the spirit of resistance of the South African people and its identification with the struggle of that heroic people to break from the chains of the opprobrious system of apartheid has been expressed

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actively and concretely. For example, last year, on a national day devoted to the freedom of that people's apostle Nelson Mandela, my Government conferred on him the highest decoration it grants to foreign personalities in recognition of the supreme example he embodies. Panama's militant and committed stand against apartheid is not accidental. It is rooted in the very experience of our people in its struggle against foreign colonial domination and the various forms of discrimination institutionalized by the colonial Power.

From the beginning of the building of the Panama Canal, the Panamanian people were gradually subjected to a series of racist measures and practices which were institutionalized and implemented against their will, their traditions, their norms and their way of life. This took place through a system of racial segregation that the United States imposed on our territory and the colonial enclave known as the Canal Zone, where elements of the slavery practices then existing in the southern part of the United States were introduced - the so-called Gold Roll and Silver Roll, whose most blatant manifestations were seen in crude racial discrimination and in the labour and wage structures, as well as in the judicial, educational and health areas, with one system being established for whites and another for non-whites. Our people are still making sacrifices in the dismantling of the colonial structure and its condemnable discriminatory practices.

This special session has been convened to renew our commitment to the struggle against apartheid and to establish a co-ordinated global strategy that will lead as soon as possible to the complete elimination of that opprobrious régime, which is the main cause of the suffering of the South African people and the peoples of neighbouring countries of southern Africa. The African continent has clearly defined the content of that strategy in the Declaration on southern Africa of the

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Organization of African Unity, adopted in Harare in August this year. That valuable document, which has been adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement, is an appropriate framework in which to reach a negotiated political settlement of the southern African conflict and is therefore a sound basis on which to prepare an international strategy for the future.

One recommendation that has the overwhelming support of the international community is the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa as the only way of convincing that nefarious régime of the universal resolve to eliminate that evil scourge once and for all.

Our efforts in this respect come up against not only the obduracy of the South African racists but also the support they receive from certain Western Powers, including the United States, that extend economic, political, military and technological assistance to the South African Government.

It is clear that - while the international community and the organizations and leaders of the South African people advocate the immediate implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa - the country that claims to defend justice, freedom and democracy and that comes before us as the defender of human rights is the very country that shamelessly actively opposes, even through use of the veto in the Security Council, the adoption of such sanctions, arguing that they would affect the black population of South Africa.

The unlimited hypocrisy of the United States Government does not come as a surprise. It voices alleged concern with regard to the South African people in an attempt to hide what is nothing more than open complicity with the apartheid system. The United States Government refuses to implement sanctions against a régime that has been universally condemned. At the same time it applies against the Panamanian people the most brutal measures of economic aggression and political

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interference, and makes military threats against that people in an effort to impede its struggle for national liberation, the main objectives of which are recovery of its Canal and the total elimination of the foreign military presence in its territory. Such actions can only be explained on the basis of the unavowed purpose of the United States Government to re-establish in Panama and Latin America its unchallenged hegemony and strategic predominance.

The measures against racist South Africa being demanded by the international community pale beside the barbaric coercive measures being taken against the Panamanian people by the United States. The heroic South African people is struggling with dignity. Its blood is being spilled in its frontal attack to obtain freedom from the heinous system of segregation, oppression and aggression. That effort deserves recognition and unconditional support from the international community.

(Mr. Kam, Panama)

Panama, which also suffered from the system of the racial segregation imposed on part of its territory by a foreign Power, and which is at present suffering from the iniquities of military and economic aggression imposed by the same Power, wishes to make a pause in the clamor of its struggle today for the sole purpose of reiterating to our brothers in southern Africa that we stand in solidarity with their struggle, which we feel is our struggle, in the same way that we know that they feel that the struggle of their Panamanian brothers is their struggle too: in Panama, as in Africa, we are waging a common struggle for the self-determination, independence and dignity of peoples, without subjugation to imperial diktats.

Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran) (spoke in Persian; English text furnished by the delegation): The special session on apartheid, the first special session of the General Assembly on this subject, is being held at a time when sensitive conditions prevail in southern Africa and at a time when the final steps are being taken towards the independence of Namibia. This meeting is a good opportunity for the international community to express its abhorrence of the racist policies of the South African régime, which are the region's most serious problem and represent one of the darkest pages in recent history.

The white minority South African régime has been carrying out oppressive and aggressive policies against the black majority for more than 40 years now, and has continued to suppress and tyrannize the freedom fighters of that land; the question of the racist policies of the Pretoria government has had a place on the agenda of the General Assembly, and numerous resolutions have been adopted in condemnation of apartheid. Furthermore, a number of other measures have been taken by international organizations or by conferences on the issue. Nevertheless, the inhuman policies of the Pretoria régime have continued unabated.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

In 1989, in its report (A/44/22), the Special Committee against Apartheid, in reviewing the internal situation in South Africa, reconfirmed Pretoria's inhuman behaviour and the extensive torture in its prisons. According to the report, about 1300 people were killed in the Pietermaritzburg region by South African forces as recently as 1987. In the same province, about 20,000 to 30,000 people were displaced in 1988, and the numbers are constantly increasing.

The fact that Pretoria is continuing such criminal and inhuman acts clearly manifests the régime's disrespect for the will of the international community. They have certainly been encouraged in this by the extensive support given to them by the United States, the Zionist entity and certain other Western countries. This support continues despite the fact that the General Assembly, in its numerous resolutions, has called on countries to cut economic relations with South Africa. In this connection, the General Assembly has warned that the expansion of collaboration by certain countries with this régime has led to the continuation of its racist policies. The expansion of such collaboration, along with the extensive co-operation between the racist Zionist and apartheid régimes, particularly in the field of nuclear technology, has impaired international efforts to put an end to apartheid.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states that the Pretoria régime has successfully tested a modified version of the Zionist entity's missiles, which has the capacity to carry nuclear warheads a distance of 1000 kilometres. Close co-operation between the Zionist régime and the racist régime of South Africa has reinforced the latter régime's low-altitude- satellite launching capacity.

According to the report, the total volume of trade between the Zionist régime and South Africa was \$247 million in 1987. This increased to \$341 million in 1988.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

In 1988, the Zionist régime's imports from South Africa exceeded its exports to it by \$80million.

In respect of military co-operation between the two régimes, it has been reported that, during this decade, the military collaboration between the two countries has amounted to joint production of weapons. The Zionist régime has extensively provided South Africa with the military technology it needs to enhance its arms industry.

The economic interests of the United States and some of its Western allies in continued joint ventures with South Africa and in the exploration of its resources have resulted in expanded relations between those countries and Pretoria and contributed to its abuses and crimes as well as to its disregard for the international community. According to the most recent report by the Special Committee against Apartheid, a number of Western European countries and the United States, in contravention of the call by the international community and of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since 1964, have embarked on an expansion of their trade with Pretoria, including the arms trade. This has caused the arms embargo imposed on the régime to be violated, giving rise to serious concern on the part of the international community.

Instabilities in southern Africa caused by the apartheid régime have caused the front-line States to become victims of racist régimes over the last few decades, so engulfing the region in international crisis. In this connection, the Islamic Republic of Iran condemns the aggressive acts of the racist régime of South Africa against its neighbours and the front-line States, aimed at undermining these countries' stability, sovereignty and security.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

Similar policies are being followed by the Zionist régime in the Middle East region; this shows, in our opinion, that the natures and missions of these two racist régimes are alike. The ninth non-aligned summit held in Belgrade in September 1989 also referred to the similarity between the oppressive measures taken by the two régimes. The Zionist policy of the iron fist and the South African policy of hot pursuit are aimed against the people of Palestine, southern Lebanon and the other Arab territories occupied by the Zionist régime and also against the people of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line States. It is therefore imperative for the African countries, cognizant of the strategic ties between the Zionist régime and Pretoria, to maintain their vigilance in respect of the diplomatic tactics of the Zionist entity.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

In pursuing its endeavours in its struggle against apartheid, the international community must pay due attention to the modality of dismantling the apartheid system, adopt effective steps to this end and declare that it will not be deceived by Pretoria's release of a number of political prisoners and its expression of a desire to make some reforms.

Even though Namibia's general elections have created more optimism about the independence and sovereignty of the Territory, the international community should not, as long as apartheid is not eradicated, ignore the likelihood of the continuation of Pretoria's destructive and provocative policies, which constitute a potential threat to the future Government of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

If we believe that the peaceful solution of the question of Namibia, 30 years after the adoption of the independence resolution and after all the perseverance of the freedom-seeking people of Namibia, has been a successful experience for the Security Council and the United Nations, then the Security Council has to take more resolute measures to resolve the menace of apartheid in South Africa. How can those permanent members of the Security Council that have impeded all-out economic sanctions against Pretoria, because of their economic interests, expect other decisions of the Council to resolve international and regional disputes, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions, to be respected?

The Security Council, as the organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, should not allow some of its permanent members, seduced by their personal interests, to impede the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime and in fact prevent the establishment of peace and security in southern Africa.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

There are several measures that can be adopted to create the necessary restrictions on the régime of South Africa, thus contributing to its acceptance of a peaceful solution to put an end to apartheid and accept majority rule in that country. They include: banning investment and the import of iron and steel and of gold coins from South Africa; banning the export of military and paramilitary equipment to South Africa, and the import of such goods from South Africa; banning military co-operation with South Africa and the export of sensitive equipment for use by the South African police and armed forces; recalling Western countries' military attachés from South Africa and non-acceptance of the régime's military attachés; imposing a full oil embargo against the apartheid régime; banning of sporting and cultural links with the apartheid régime; banning South Africa's participation in nuclear activities; suspending South Africa's membership in the 1959 Antarctic Treaty system; and severing political relations with South Africa.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, with a view to contributing to the elimination of the inhuman apartheid policies, severed its diplomatic relations with the régime, and it has always sponsored resolutions adopted by the General Assembly against the racist policies of South Africa. In close co-operation with the Intergovernmental Group to monitor compliance with the oil embargo against South Africa, Iran has banned the sale of oil to that régime, and in order to guarantee the full implementation of the boycott Iran requires purchasers of its oil to present discharge certificates. Furthermore, the Islamic Consultative Assembly ratified the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and deposited its instrument of accession with the Secretary-General on 12 January 1988.

Although the Pretoria régime has had the audacity to dismiss the outcome of this special session on apartheid in advance, we are sure that the problem of

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

racism in South Africa can be solved through international co-operation. Measures taken so far in this direction by international organizations, even though indispensable, have been insufficient. Solution of the problem requires firm and sincere steps by the Security Council, particularly its permanent members, in fulfilment of their duty within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter. The Islamic Republic of Iran hopes that this special session will take effective steps further to stimulate the adoption of all measures to put an end to the policy of racism in South Africa.

Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (interpretation from French): The current session is a reaffirmation of our unanimous rejection of apartheid and our unflagging commitment to the final and complete elimination of the most flagrant, most heartless and most persistent violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter.

We are witnessing today growing resistance to the policy of apartheid and growth of the forces struggling against apartheid. The boycott of shops run by whites, the more and more active participation of the white opposition in the anti-apartheid struggle and the dynamism of the multiracial trade union movement are very significant.

The various reform measures so far adopted by the South African authorities represent a number of breaches in the fortress of the odious policy of apartheid, produced by the combined effect of internal resistance and outside pressure. Since the measures do not affect the fundamental aspects of apartheid, they should not distract our attention from the vital need to eradicate racial discrimination once and for all.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

The fundamental incompatibility between the apartheid system and the noble ideals enshrined in the Charter fully justify the various actions taken by the Organization to force the South African Government to abandon its racial policy.

Here it is necessary only to emphasize that the activities so far carried out by the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa clearly indicate that it is possible to make the Pretoria régime return to reason, if only all Member States scrupulously respect the oil embargo against South Africa.

Being unshakeably committed to respect for human rights and basic freedoms, the Togolese Government has always vigorously condemned the shameful policy of apartheid. It has therefore often reiterated its firm support for the just struggle of the South African people and has expressed its deep conviction that all the necessary measures must be taken urgently to bring about the total elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa and promote the advent of a multiracial democratic society in that country.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

The policy of apartheid is particularly reprehensible because it has been revealed to be a pretext for, and part and parcel of, the policy of aggression and destabilization pursued by South Africa against its neighbours - a policy that has reached such a level that its destructive effects are in fact beyond that country's national frontiers.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the reason why apartheid has been able to survive so far, despite its unanimous and repeated condemnation by the United Nations and the various sanctions and means of pressure exerted by the international community, is that it has always enjoyed the connivance and the active co-operation in many areas of some States that are anxious to hang on to their strategic, economic and financial interests.

The truth is that the sanctions which have been adopted by many countries and which are in force at present would have had a more meaningful impact on South Africa's economy and thereby contributed to the speedy elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa if the implementation, follow-up and monitoring of those sanctions had been stricter and more sensibly co-ordinated.

The ever-more active involvement of whites in the forces of resistance and the initiation of a multiracial debate on the ways and means of restoring democracy to South Africa are all precursors of the downfall of a system which has never fitted into an international community whose main concern is to build a world of peace, equity, solidarity and prosperity.

The recent liberation of certain freedom-fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) who had been imprisoned for many years might have appeared to indicate that the new leaders in South Africa were prepared to follow the tide of history. But if this intellectual stance is to be real and convincing those leaders must enter into a genuine dialogue with all segments of South African society, a dialogue aimed at establishing a multiracial and democratic society.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

This presupposes giving up once and for all the ideological and political underpinnings of apartheid and, hence, giving up the idea of the supremacy of the whites and ensuring the unrestricted access of the black majority to enjoyment of political rights in accordance with the democratic principle of one-man one-vote.

It would be extremely ingenuous indeed to think that a mere demonstration of goodwill by the new South African leadership would ensure the advent of this much-touted era of peace and prosperity which has been promised for all South Africans. It would be a historical error which would damage the credibility of the United Nations and its efforts to combat apartheid, as well as the overriding interests of the people of South Africa, to use a certain openmindedness on the part of President De Klerk as a pretext for relaxing the pressure on South Africa. On the contrary, it is now more important than ever before to step up pressure in all areas - political, economic and financial - to oblige South Africa to enter into an open and constructive dialogue with all segments of South African society in order to set up a new constitutional order in keeping with their legitimate aspirations and the noble principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

The Government of Togo believes that, in addition to the stepping up of pressure on South Africa, that country should be presented with a plan for the eradication of apartheid, once and for all, in order to start restoring the sort of democracy in which the rights of all citizens are guaranteed.

The full implementation of the objective of genuine democratization in South Africa requires that this plan comprise the following elements: first, the lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of all discriminatory laws and those laws which place restrictions on political activities; secondly, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees so that they can be involved in drawing up this plan; thirdly, the lifting of all the bans

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

and restrictions on all those individuals and organizations that oppose apartheid, and, fourthly, consideration of the necessary safeguards to protect the political and economic rights of all citizens, including those belonging to minorities. The drafting and implementation of this plan must involve the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the South African Government and the movements which represent South African society - and this must take place under the auspices of the United Nations.

In any case, this sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to apartheid, will have no meaning if specific steps are not unanimously taken by the international community to eradicate apartheid.

Our deep-seated faith in the noble ideals of the United Nations has so far fully warranted our joint pledge to work for the elimination of apartheid, an intolerable remnant of one of the most methodical attempts by man to exploit his fellow man. The wind of change now sweeping through international political relations offers the South African Government perhaps its last chance to withdraw with honour as it has done in the case of Namibia. To listen to these new voices expressing the deep legitimate aspiration of the people of South Africa to freedom and equality and to respond thereto; that is now the most sensible attitude that the South African Government could adopt.

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia): In the present-day world, conflict-ridden yet bound together by universal human values, a new political thinking is ever-more-resolutely making itself felt. New horizons are opening up for the solution of all aspects of international relations, in a number of global as well as regional programmes and crises. The role of multilateralism is growing

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and within its range we are finding unprecedented possibilities for the active and effective involvement of the international community and for utilizing the potential of the United Nations.

The positive changes in the international climate are beginning to have an effect also on southern Africa. The developments in that region indicate that a transition from confrontation to dialogue can be made while respect for everybody's interests is maintained and the scope for a peaceful settlement of the accumulated controversies is widened. This is borne out by the successfully advancing process of Namibia's decolonization.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

What, then, stands in the way of a complete solution of the accumulated problems in southern Africa? The overwhelming majority of the international community concur in the view that it is the perpetuation of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa - a system incompatible with the values and needs of mankind in the second half of the twentieth century. The shadow that this evil casts has long since stretched beyond the frontiers of South Africa and the southern African region; today it concerns the entire community of States, and nobody can remain indifferent to it.

Broad international co-operation in supporting and enhancing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, regardless of race, sex, language or religion, is among the indisputable priorities of the United Nations, proclaimed in its Charter. Our Organization - the whole international community - therefore, cannot overlook any acts of discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds, wherever they might occur. In his report of 12 September 1989 on the activities of the Organization the Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, noted with complete justification:

"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." (A/44/1, p.7)

The development in the past year has confirmed that the substance of the policy of apartheid in South Africa has not changed. Although, under growing pressure from the population, as well as from the international community, the ruling circles were compelled to introduce certain partial concessions, they did so only to postpone the inevitable demise of the existing régime of racial oppression. They are aware that the country is seized by a deep crisis and that it can no

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longer be governed by the old methods. They are temporizing - trying to calm down public opinion and to consolidate their positions.

Only the most outrageous of the apartheid provisions have been rescinded. Here and there authorities are engaging in more liberal practice, but the state of emergency and the law on the racial registration of the population continue in force. The oppression is even assuming more systematic forms. In Soweto the schools have been closed for half a year now. Also, a large proportion of the universities are closed to the Africans. Municipal areas inhabited by Africans remain under the control of racist military units.

The September elections in South Africa only confirmed the unwillingness of the Pretoria Government to recognize fundamental political rights for all inhabitants of the country. At the same time, however, they showed that the ranks of the critics of apartheid are growing, even among members of the privileged minority. The social base of the advocates of racial segregation is inexorably diminishing.

It is increasingly obvious that the cause of the critical situation in South Africa and in the whole southern part of the African continent lies in the perpetuation of apartheid. This overt, inhuman and exceptionally cynical form of racism has been officially elevated to State policy and to the constitutional level in South Africa. Apartheid condemns the majority of the population to a status of permanent inequality and inferiority. It prevents them from participating in the administration of their country. It restricts the possibilities for their self-realization in life. It warps their destinies. By its very nature it creates conditions for the generation of racial hatred and inevitably leads to the employment of brutal violence for the sake of maintaining the supremacy of the minority.

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The broad resistance to apartheid is growing in strength. This is evidenced by, among other things, the massive demonstrations and rallies following the release of Walter Sisulu and several other prominent representatives of the South African people. These rallies clearly voiced the conviction that apartheid cannot be reformed but has to be totally eliminated.

Millions of the inhabitants of South Africa demand to be allowed to live freely in their own country, without discrimination and humiliation. They call for the elimination of the political, economic and social barriers dividing people according to race. They insist on a halt to the daily assaults on their human dignity.

Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for more than a quarter of a century, has been, and remains, a symbol of the historic struggle for freedom and the elimination of racial discrimination. The fact that the Pretoria Government continues to refuse his unconditional release puts in question all its hypocritical proclamations on its intention to abolish apartheid.

The fact that possibilities exist for resolution of the crisis situation in South Africa is attested to by the initiative of the African National Congress of South Africa aimed at a peaceful settlement, which received the support of the Organization of African Unity and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Proceeding from recognition of the right of all peoples, including the inhabitants of South Africa, freely to choose their own future, Czechoslovakia is convinced that the time for action has come. We are in favour of all the political forces of South African society sitting down together at a negotiating table - setting out on the path that would lead to the elimination of the obnoxious system of apartheid, adopting the necessary measures to transform their country into a

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true home for all, without racial or any other type of discrimination. The Republic of South Africa has a unique opportunity to become a united, democratic and non-racial State.

If the Pretoria Government really has the future of the country at heart it should, without delay, create the necessary conditions for these negotiations. Steps such as the release of all political prisoners, lifting of the ban on the activities of democratic organizations, withdrawal of military units from townships, lifting of the state of emergency, and discontinuation of all political trials are indispensable prerequisites to finding ways out of the impasse of apartheid. Delays and manoeuvring only prolong suffering and further aggravate the situation.

The oppressed people of South Africa rightfully expect effective assistance from the international community in their just struggle for the elimination of the apartheid régime. In this respect the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regards as indispensable the severing of contacts and co-operation with the Pretoria régime, particularly in the military, political and economic fields, as is called for by the respective resolutions of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies. All States should strictly observe the sanctions that have already been adopted, such as the arms and oil embargoes against South Africa. A real threat to international peace and security is posed by the actual capacity of the Government of South Africa to have nuclear weapons and their delivery systems at its disposal. We support the adoption of resolute measures by the Security Council to prevent South Africa from building up its nuclear potential.

The resolutions and decisions adopted in the United Nations and in other forums, as well as the discussion held so far at this session, confirm unequivocally that the world increasingly realizes the necessity of stepping up efforts for the

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elimination of the criminal system of apartheid. We share the opinion that the most effective peaceful measures for increasing pressure on the Pretoria régime is the imposition by the Security Council of general, mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

A number of resolutions of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies are fully justified in categorizing apartheid as a crime against humanity and a gross violation of international law, as well as a permanent threat to international peace and security. Its continued existence can be neither overlooked nor tolerated. Let us therefore jointly proceed to effective action against this blot on the conscience of the entire civilized world. The oppressed people of South Africa today rightfully expect of us not words but resolute deeds.

Prince SISOWATH SIRIRATH (Democratic Kampuchea): I should like first of all to express on behalf of my delegation our deep satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the important work of this special session. Your determination and your dogged struggle to eradicate the odious apartheid régime in South Africa are well known. As Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid you have worked tirelessly to strengthen the international campaign against apartheid, thus making a large contribution to the cause of justice in South Africa.

The persistence of the anachronistic and abhorrent practices of the evil system of apartheid led the General Assembly to convene its first special session devoted to an examination of the policies of apartheid of South Africa. For more than four decades the legitimate aspirations of the black majority in South Africa have been stifled, and its right to freedom and dignity continues to be thwarted by policies and practices that have been condemned world-wide.

Despite some positive developments that have emerged in the region, the situation in South Africa remains a source of profound and intense concern not only because of the political principles at stake but also because of the widespread human suffering caused by the system of apartheid. While Pretoria professes it favours peace and prosperity for all South Africans its security forces are used to suppress ruthlessly the anti-apartheid opposition. The state of emergency has been renewed for the fourth consecutive year. Further repressive measures have been enacted in an attempt to eliminate all opposition, even peaceful opposition. Attacks by death squads against opponents of apartheid have increased dramatically. Some South Africans have become internal refugees from repression. The appalling policy of creating so-called independent homelands, which seeks to deprive blacks of their birthright to South African citizenship, has continued unabated.

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Over the years, South Africa has also perpetrated acts of aggression and destabilization against front-line and other States in the region. All tensions and conflicts in southern Africa have their roots in the apartheid system. It is the most blatant, systematic denial by the few of the freedom of the many. It is undeniably a threat to peace and security not only in the region but throughout the world as well.

Under those circumstances, the international community has two options, as pointed out in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session:

"it can take no further action and adopt no new sanctions, thus maintaining a lifeline to apartheid ... or it can step up the pressure, either by adopting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions or by imposing concerted and strictly monitored sanctions ... until Pretoria resists no further the need for genuine negotiations. The first option will undoubtedly lead to a deepening of the conflict and further bloodshed and suffering for South Africans The second option would lead to a peaceful and prompt end of apartheid",

(A/44/22, para. 262)

thus ensuring the establishment of a free, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, in which all its people, black and white, can dwell in freedom and in peace.

The brutality of the policy of apartheid, the increasing loss of life and property it causes in South Africa and in the region, and the constant threat to peace and security created by this situation call for urgent action by the international community. Pretoria's decision to remain deaf to all appeals and warnings and its obstinate refusal to respect fundamental human rights and apply majority rule clearly reaffirm the need to step up our joint efforts with a view to

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dismantling apartheid through the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. My delegation fully endorses the view that sanctions are the only peaceful and effective means to bring the adherents of apartheid to reason. Since the call 29 years ago by Nobel Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli for an economic boycott of South Africa, existing sanctions against Pretoria have worked. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia did not come about because of a sudden outbreak of good will in Pretoria. Rather, heavy trade and financial sanctions helped convince Pretoria that its illegal occupation of Namibia was intolerable.

It is apparent that sanctions have succeeded in convincing Pretoria that apartheid cannot be continued in its present form. However, they have not been strong enough to convince the adherents of apartheid to create a climate conducive to genuine negotiations to establish a non-racial representative Government in South Africa. If Pretoria is to be forced to negotiate an end to apartheid an energetic and concerted sanctions effort is needed, and that as soon as possible during the next few years, when Pretoria will be most vulnerable. In that respect the convening of this special session was very timely.

In his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General observed that

"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. The United Nations has indicated the steps that the Government of South Africa must take to create an appropriate atmosphere for a national dialogue with the genuine representatives of the majority ... These measures include the release of all political prisoners, the lifting of

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restrictions ... the restoration of freedom of speech and movement and the ending of all other manifestations of the state of emergency." (A/44/1, p. 7)

My delegation fully shares those sentiments of the Secretary-General and agrees with his wise prescription for a solution.

Indeed, a peaceful resolution of the political conflict in South Africa cannot be found so long as the state of emergency remains in force. The African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and many other organizations remain banned. Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remain incarcerated, and the pillars of apartheid, especially the Group Areas Act and the bantustan "homelands" policy, have not been abrogated. The Pretoria régime should have realized by now that apartheid cannot be reformed. It is in its own interest to dismantle apartheid once and for all by entering into dialogue in good faith with the authentic representatives of the majority of the South African population in compliance with the Harare Declaration on southern Africa endorsed and adopted by the non-aligned countries. The régime must see that apartheid is no longer a viable option. The economic and political cost of that evil system is too high. The continued repression of the black majority is no longer sustainable. History is replete with undeniable evidence that force cannot be a solution to conflicts involving the irrepressible will of a people to gain its freedom and live in dignity.

To help bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, the international community has another noble duty to fulfil. Specific concerted action should be taken to enhance solidarity with the national liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, which

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have valiantly pursued their noble objective of eradicating apartheid. We highly value their strong determination and the sacrifices made by all leaders of the national liberation movements and the majority of the South African people in their efforts to arrive at a political settlement through genuine negotiations.

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Our solidarity with the just and heroic struggle is unswerving. Our support can be best summarized by the words of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, our national leader, who, in his message to the General Assembly on 28 September last, stressed that:

"We here renew our full support for the just and legitimate struggle of the valiant South African people. ... We reaffirm our conviction that peace and stability will be restored in southern Africa with the eradication of apartheid and the formation of a non-racist and democratic government in South Africa." (A/44/PV.10, pp. 15 and 16)

He then stated:

"The holding next December of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa will surely bring about additional aid and support with a view to attaining that noble objective for which the South African people and the entire international community are mobilized." (Ibid., p. 16)

We hope our expectations will be met.

Mr. SOKHONA (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): The election of an anti-apartheid militant to the presidency of the special session assures the success of our work. It is an honour for all of Africa and constitutes a tribute to a brother country, Nigeria, for its commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle. Mauritania, which has close relations of friendship and co-operation with your country, wishes to convey to you, Mr. President, its warm congratulations and pledges to you its full co-operation.

It also wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and all the United Nations bodies working in the

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struggle against apartheid, and in particular the Special Committee against Apartheid, for the positive role they all play in that area.

As a founding member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and a convinced defender of just causes, Mauritania has always been deeply concerned over the evils of the anachronistic policy of apartheid. In that connection it has always expressed its active solidarity with the oppressed brother people of South Africa and with all the peoples of that region. Our delegation is therefore pleased to participate in this debate, which will, we hope, promote a common quest for peace and stability in southern Africa through the elimination of the odious system of apartheid.

Our debates are taking place at a time when the world is undergoing profound change. The aspiration of peoples to freedom and peace are shattering the barriers impeding free expression and peoples' wish to live in a world free from all forms of oppression and violence. The changes we have noted everywhere in recent years have breached that bulwark of the systematic violation of human rights, the minority racist régime of South Africa. The shameful system of apartheid, which has rightly been termed a crime against humanity, continues to cause suffering and remains the principal source of all the evils in the region. Based on violence and maintained through violence, apartheid cannot bring forth anything other than suffering and deprivation, not only for the South African people themselves but for the other peoples of the region as well. The latter are subjected to constant suffering, either directly or by proxy, from devastating raids that have caused great loss of human life, produced mass destruction and erected obstacles to the peace and harmonious development of those countries.

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Those attacks proceed from a deliberate will and well-structured strategy that is methodically being implemented through a war machine whose principal objective is the destabilization of the region. The results of those actions speak for themselves: in less than a decade the policy of destabilization has cost South Africa's neighbours more than \$60 billion and more than 1,500,000 human lives, not to mention the effects of internal displacement of the population and the waves of refugees that have aggravated the problems in countries that are already facing the challenges of under-development.

For several months now we have been hearing a new language from South Africa. The honeyed words have been accompanied by such symbolic gestures as the release of Walter Sisulu and 7 other political prisoners and the authorization of some peaceful demonstrations. However, the whole world knows that such symbolic gestures do not merely reflect the disarray that exists amongst the supporters of apartheid in the face of the heroic combat of the South African people following the crushing defeat of their army, hitherto regarded as invincible, at Cueto Cuanavale in 1987 against the courageous combatants of Angola, and in the face of the harmful effects of economic sanctions on their economy. Thus, the new sense of realism is less the reflection of a new determination on the part of the South African leaders to proceed to the elimination of apartheid than it is an attempt to make apartheid more acceptable and, in so doing, to maintain it. Notwithstanding the signs given and the many statements made, nothing substantial has yet occurred to prove that those leaders have entered onto the irrevocable path of dialogue. Indeed, apartheid continues to be firmly anchored in the life of South Africa. The state of emergency has once again been extended, and political organizations such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) or the Pan Africanist

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Congress of Azania (PAC) are still banned. Deaf to the appeals of the international community, South Africa continues to murder its political opponents.

The stepped-up military co-operation with the other bastion of repression, Israel, through the missile arrangement recently made public by the international press shows that that régime is not about to abandon the military option. Thus, we must strengthen political pressures and economic sanctions, of which the arms and oil embargo is an essential part. Indeed, any relaxation of such sanctions would be counter to the spirit of the United Nations report on the destabilization of South Africa.

The true desire for dialogue that is slowly emerging in southern Africa today should be seized upon to achieve progress in the peace process in that region. The implementation of Security Council 435 (1978) in Namibia must be carefully followed in assisting that country to attain independence with unity and under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which, in the recent elections, proved its popular support. In Angola and in Mozambique the process of reconciliation now under way should quickly lead to a lasting peace. In South Africa itself the momentum achieved by the democratic movement should lead to dialogue with such authentic mass political organizations as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in order finally to put an end to the evils of apartheid.

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The international community has an important role to play at this crucial phase in the evolution of the region. The Harare Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of 21 August 1989 - a declaration, moreover, that was endorsed by the ninth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade and by the Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Meeting - brought up-to-date the principles contained in the Lusaka manifesto. Those principles are more valid today than ever before. In order to bring peace and stability to southern Africa, it is absolutely necessary to eradicate apartheid. To that end, the various declarations and the manifesto have opted for the road of peace through dialogue and joint action.

It is up to our Assembly today to rekindle the flame that was lit more than two decades ago in Lusaka. The international context is propitious for that, and our wills joined in a single resolute impulse could accelerate prospects for peace in that region. Economic sanctions continue to be the only available weapons to bring the leaders of apartheid peacefully to the negotiating table. That is why they should be maintained until a clear irrevocable change takes place. If they are sincere in their statements and promises, it is the duty of the South African leaders to create the necessary conditions for a true process of dialogue. In addition to the concrete measures to be adopted to that end, they should also stop insisting on group rights, which invoke the specter of segregation and racial discrimination on which their present system is founded.

The winds of freedom sweeping throughout all regions of the world cannot avoid southern Africa. Peace and freedom are commodities too precious, for which no sacrifice is too great. The front-line States have already demonstrated that over the decades. The oppressed people of South Africa is experiencing it daily. Nelson Mandela and other patriots have given tangible proof of it. Let us ensure that their sacrifices will not have been in vain. In expressing our active

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solidarity with the victims of apartheid, we will be contributing to the elimination of that scourge and to the establishment of a world of peace and justice. In any event, we hope that this session will strengthen joint action at the international level, leading to the peaceful elimination of apartheid.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): The United States has consistently condemned South Africa's system of apartheid in the strongest terms. The United States has in place and enforces the most comprehensive sanctions of any of that country's major trading partners. Our bilateral assistance programmes and assistance to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference support the black majority in South Africa and those States in the region to promote regional stability.

Against that backdrop, it is a pleasure for me to address this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. This special session provides the international community the opportunity and the responsibility to adopt a clear, coherent, and - as the President of the General Assembly called for on the opening day of this session - unanimous declaration that would send an unambiguous signal to the people of South Africa that the entire world community supports efforts to find genuine, peaceful solutions to their problems, and to the Government of South Africa that apartheid must end.

We must not let this opportunity slip from our grasp. I would like to take this opportunity briefly to set out the basic principles that guide United States policy towards South Africa. Those principles are our commitment to an end to apartheid and to achieving fundamental political change leading to a non-racial, democratic South Africa; full enforcement of United States sanctions against South Africa; expanding assistance to black South Africans; active United States diplomacy to resolve conflicts and to support economic development throughout

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southern Africa; and intensive consultations with other nations, especially South Africa's major trading partners and the front-line States, on the problems and issues facing southern Africa.

The process of translating those principles into policy is taking place against the backdrop of perceptible political evolution in South Africa with signs of movement on all sides towards constructive dialogue. We have seen several encouraging developments, beginning with the July meeting between P.W. Botha and Nelson Mandela. To many, that historic meeting was a clear indication that the South African Government had come to recognize that the future of South Africa could not be settled without dialogue with credible leaders like Mr. Mandela. Just yesterday, President De Klerk met with Mr. Mandela. We applaud that meeting, but more importantly the spirit and commitment it represents on the part of the South African Government.

More recently, the new President of South Africa, F.W. De Klerk, declared that the white electorate had given him a mandate for change. He then moved to allow, in contrast to the previous Government, political demonstrations to take place despite emergency restrictions. The peaceful nature of those meetings should have sent a strong signal to the Government that such gatherings should not be banned in the future. Mr. De Klerk also met with opposition leaders in the Church - the Reverend Frank Chicane, the Reverend Alan Boesak, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The Government released 8 opposition leaders who had been in prison since the 1960s, including Walter Sisulu. Most recently, Mr. De Klerk announced the abolition of the criticized National Security Management System and a cut in military expenditures.

We have no illusions, however. There remains a long way to go, and the proper credibility and confidence among the parties must still be established. We observe that black South Africans inside and outside the country are taking the possibility

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of dialogue seriously, and, as is evident from the Harare Declaration, are formulating their positions on possible negotiations.

For our part, we view the commencement of dialogue between the Government and credible representatives of the black majority as the crucial element in the process of movement towards full negotiations. We welcome President De Klerk's affirmation that the door is open to such a process. We have also made clear our view of the actions that would facilitate such a dialogue. Those actions are the release of remaining political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and the return of political exiles; the lifting of the state of emergency and restrictions on political activity and on freedom of association for the black opposition; the unbanning of all political organizations, including the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; and an end to violence from all sources.

The new South African Government should move quickly to create the climate for dialogue to begin. We call on all parties to prepare themselves to take advantage of all opportunities that arise to pursue negotiations on a peaceful process of constitutional change.

That is a process for South Africans, but the United States is prepared to assist where it can be useful. We have broadened and deepened our own dialogue with black South Africans, both inside and outside their country. We will continue to denounce apartheid and identify with the aspirations of black South Africans. We are committed to active expansion of our assistance programme designed to strengthen multi-racial resistance to apartheid, build black bargaining power, and help blacks not to endure apartheid but to prepare themselves for leadership in a post-apartheid non-racial democracy. We are committed to maximizing our ability to promote dialogue leading to full-fledged negotiations on a non-racial, democratic South Africa based on universal, non-racial and equal suffrage.

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In our relations with South Africa, we have long used diplomatic and other pressures to promote forward motion in South Africa's internal policies. Our diplomatic relations with South Africa are strained, and they will remain so until there is significant progress towards ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

Regionally, the independence process is far along in Namibia under United Nations auspices, and efforts to resolve conflict through negotiations are under way in Angola and Mozambique. The United States helped to create those opportunities and we will remain active in seeing them through to success. We will keep our opposition to apartheid at the centre of our policy and co-ordinate as closely as possible with South Africa's important trading partners, the front-line States and other interested parties. We continue to work with the other States in southern Africa to strengthen their independence and reduce their vulnerability to external pressure. At the same time, we promote essential co-operation, such as that co-ordinated by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, in order to reduce inefficiencies, allow greater play to market forces, give all parties an increased material stake in regional stability and establish the groundwork for post-apartheid regional economic integration.

Mr. CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) (interpretation from French): It is an honour for me to address the Assembly on behalf of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. I must also note my personal satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Assembly. I congratulate you warmly on behalf of my delegation.

Recent changes in Europe have surprised political experts of all persuasions both by their nature and their speed. The changes we are witnessing have swept away theories, stereotypes and preconceptions worn threadbare by more than 40 years of misuse, leaving the way clear for a renewal of peoples and providing a lasting and healthy stimulus for a new vision of the world based on a new kind of relations among nations.

Astounded foreign ministries and military commands wonder which way to turn, while yesterday's vanquished are emerging from oblivion to challenge gaolers and myths of all kinds, pressing their demands in an irreversible way. Entire peoples

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

are loosing their bonds and taking over public squares and the palaces of government. That is the trend as we come to the end of the decade.

Will such turmoil occur in South Africa, where apartheid continues to rule with the same cruelty, enslaving millions? That is the question we ask today. We have declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity. All mankind must therefore condemn it, and we all do. As such, the entire international community must contribute to its eradication.

The role of the United Nations in the struggle against this scourge is well known and understood by the public in all our countries. In that connection, I pay a deserved tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its valuable contribution to that end. Less well known is the role that every human being must play in the struggle against racism wherever it exists in the world.

That indicates the full importance of this special session, which highlights both the successes and the failures of our joint action. Our efforts, while not negligible, have unfortunately not succeeded in assuaging the suffering of the oppressed people in the Republic of South Africa, who continue to suffer the vicious effects of repressive laws and discriminatory measures and the horrors of humiliation. The errors and failures are there to show the lack of needed co-ordination in our joint endeavour to eliminate apartheid, and the absence of a sincere determination to put in place national policies and machinery that can have the desired impact on the South African Government and the supporters of apartheid. Hence, it is important to examine seriously the reasons for our failure so that together we can set new goals better to guide our future action. That is the special opportunity this special session provides.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

To succeed, our action must be based on a lucid analysis of the situation in South Africa and must take account of the actual means at our disposal. It must be inspired by the deep aspirations of the majority of that country's population: its unshakable will to establish a democratic, non-racial régime there.

Of course, there are differences of opinion as to the best way to achieve this, on the paths to follow and on the way to implement the changes necessary to that end. But one thing remains certain and indisputable: apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be eradicated.

That said, it is difficult to ignore the inadequacy of the decisions taken by the South African Government. We must recognize that these remain timid and superficial compared with the real problem and the concrete measures needed for its solution. The majority of the South African population continues to live in fear and intimidation, victims of the worst kind of repression. Poverty prevails in the townships and other ghettos where the only freedom allowed is the freedom to go and die in a gold mine or a diamond mine.

The blacks of South Africa form a large part of Africa's refugee population, because they have been rejected and marginalized in their own country and the country of their ancestors. In such circumstances, how can we fail to be revolted at the fact that the wealth of their country benefits only a minority of the population and that because of their colour blacks are condemned to obey unjust and degrading laws or choose exile and misery as their permanent fate?

Can we really think that the Cape Town black or Pretoria coloured is unreasonable and dangerous because he demanded better living conditions and decided to defend his human dignity? How much longer will he have to wait before his dream comes true: the simple dream of being recognized as the equal of his fellow human beings?

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

Those and other questions bear their own answers. The lot of millions of men, women and children in South Africa seems so unjust, absurd and unacceptable.

The Government of South Africa must understand that the situation cannot continue. Apartheid has lasted too long already. The time has come for all the changes necessary to restore to every citizen of the Republic of South Africa his fundamental rights. In particular, blacks, who constitute the majority of the population, must be enabled to enjoy their fundamental freedoms and exercise them in peace without interference.

For too long we have been impotent witnesses of the most terrible repression in South Africa and in the south-west of Africa, and troubled spectators of repeated acts of aggression and destabilization against countries of the subregion, Angola and Mozambique in particular. The coming independence of Namibia and the hopes it arouses convince us of the need to redouble our efforts to eliminate apartheid totally.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The victory of the Namibian people attests once again to the unique role of the United Nations and its essential contribution to the struggle for the triumph of freedom and for the establishment of democracy in the world. It also confirms the responsibility of the international community as a whole to support the peoples struggling for their rights to live in decency and dignity. The independence of Namibia should encourage us to maintain the necessary pressure on the South African Government, which must recognize that there is no viable and lasting solution other than through the eradication of apartheid and the restoration of equality between all South Africans, without distinction as to race or creed. Any other approach that does not take those facts into account is doomed to failure because it would not be able fully to satisfy the genuine demands of the majority.

Civil and political rights must be restored immediately in order to allow for the free expression that prevails in any true democracy. Political prisoners and detainees must be freed unconditionally and the state of emergency must be lifted. Every South African citizen must be able freely to return to his country in dignity, without any restriction or intimidation, and to participate if he so desires in activities of his choice within the limits of new democratic laws. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the other political groups must be legally recognized and, as such, play the role incumbent upon them in the country's political life.

We are not indifferent to the handful of decisions recently taken by the South African Government. However, they are not enough. In fact, they are minimal in view of the need to attack, now, the root of the problem, to extirpate it and to destroy it. We are aware that that does require a certain political courage on the part of the present Government to abolish apartheid and destroy at one swoop the

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

myths, injustices and abuses it has been fuelling for so many decades. History, however, exists to encourage those who do desire to aim higher and to overcome bans and taboos, those who are able to recognize and seize the unique opportunity being offered them by changes in the world and by the confidence and détente they are creating between nations. And logic confirms the urgency of such a step - a healthy step because it is the only one that can put an end to the cycle of violence in South Africa.

No one today can envisage any other settlement, and no one today has the right to oppose a solution through the ballot box, the only kind that can preserve life and guarantee opportunities for the lasting coexistence of all the components of the population - in a word, the solution that would enshrine democracy.

The opportunities exist for peace in South Africa so long as each man, each person, is recognized as having the right to live in freedom and to achieve self-fulfilment in equality of races and equality of opportunity. The South African Government must encourage the conditions for achieving that as soon as possible. The disappearance of apartheid is certain and inevitable. For the moment the question that arises is whether or not we want the hoped-for and indispensable changes to occur peacefully, whether the international community is truly resolved to foster dialogue between the racial communities in South Africa by providing the needed encouragement and resources, by maintaining its pressure and by resorting, if necessary, to the sanctions provided under the Charter.

Clearly, we must act now and in concert, it being clearly understood that each State Member of the United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities by contributing in a positive way to the total eradication of apartheid in that country and to the struggle against racism in all its forms everywhere in the world.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

That is the thrust of the draft resolution that is before us and that we are called upon to adopt - let us hope unanimously. That is certainly the commitment of my country, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which intends to pursue its efforts to ensure the achievement of that goal.

Mr. ALENCAR (Brazil): As we take part in this debate we are fully conscious of the fact that you, Mr. President, are also the inspired Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

When the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa were discussed a month ago, during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the overwhelming majority of speakers stressed the need for a meaningful dialogue between the racist régime and the authentic leaders of the majority of the South African people. At the same time, there was general recognition in that debate of the necessity to maintain and indeed to increase international pressure on apartheid as a means of bringing about negotiations. That coincided with appeals that have been made in this regard by important leaders of the opposition, such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Brazil shares both those concerns voiced by the international community. We have long imposed on apartheid South Africa the restrictive measures specified in relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. We always believed that international pressure, together with action by the heroic national resistance in South Africa, would create conditions for the beginning of serious negotiations in that country.

It is thus with great satisfaction that we have received news of contacts held since last year between members of the African National Congress (ANC) and some members of the white segment of South African society. We also welcomed the meeting last July between a ranking member of the Pretoria régime and jailed ANC

(Mr. Alencar, Brazil)

leader Nelson Mandela, after which a statement was released by Mr. Mandela reiterating his position that dialogue with the mass democratic movement, and in particular with the ANC, was the only path to peace in that country.

The new South African Administration seems to show some willingness to change the abhorrent régime of racial discrimination. We welcome such measures as the recent release of Walter Sisulu and other anti-apartheid leaders, as well as the end of racial segregation on South African beaches. We hope that these small steps are indicative of a process of real change. But much more is yet to be done. We refer to the necessity of lifting the state of emergency; releasing political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela; lifting the ban on political parties and organizations; and putting an end to the repression of the South African population. In particular, the South African Government should engage in a serious and meaningful dialogue with the authentic leaders of the majority of the South African people with a view to the total elimination of apartheid. In that respect we believe that the Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Southern Africa, issued at Harare on 21 August 1989, provides the necessary framework for creating a climate for such negotiations to take place.

(Mr. Alencar, Brazil)

The international community has a moral and political obligation to help South Africans eliminate apartheid. It can do so not only by encouraging serious and meaningful exchanges between the Government and the anti-apartheid opposition, but also by steadfastly exercising effective international pressure on the racist régime. Particularly timely initiatives in that context would both strengthen and widen the scope of the arms embargo imposed on South Africa by Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Last September, the Security Council Committee on the arms embargo against South Africa established by resolution 421 (1977) heard a number of important suggestions in that regard put forward by eminent persons and experts who addressed the Committee in private hearings.

Those ideas are reflected in the Committee's report, which is about to be issued and which covers its activities since September 1980. In that report, the Security Council Committee reveals the fact that arms and related matériel continue to reach South Africa in violation of the Security Council resolutions imposing the arms embargo, and also recommends that Governments should take all necessary steps to ensure that any loopholes in the embargo are closed.

For its part, Brazil believes that, for that objective to be fully attained, the Security Council must strengthen its resolutions 558 (1984) and 591 (1986) by widening their scope and making their provisions mandatory, and must also adopt other measures that may be required for effectively impeding the supply of arms and related matériel and other prohibited goods and services to South Africa by individuals or corporations.

Let me say in conclusion that the year 1989 has brought auspicious prospects for peace in southern Africa. Not only have we seen encouraging signals from the South African Government, we have also witnessed the withdrawal of South African forces from the territory of Namibia as part of the process of implementation of

(Mr. Alencar, Brazil)

Security Council resolution 435 (1978), thus enabling Namibia to gain its long overdue independence.

We are, however, fully aware that peace in the southern African region will not be complete and guaranteed unless apartheid is eradicated, for it is that abominable régime of racial discrimination and segregation that is the main source of tension in the region. Consistent with its long-standing position, Brazil will not relent in its support for the noble struggle of the South African people to eliminate apartheid, a system that is synonymous with violence, oppression and injustice, and represents, as stated by President José Sarney in his address to the General Assembly at the forty-fourth session, "an affront to the conscience of civilized peoples".

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): The policies and practices of apartheid carried out by the Government of South Africa represent a flagrant violation of fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in particular in paragraph 3 of its Article 1, which calls for:

"international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion ...".

South Africa is the only country in the world that maintains racial discrimination under its constitution and where racism has assumed institutional form. The apartheid system not only deprives the non-white majority in South Africa of its basic human rights but subverts and undermines the stability of the whole of southern Africa. Until recently, despite universal condemnation and in disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations, the system of apartheid continued unabated and the South African Government resisted all demands for its substantial change and elimination.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

But the determined struggle of the majority people of South Africa, combined with economic measures, however inconsistent, adopted by the international community, has contributed to the erosion of political support for the Government in Pretoria and have made it engage in political dialogue.

We see a good sign in yesterday's meeting between President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, the recognized and respected leader of the majority of the South African people. There are other signs of change from the new leadership in Pretoria, manifested by the release of Mr. Sisulu and seven other leaders of the liberation struggle, and by the granting of permission to hold political meetings despite the continuance of the state of emergency. Perhaps the most important - and we would wish to see it as an act of political realism - was the decision of the South African authorities to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing its plan for the independence of Namibia.

However, those developments should be viewed against the fact that thousands of people are still imprisoned, that political trials and death sentences continue, as do the bans and restrictions on political opponents. Up to now there has been no clear indication that the South African Government is ready to dismantle the very corner-stones of the apartheid system, and President De Klerk's election promises are far from being converted into real government commitments.

Our apprehensions that the recent changes in South Africa may be of a superficial nature rather than a definitive rupture with the obnoxious system of apartheid are confirmed by the findings of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which in its report states that:

"Developments in the period under review...underline the fact that the impasse continues in South Africa, in spite of a number of internal and external developments." (A/44/22, para. 5)

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Yet the situation is not as it used to be, and the Special Committee concludes that it is necessary for the international community to intensify and co-ordinate pressure against Pretoria in order to induce it to take the steps necessary for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

It is encouraging to note that with the growing strength of the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, the increasing number of white inhabitants of that country are beginning to realize that there is no reason why they cannot work together with black people to build a multiracial society as others have done in neighbouring countries.

The special session of the General Assembly provides an opportunity to initiate a broad international campaign for the final eradication of the system of apartheid.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

My delegation continues to support all efforts aimed at bringing an end to the apartheid system by peaceful means through political negotiations. In the view of my delegation, the way to a genuine political settlement of the conflict in South Africa is to be found in the Declaration adopted at the Harare meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). That Declaration provides the basis for initiating a dialogue and negotiations between representatives of the majority population and the South African authorities. We agree with the opinion contained in the draft declaration, that

"A conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African régime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously ... could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations". (A/S-16/AC.1/L.1, p. 5)

For negotiations to be successful, the necessary climate should be created.

In the view of my delegation the following steps should be taken by the South African authorities to provide evidence of their sincere willingness to engage in a dialogue with the anti-apartheid movements and organizations: releasing all political prisoners; lifting bans and restrictions from all persecuted organizations and individuals; ending the state of emergency; removing all troops from the townships; ceasing all political trials; and lifting the ban on the return from exile of all members of the resistance.

Our elements are consistent with the decisions reached by the OAU in its resolutions on South Africa, which were endorsed at the ninth summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in September at Belgrade. We are encouraged by the fact that that approach is being presented more and more often in various international forums, the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur last October to name only one.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Poland stands for sincere and constructive dialogue between the Government of South Africa and the majority African population, with a view to reaching a peaceful settlement which would eradicate the system of racial discrimination and take into account the interests of all the people of South Africa. Such a settlement would create conditions for the establishment of lasting co-operation in many fields between the international community of nations and South Africa.

Poland stands ready to support any decisions of the special session which would recommend compliance by all Member States with the resolutions on apartheid adopted thus far by the United Nations and promote contacts and negotiations between the parties directly concerned to achieve the goal of the peaceful eradication of apartheid and the establishment of foundations for constructive co-operation among all the inhabitants of South Africa.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): In a changing world characterized by a profound qualitative transition from confrontation to an improved climate of international co-operation, progress in the democratization process and an active search for the resolution of regional conflicts, more drastic steps must be taken urgently to bring an end to the apartheid system.

This special session therefore bears a singular responsibility for setting in motion practical measures to eradicate apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

The recent news from South Africa, accompanied by the announcement of reforms, gives the impression that a real dialogue between the oppressed majority and the ruling minority - the South African régime - might be possible. While noting with a certain degree of interest the few reforms proposed by the South African régime, we want to underline that those reforms are clearly too little too late. The changes do not in fact lead to the elimination of apartheid. They are the

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

by-product of confusion and are divorced from present-day realities. In the final analysis they are an attempt to give a new lease on life to the dying system of apartheid.

That abhorrent institutionalized system cannot be reformed unless fundamental changes amounting to eradication take place. The régime has brought upon itself world-wide condemnation and is causing continued dismay as the so-called bantustan homelands, the separate educational systems, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act continue to exist and as many political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela, are still languishing in South African prisons.

Cyprus holds the view that a peaceful and complete elimination of apartheid and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial, democratic and unified country in which all its people will be able to enjoy equal civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and all fundamental freedoms without any discrimination based on colour or race is within our reach through effective action by the international community.

In that respect we consider that the Declaration adopted on 21 August 1989 at Harare by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa provides the principles and guidelines for a negotiated peaceful political solution to the problem.

The non-aligned summit held in Belgrade last September fully endorsed the principles and guidelines outlined in the Harare Declaration. The Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting held in Kuala Lumpur last October, in reiterating a preference for a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the question of South Africa, agreed that existing sanctions and pressures should not only be maintained but should be further strengthened.

The contribution of both summit conferences to the general efforts of the United Nations towards the final eradication of apartheid is very important.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

We also wish to praise the valuable work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the wise and able chairmanship of the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Major-General Joseph Garba.

The challenge confronting this special session is to endorse practical proposals and to generate a new political impetus to dismantle apartheid. To that end, Cyprus fully endorses the programme of action contained in the draft declaration on apartheid and will give a full measure of co-operation to its implementation.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): One of the most notable features of the international political scene today is that distrust and confrontation have given way to constructive dialogue and mutually acceptable compromises aimed at a further strengthening of comprehensive peace and security and at eliminating regional conflicts.

The encouraging experience of Namibia is further convincing proof of the real possibility of using political methods to solve problem, even very complicated ones.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

It is in this context that we see the particular significance of this special session of the General Assembly, which must play a leading role in the long struggle against apartheid. The special session was convened because of concern felt by the international community about the developments in South Africa. The urgency of taking new steps at this time is dictated not only by the danger of continued conflict but also by the fact that it would be unforgivable to lose this opportunity of eliminating apartheid through peaceful means. At this time, with the Pretoria régime showing genuine and serious readiness, we have conditions which could lead to a peaceful solution of the conflict. At this special session the Assembly must draft a specific, detailed programme for a peaceful settlement and for turning South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic State. We express the hope that the declaration containing the programme of action will be adopted by consensus at this session of the General Assembly. In the view of the Ukrainian SSR, we already have the bases for this programme in the Harare Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State of Southern Africa on the question of South Africa, which received the support of the non-aligned countries and other Members of the United Nations. We are convinced that this is a well-thought-out political document, objectively reflecting the situation and identifying a realistic way to eliminate apartheid.

In the present circumstances, when the question of negotiations with South Africa could move from theoretical to practical action, the problem of the strategy and tactics to be used by the international community is arising with new force. Our decision is influenced in particular by the existing situation in South Africa. The Pretoria administration is making fine-sounding statements about its desire to eliminate apartheid, and is even taking certain partial measures in that direction. These steps taken by the Pretoria administration show that the ruling

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

circles of South Africa are displaying a certain understanding of the fact that there is no future in maintaining the racist régime. The shift to a realistic assessment of the problem has been brought about mainly by the spread of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and by pressure from the international community. However - and I should like to stress this - we are by no means over-estimating the first steps taken by Pretoria. The foundation of the racist system still remains unchanged and the practice of apartheid continues.

The international community will never agree to such methods of solving the problem of eliminating apartheid, and the long-suffering people of South Africa will not tolerate such a policy. Apartheid must be eradicated completely and without delay. This is the imperative of the times. Only serious fundamental changes, the elimination of the bases of apartheid, can convince us of the sincere intentions of Pretoria. Their first test will be their attitude to the speedy creation of a favourable political climate for the opening of negotiations.

It is quite natural that the people of South Africa will themselves decide on their fate and on the fate of their country. The task of the international community - that is, of the United Nations - is to help accelerate the elimination of apartheid by all means. The international community is becoming unanimous in its support for sanctions as the most effective peaceful means of putting pressure on the apartheid régime. The Ukraine continues to believe that sanctions are an effective means of putting pressure on the racist régime to renounce the policy and practice of apartheid.

We consider that, even with their shortcomings, the sanctions that have already been introduced do have a substantial impact on Pretoria. The main thing now, we are convinced, is not only to prevent a reduction in pressure, but also to take appropriate concerted and effective measures, including full observance by all

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

countries of a mandatory embargo on arms supplies. This will be the best way to influence those circles in Pretoria which are delaying the start of dialogue with the true representatives of the people.

The struggle against apartheid has reached a new historic phase when, as a result of many years of mass resistance on the part of the oppressed people of South Africa, and as a result of the efforts of the international community, we now have a glimpse of the path to a peaceful settlement to the conflict. At this encouraging time, particular responsibility lies with those statesmen and politicians on whom, to a great extent, the fate of the solution to the problem depends. Now, as never before, we need political and national wisdom in the search for compromises, taking into account the particular nature of the present dynamic international development and the vital fundamental interests of the peoples - ensuring freedom of choice, and peace and security. Realism in assessing events and prospects, a constructive approach and rejection of outdated stereotypes: these are all of cardinal importance in solving regional conflicts through peaceful means and through negotiations.

The Ukraine, which has always had feelings of deep solidarity with the fighting people of South Africa, will make its positive contribution to the efforts to ensure concerted unity of action by the members of the international community in the struggle for the speedy elimination of apartheid, a dangerous hotbed of tension in the South African region.

Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand): My delegation sees the problem in southern Africa as having three dimensions. Apartheid is the first and principal basis for the other two dimensions of the problem, namely colonialism in Namibia and South Africa's policy of destabilization and aggression against the front-line States in southern Africa. Peace and stability in southern Africa can be realized only when all three dimensions of the problem have been resolved.

We have seen substantial progress in Namibia during recent days. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia is being implemented. Elections have been held in Namibia under United Nations supervision. Election supervisors from my country, Thailand, together with others from 25 countries, went to Namibia as members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to oversee the electoral process. They have informed my Government that the elections were free and fair. Namibia's long-awaited independence is at hand. We hope that when the time comes the much-needed international support and assistance to Namibia will be continued. The independence of Namibia will mark the termination of one dimension of the problem in southern Africa.

Meanwhile, the second dimension of the problem still remains: the continued destabilization of the front-line States by South Africa. As already amply alluded to by previous speakers, losses to the gross domestic product of the front-line States amounted to \$60 billion during the period 1980-1988. For that reason, continued international economic assistance to the front-line States is vital, at least in the immediate and foreseeable future. The Africa Fund, which my Government supports, is an important instrument that must remain viable and effective.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

Among other things, the international community should provide sufficient resources and expertise to enhance the front-line States' national capacity for rapid economic development. The international trade environment should be improved to enhance access for exports from the front-line States.

Let me now turn to the principal dimension of the problem in southern Africa, namely the bankrupt policy of apartheid.

Thailand has consistently condemned apartheid as an egregious system of repression that must be eradicated. In line with that policy, my Government supports international sanctions against Pretoria in an effort to hasten the dissolution of that inhuman system. That includes an oil embargo, as called for in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 41/35 F, and financial measures against South Africa, as endorsed by the recent Kuala Lumpur meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. Thailand has refrained from carrying out any activity which might in any way assist or enhance South Africa's economic strength to the detriment of neighbouring States. In 1978 the Thai cabinet decided to prohibit trade between Thailand and South Africa. An act to give effect to that trade ban was subsequently enacted in 1982; under that act violators face severe penalties.

It has been said that the winds of change are blowing in South Africa. Indeed, it would seem that the new leadership in Pretoria has shown more awareness of the urgency of change. The recent release of members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), including Walter Sisulu, was a positive signal. The authorities' decision not to enforce the state of emergency banning protest marches, the opening of beaches and other public facilities to all races and the creation of some multi-racial neighbourhoods were modest steps, but steps in the right direction. Yesterday's meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mr. De Klerk was

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

significant. Yet those steps by themselves are clearly not enough. Much more needs to be accomplished. The international community must not slacken its vigilance, but must continue to press for more and irreversible changes in South Africa.

The fact is that apartheid remains intact. The state of emergency has not been officially lifted. Nelson Mandela and approximately 3,000 other political prisoners still remain incarcerated.

My delegation would like to add its voice to the international community's urging of the South African leadership to put an effective end to apartheid. Time is running out. Eradicate apartheid or face the likelihood of being eradicated with it. Circumstances seem to offer no other alternative.

The Harare Declaration and the draft declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa offer the blueprint for resolving all three dimensions of the problem in southern Africa.

To create a political atmosphere that would be conducive to negotiations, the South African régime must release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons, remove all troops from the townships, end the state of emergency, repeal all legislation designed to circumscribe political activities, including the Internal Security Act, and cease all political trials and executions.

Once the appropriate climate has been established, the Pretoria régime should enter into discussions with the liberation movements in order to establish the basis for the adoption of a new constitution. An interim government should then be formed to supervise the drafting and adoption of a new constitution and the transformation of South Africa to a truly democratic country, a country in which political power is shared on an equitable basis.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

Finally, we urge the Pretoria régime to give this special session the attention it deserves. The views and judgement of an overwhelming majority of the international community must not and cannot be ignored.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.