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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 13 December 1989, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GUTIERREZ (Costa Rica)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. JAYA (Brunei Darussalam)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda)
(Vice-President)

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

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

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Gutierrez (Costa Rica), Vice-President,
took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): A little under a month ago the Special Committee against Apartheid held a special session in memory of the great Indian leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to whose forceful personality and sense of justice the international community owes the initiative that led to the inclusion of the question of apartheid on the agenda of our Organization.

More than four decades have passed since then, and in that time the awareness of the need to condemn the policy and practice of apartheid has become universal and the commitment to the struggle for its eradication has been significantly increased. The course of events that has led to the present situation has been slow and at times frustrating because of the predominance of selfish economic and political interests over fundamental principles and values which govern the conduct of nations. In this connection it is important to reiterate that only by firmly denouncing such facts will it be possible to counteract their pernicious effect on international solidarity against apartheid.

On the other hand, a cautious analysis of the latest events in South Africa has shown that a new political and social dynamic force, which seems to point to a solution of this extremely serious problem, has been generated. The internal and external contradictions inherent in the apartheid régime are becoming increasingly apparent and there are signs that it is beginning to falter.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

No longer is there any room for debate on the ethics of the case of South Africa or on the political implications of the struggle against the system. Any reflection on that unjust and immoral régime should be aimed at the study of concrete policies and appropriate means for ridding mankind of a shameful reality, which is degrading to us as a species, as a society and as individuals.

In the light of those considerations my country hopes that the sixteenth special session devoted to apartheid will be a propitious occasion for turning reflection into a prelude to action. The oppressed South African majority is waging a legitimate struggle against the violence and humiliation to which it is subjected and therefore any means available to it for combating injustice is appropriate. It is up to the international community, in its turn, to take action, using the procedures and methods provided in the Charter and other available instruments to support the noble cause of the South African people.

In point of fact, we all know what those instruments are. We have at our disposal voluminous and well-prepared documentation, namely, the Declaration adopted this year in Harare by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the Declaration adopted by the Meeting of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth Countries in Kuala Lumpur; the reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid; the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa and the recommendations of the Panel of Eminent Persons in public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia.

In those documents the conclusions concerning the meaning of apartheid as an international question and the means for its eradication are clear and precise. They state unequivocally that it constitutes a threat to peace and security

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

which brooks no ambiguities or substantive concessions by the international community, whose powers of coercion rest on the solidarity and co-ordination of its actions.

The formulation and methodology of such actions is also clearly defined. The experience acquired in connection with the mandatory embargo on weapons imposed by resolutions 418 (1977) and 558 (1984) of the Security Council indicates the proper course to follow to strengthen pressure on Pretoria by progressively isolating it in other areas where it is particularly vulnerable: the financial and energy fields.

We were more than disappointed at the most inopportune and unexpected rescheduling of South Africa's external debt last October by the group of banks participating in the Third Provisional Agreement in circumstances that would appear to justify the presumption of immoral complicity between one sector of the international financial world and the racist régime. Nevertheless, South Africa's weakness in this sphere was demonstrated yet again. It is to be hoped that such collusion with the Pretoria racist régime will not be repeated in the future.

On the other hand, we have followed very closely the activities of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa and, in particular, the hearings on the oil embargo against that country, held in April this year, under the auspices of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in which Venezuela participated at the experts level.

As can be seen from its conclusions, the implementation of the mandatory oil embargo would have a marked effect on South Africa's economy, particularly if the embargo were to be extended to the acquisition of the most advanced equipment and technology, particularly where the latter are connected with the generation of alternative sources of energy such as the liquifying of coal.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

A complementary measure to that policy could be the imposition of penal sanctions against persons or enterprises involved in violations of the energy embargo. We have reason therefore to nurture the conviction that apartheid can be combated effectively if the international community decides to exercise its political will in a concerted manner and in full solidarity to achieve that objective.

Nature, however, has endowed South Africa with great strategic riches and many political wills that are decisive in the international arena have been affected by that wealth. To that must be added the immoderate thirst for profit and commercial opportunism of certain countries and transnational corporations acting like strike-breakers in the face of the agreement against apartheid.

The arguments that have been advanced in favour of alleviating immediate and stronger pressure against Pretoria would only convince those whose interests are bound up with the preservation of the racist dictatorship. The proposal to establish a waiting period of indeterminate duration to enable the South African minority power to introduce reforms in favour of the opposing majority deserves to be qualified as an exercise in complacent naiveté. Similarly, nothing further need be said about the allegation that broader sanctions would bring greater suffering to the population, because that same population which it is claimed will be protected has already rejected the proposal through its legitimate spokesmen.

The sole purpose of our endeavours should be to promote an appropriate political climate that would enable the conflicting parties to negotiate a peaceful settlement of their dispute while fully respecting generally accepted principles and values, such as the recognition of the inherent power of the people's sovereignty and strict respect for human rights without discrimination for reasons of race, creed or social condition.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

The prerequisites for negotiations of this kind to get under way are well known: revocation of the state of emergency, release of political prisoners, lifting of the ban on political parties, abolition of censorship imposed on the social communication media, and suppression of judicial proceedings for political reasons. Each one of the foregoing conditions is an indispensable part of a scenario of peaceful coexistence for the rapid and effective establishment of which we engage the much-vaunted readiness of the South African government to negotiate.

On the occasion of the debate on item 28 of the agenda of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, my country stated in detail its position of principle and explained the concrete measures adopted by my Government with regard to the question of apartheid. On that occasion, as I indicated at the beginning of my statement, we said that we trusted that the purpose of the debate at this special session would be more action oriented than given to rhetoric.

I believe that I am reflecting reality when I say that the majority of the countries represented in this Hall are not ready to give Mr. De Klerk's administration a blank cheque so that, at his convenience and whenever it suits him, he may tackle the solution of the crisis. Any condescension to that effect would constitute an unpardonable injustice towards the South African people.

We advocate genuine negotiations, that is to say, with the legitimate representatives of the South African population in conditions of equality and with express recognition of the fact that the people's sovereignty lies in the will of the majority.

(Mr. Aguilar, Venezuela)

Just as, in accordance with resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988, we set the year 2000 as the target date for the complete elimination of colonialism, so my delegation considers that we should consider a precise timetable for the Progressive and total dismantling of apartheid, with effective surveillance mechanisms to assess compliance with the requirements, deadlines and progress of the process. Non-compliance with that timetable should be accompanied by an escalation of international pressures against the racist régime in each and every one of the areas in which South Africa has shown vulnerability, with special emphasis on the energy and financial fields, up to and including, if necessary, the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. OUKO (Kenya): During the regular debate on the issue of apartheid at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, my delegation went to great lengths to voice its concerns about the ugly face of apartheid and to sketch a scenario that would abolish apartheid. Our grave concerns and those of other nations may have been listened to, but were definitely not heeded by racist South Africa and its friends. This special session on apartheid will, we hope, focus even more attention on the inhuman practices of apartheid and its enormously destructive internal and external consequences. We hope that the glaring focus of concerted international opprobrium may result in some realistic action towards the objective of dismantling apartheid and the realization of a democratic process in South Africa.

(Mr. Ouko, Kenya)

The intensified struggle of the South African people against the racist and minority régime of Pretoria and its inhuman policies of apartheid still burns strong. Their courageous efforts must be sustained and supported by us in this Assembly. Unless the international community maintains pressure on President De Klerk, he will not be able to convince his white constituency of the need for immediate and far-reaching changes. The inevitability of these changes has been accepted by many whites in South Africa; however, an agreement on the depth, content and pace of those changes has been difficult to reach.

What kind of impetus can the international community provide to enable De Klerk to convince the whites to accept the inevitable changes? My delegation would like to reiterate the following.

First, only sanctions can provide the catalyst and necessary impetus for negotiations on South Africa's future. The moral indignation we all feel in various degrees must be translated into strong political will to reduce trade and financial dealings with that nation. To that end, therefore, my delegation endorses the proposals to prohibit the importation of all South African manufactured goods; to ban the importation of all non-strategic metals and minerals from South Africa; to phase out trade credits for buyers and suppliers; and to ban loans and restrict investments in South Africa.

While the above measures will go a long way towards bringing the desired changes in apartheid South Africa, we are still concerned that the United Nations arms embargo has been blatantly ignored by some nations. The military collaboration has now extended, very dangerously, into nuclear and submarine technology, as already confirmed by the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. The obvious need for sanctions against the racist régime cannot be overstated. In a recent article in the Financial Mail of South Africa, a comment was made to this effect: "Don't kid yourself. Effective sanctions do work."

(Mr. Ouko, Kenya)

The recently released Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) said, on 20 November 1989:

"We do not doubt that sanctions are, to a very large extent, responsible for making the Government responsive to the demands of our people. We call on the world to intensify the sanctions campaign."

This message from the voice of the people is both clear and unequivocal.

This strong reaffirmation of the efficacy of sanctions was taken a step higher by the well-argued statement presented to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly by the former President of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Reverend C. S. Banana, on 7 November 1989. Reverend Banana was the Co-Chairman of the Panel of Eminent Persons established to conduct the Public Hearings on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia. The Panel was appointed by our Secretary-General, and consisted of 12 eminent persons. Reverend Banana pointed out, inter alia, that the previous high profitability of the apartheid system was declining considerably.

The high negative costs of maintaining the brutal system had distorted and stunted the South African economy, leading to a considerable decline in white income and resulting in an exodus of whites from the country.

The effects of sanctions, the report revealed, contributed to a realization by multinational corporations that investing in that unhealthy business environment was an enormous financial risk that could not be mitigated in any manner. Two hundred and twenty-seven multinational corporations have disinvested since 1985. Of these, 60 per cent are from the United States of America. This is indeed a laudable development. My delegation stresses that our call for intensified sanctions must not be construed as a desire to destroy the South African economy, but, as Reverend Banana clearly indicated, as "raising the economic stakes".

(Mr. Ouko, Kenya)

Secondly, as my President, Daniel arap Moi, keeps reminding the world, the Preoccupation with the sanctions debate tends to divert our attention from focusing on the pillars that apartheid is built on. These are the Population Registration Act; the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts on which the Group Areas Act is based; the Bantu Education Act; the tricameral parliamentary system; and the so-called Bantustans. Eradication of apartheid, which has for decades been a unanimous demand of this Assembly, can only be brought about if these pillars are themselves abolished.

(Mr. Ouko, Kenya)

My delegation sees sanctions as an important tool for influencing the racist régime to remove those five pillars, because on them rests the hateful structure of apartheid. Any reform by De Klerk that does not address the removal of those structures of apartheid is but cosmetic. The actions of De Klerk's friends today and in the future must be designed to bring additional pressure to bear on him to compel him to abolish those five pillars.

Thirdly, as we focus on the use of economic options in our struggle against apartheid, we must also widen the political options available to us. Various positive noises have been made by De Klerk in this regard. The release of all freedom fighters; promises to end the state of emergency; allowing the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to join other African representatives in negotiating South Africa's future - these are but promises that need to be kept. The actions he has so far taken are minor and peripheral. The climate for dialogue must be improved. Further confidence-building measures in the domestic South African political environment must be taken.

An environment that allows for peaceful negotiations, can, and in my delegation's view, must be achieved through the implementation of the "Climate for Negotiations" section of the Harare Declaration (A/44/697) of 21 August 1989, which my delegation supported then, as it supports it now. It says that South Africa should release all political prisoners and detainees and allow them to operate; lift all restrictions and political activity; end the state of emergency and repeal all legislation that curtails political activity; remove all troops from the townships; and cease all political trials and executions. We must create conditions in which free political discussion can take place.

(Mr. Ouko, Kenya)

South Africa's implacable indulgence in, and voracious appetite for, violence has also found brutal expression within the neighbouring countries, resulting in great loss of life and distorted economies. During the debate on this issue on 9 November Kenya underlined the immense cost of South Africa's destabilization activities to the South African Development Co-ordination Conference countries, amounting to well over \$60 billion. In admitting this reality, the international community must mobilize to look into concrete ways in which the present destructive consequences of the policies of apartheid can be ameliorated. A number of plans to deal with this problem have been put forward. Kenya calls for their closer co-ordination with a view to maximizing their efficient implementation for the benefit of the affected persons and nations.

My delegation emphasized on 9 November that the struggle to eradicate apartheid and to bring about a just South Africa must come from within. This call was further buttressed by leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, who stressed that the decisive action in the struggle against the oppressive minority régime must be conducted from within South Africa, and that external elements like sanctions, though important, were complementary. I reiterate my President's call for our brothers in the struggle to unite to realize a viable force against the racist minority Government.

Mr. BULL (Liberia): On this historic occasion of the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, I am immensely pleased to convey warm greetings and best wishes for a successful conference from the President of the Republic of Liberia, Dr. Samuel Kanyon Doe, and the Government and people of Liberia.

The delegation of Liberia joins me in extending heartiest congratulations to the President on his unanimous election to preside over this special session. His

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

election is a recognition of the leadership he has given to the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid since he became its Chairman. And this sixteenth special session is the crowning success of his initiatives. We have no doubt that, with his vast experience and negotiating skills, this special session will provide the desired momentum for the eradication of the evil system of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in South Africa.

It is a truism that one of the negative characteristics of human society is man's inhumanity to man, behaviour motivated by his insatiable greed for wealth and power. Consequently, throughout history man has employed various methods to dominate, control and oppress his fellow man. In our times the institutions of slavery, colonialism, nazism and now apartheid have significantly featured in the processes by which one group of people has sought to subjugate another.

It is against this background that we are gathered here for the first time in a special session to address, and resolve to bring to an end, the evil system of apartheid, a repugnant form of institutionalized racism, which not only is a disgrace to our civilization, but has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity.

As we look at the history of apartheid, we observe that it came into being in 1948, three years after the end of the Second World War, which had been fought, inter alia, to defeat the forces of nazism, a spurious racist doctrine. Apartheid was institutionalized in South Africa three years after the establishment of the United Nations, one of whose basic principles is respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. History further records that apartheid came into being the very year the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

The paradox is that at the very time when the entire world was reaffirming faith in the dignity and worth of the human person, respect for fundamental human rights of man and woman alike, and the sovereign equality of nations, large and small, a nationalist Government, committed to a legalized system of racial segregation, came to power in South Africa. This racist Government put into place the major pillars of its apartheid policy, which embodies the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantustan homelands policy and the system of separate education, all of which are contrary to fundamental human rights as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

Since then the racist régime has remained true to its record of defying all forms of decency and civilized behaviour. In trying to preserve an untenable political structure, South Africa has become increasingly repressive and destabilizing and an isolated entity in Africa, as well as an ostracized member of the comity of nations.

In spite of the many attempts of the international community to end apartheid, including the imposition of an arms embargo and a sports and cultural boycott, as well as the suspension of South Africa from membership in the Organization, the racist régime still appears not to have any fundamental misgivings about its dehumanizing system but has been mainly concerned about the preservation of its privileges and domination.

As we all know, the consequences have been disastrous for the social, economic and political life of South Africa as well as other countries in the region, a situation which has been confirmed by a number of impartial sources.

It has been indicated that at the very heart of the problem of poverty in South Africa lies the problem of power and any long-term solution must effectively resolve the question of the redistribution of political power by which blacks will play a decisive role in shaping a future beyond apartheid.

There is also an extreme degree of inequality prevailing in South Africa at a time when the racist régime is attempting to demonstrate the positive effects of the so-called reforms introduced in apartheid.

Between 1960 and 1980 the absolute number of those living in poverty in South Africa rose from an estimated 13 million to 18 million persons; 2 million children grew up stunted for lack of sufficient nutrition in one of the few countries of the world that exports food - and this picture of deprivation is even more acute in the homelands, where 81 per cent of the households live in extreme poverty. Throughout this decade this tragic pattern of growth has continued in South Africa.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

In contrast to this sad picture is that of the ruling white minority, which enjoys an exceptionally high standard of living and a monopoly on political power, while the oppressed black majority, which produces the wealth the whites enjoy, suffers from poverty and deprivation and is denied all economic, social and political rights.

The destructive consequences of apartheid are not at all limited to South Africa: they have had a disastrous impact on the neighbouring front-line States, resulting in huge costs and enormous human suffering.

Owing to the refusal of the front-line States to accept South Africa's racist policies, the régime has resorted to economic subversion of countries in the sub-region.

In this respect, one need only consult the study conducted by the Inter-Agency Task Force of the United Nations Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, which confirmed that the front-line States suffered approximately a \$60 billion loss in their gross domestic product during the period 1980 to 1988. The study also showed that 1.5 million lives have been lost in the region and a substantial portion of the population of Angola and Mozambique have been displaced as a consequence of the policies of the racist régime.

Another destructive consequence of apartheid has been South Africa's deliberate attempt to destabilize countries in the sub-region by interfering in their internal affairs. Through both covert and overt means, South Africa or its surrogates have continued to harass and destabilize legitimate African Governments. As a result, these Governments have had to divert their scarce resources, which would otherwise have been used for development purposes, to the purchase of armaments in order to protect their sovereignty.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

In recent weeks the racist régime has tried to give the impression that it is about to abandon apartheid. That in fact is not the case because, although a few political prisoners have been released, the laws and decrees which constitute the pillars of apartheid remain solidly in place. For example, the national liberation movements in South Africa remain banned, the state of emergency continues to be brutally imposed, and Mr. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and many other political prisoners continue to be illegally detained without trial.

All those developments lead to the simple but sobering conclusion that the evil system of apartheid continues to be reinforced and the Pretoria régime is not prepared to end white minority rule or relinquish its stranglehold over the country.

The Government of Liberia believes therefore that whatever changes are being undertaken by the Pretoria régime are not due to its humanitarian concerns but are instead a response to internal and external pressures for change. The international community can therefore quicken the pace of change by intensifying collective pressures on South Africa through the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against it under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, so as to force it to the negotiating table.

In this connection the argument about the effectiveness of sanctions can no longer be entertained. South African leaders have themselves acknowledged that sanctions have had serious repercussions on their country's economy.

The racist régime should take advantage of the improved climate of international co-operation to seek a negotiated solution to its internal crisis; that climate has facilitated steps towards peaceful change in Angola and the constitutional process leading to independence for Namibia next year.

The conditions for such negotiations have been clearly set out in the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity and endorsed in its entirety by the recent

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

ninth summit conference of the non-aligned countries. These conditions, my Government believes, offer the best chance for a negotiated, just and peaceful settlement in South Africa.

The Government of Liberia has always held the view that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eradicated, and we remain firm in this conviction. Over the years, Liberia has not only stood by the oppressed majority of South Africa in its struggle to regain its fundamental rights and freedoms, but has also contributed to international efforts aimed at extending practical and material assistance to the victims of apartheid.

Apart from voicing its strong opposition to apartheid in various international forums in 1960 Liberia, in association with the brotherly State of Ethiopia, filed suit before the International Court of Justice contesting South Africa's right to administer Namibia and to impose upon that Territory its policy of apartheid. The Liberian Government is ready to co-operate in any collective international efforts that will effectively isolate the Pretoria régime and force it to abandon its apartheid policies.

It has taken the United Nations 41 years, since apartheid became a State policy, to hold this special session, the first of its kind on this question which has preoccupied the Organization for the better part of its existence.

(Mr. Bull, Liberia)

What is of greater concern, however, is that over the years, the racist régime has flouted and even now continues to flout universally accepted norms of international morality and civilized behaviour. It continues to ignore repeated calls for the dismantling of apartheid and, with the support of its collaborators, it has not only continued to defy the international community with impunity but also been able to escape the full impact of sanctions.

The achievement of this special session, the first devoted to apartheid since the question was first inscribed on our agenda in 1946, should be a reaffirmation of our commitment to human values and to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and a rededication to the equality and dignity of man and to the principle that we are our brother's keeper. We believe that, unless man's nature is transformed from its propensity for greed and power to one of concern for the well-being of his neighbour, he may yet devise new methods of exercising authority and control over his fellow man. Today, it is apartheid; tomorrow, it could be another false doctrine.

We salute the liberation movements, the black majority, and all others who continue to make immense sacrifices in order to bring change to South Africa and the uprooting of the criminal system of apartheid.

It should be clear to all of us that the movement for change undertaken by anti-apartheid groups in South Africa is irreversible. The maintenance of the status quo is no longer acceptable and the international community has a moral responsibility to hasten the demise of apartheid so as to prevent violent change in that country.

Let us therefore resolve that, at this special session, we should not only take the necessary measures that will compel the racist régime to abolish its apartheid policies but also ensure the promotion of those ideals and principles that will make apartheid and other racist practices irrelevant.

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): At year's end, the General Assembly holds its sixteenth special session against the backdrop of new, positive tendencies in international relations and an urgent call for resolving regional conflicts and problems by peaceful means within the framework of the United Nations. There is no doubt that the policy of apartheid and its devastating consequences in southern Africa are among the most serious issues that threaten international peace and security and flagrantly violate the principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The international community has been keeping a close watch on the current developments in South Africa. We welcome the results of the Namibia elections, which were organized in the context of full implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence and hope to welcome a free, independent Namibia in our midst, at the beginning of next year.

The question of apartheid is one of the oldest items on the Assembly's agenda. It has been with us for more than four decades. Throughout that period, the black majority of South Africa has suffered bitterly at the hands of the racist régime. It has continued to be at the receiving end of a tide of indescribable crimes that make any human being shudder in horror. The institutionalized racism and systematic racial discrimination embodied in the heinous policy of apartheid pursued by that régime have taken a heavy toll of lives and caused great suffering and political and economic upheaval in southern Africa.

The fact that the policy of apartheid has been able to survive to this day is the greatest paradox of our time. It is the duty of the international community to mobilize all its efforts and take concerted action to eradicate that paradox. It is an evil, malignant cancer that must be excised.

Recently, we have been hearing a lot of talk from the De Klerk régime about a policy which, the régime claims, will lead to the emergence of a new, radically

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

different South Africa through a political settlement of the conflict. It is our belief, however, that apartheid cannot be reformed and that the only way to deal with it is to bring about a fundamental change and totally eradicate it. The President of the apartheid régime can hail the advent of a new era in South Africa as much as he likes, but no one in southern Africa will be taken in by such duplicity as long as the foundations and concepts of the policy of apartheid remain in place and so long as the police, security forces, and death squads continue to rampage and assassinate the political leaders who oppose apartheid.

Hence, we believe that, now more than ever before, the international community must use every means at its disposal to bring pressure to bear upon that régime, including the tightening and intensification of the sanctions imposed upon it. Claims that sanctions are ineffectual and that they only hurt the victims of apartheid are flimsy pretexts with which some seek to justify their selfish interests and serve their own purposes.

Successive developments in South Africa demonstrate that the struggle of the people of South Africa against the racist régime and the international pressures aimed at its isolation have started to bear fruit. Among those positive results are the release of a number of the gaoled opponents of apartheid, contacts with some of the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa, the go-ahead given to anti-apartheid mass rallies and demonstrations, and the declared readiness of the De Klerk régime to enter in peaceful negotiations with a view to settling the conflict in South Africa.

Needless to say, genuine negotiations cannot be held between the black majority and the racist régime in the absence of a sound and appropriate political climate in South Africa. If such a climate is to be created, it will be necessary to lift the state of emergency, unconditionally release all prisoners and

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

detainees, including Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on national liberation movements and all political exiles, initiate a genuine dialogue with the real leaders of the black majority of South Africa and desist from the ongoing practice of assassinating the opponents of apartheid.

There is an important matter relating to the security of southern Africa and international security that I cannot fail to mention, in view of its gravity. I speak of the mushrooming of the military and nuclear capabilities of the apartheid régime and Israel's collaboration with it in that area. This is cause for yet more concern and alarm.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

At a time when the African States and the United Nations spare no effort in trying to reduce that co-operation and put an end to it, Israel defies and ignores all such efforts. It provides the Pretoria régime with not only sophisticated conventional weapons but also nuclear technology in return for enriched uranium. It is no secret that the apartheid régime, in collaboration with Israel, has launched long-range nuclear missiles. This information has been revealed recently by Western and United States media, especially the NBC television network. This growing nuclear and military collaboration brings into focus the gravity of the threat it poses not only to the security of neighbouring African States but also to international and regional peace. An end must be put to this unholy alliance and collaboration if the United Nations is to safeguard its credibility and standing.

This present session could contribute to the concerted international efforts aimed at dismantling apartheid and the creation of a non-racialist democratic society in South Africa. With that end in view, the Harare Declaration (A/44/697) adopted on 21 August 1989 by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State of Southern Africa and reaffirmed by the Belgrade summit meeting of non-aligned countries, contains a practical framework for the initiation of negotiations between the black majority and the Pretoria régime with a view to the dismantling of that régime by peaceful means. That Declaration could constitute an international programme that would contribute to the transformation of South Africa into a non-racialist democratic society. We also believe that the continuation and expansion of sanctions still constitute the most effective means available to the international community in its efforts to liquidate the apartheid régime and bring about fundamental change in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Bahrain has repeatedly reaffirmed its total opposition to the policy of apartheid pursued by the South African régime, which runs counter to the most basic of human values. Here we must reaffirm anew Bahrain's firm conviction that peace and stability in southern Africa can be achieved only through the dismantling of that régime and transforming South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racialist society in which all the citizens enjoy justice and live in dignity. Only then will South Africa and its neighbours enjoy security and stability.

Mr. PENALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a special pleasure for my delegation to see Ambassador Gutierrez of Costa Rica presiding over this meeting of the Assembly. Costa Rica is a country with which we have many bonds of friendship, co-operation and, of course, history.

We also wish to take this opportunity to convey our congratulations and our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring dedication to the cause of achieving independence for Namibia. We trust that that process, under his leadership, will be successfully completed. These words of appreciation and congratulation are also addressed to his assistants and, in particular, the staff of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

My delegation wishes to associate itself with the many statements made at this special session, especially those made by President Kaunda of Zambia and President Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Colombia will never waver in its condemnation of the abhorrent apartheid régime, which is the greatest source of instability and tension in southern Africa, and hence we support the struggle of the South African people to abolish that régime and turn South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

(Mr. Penalosa, Colombia)

My delegation believes that international pressure should continue to be exerted on the South African racist régime and in particular that the arms embargo that has been imposed in the past few years should be tightened. The struggle for a democratic, non-racial South Africa should be a responsibility that is shared by the whole of the international community, and all of us should lend our support to the South African people in that regard. In like manner, my delegation believes that the international community should lend all possible assistance to the front-line States in order to reduce their present vulnerability and contribute to their future development.

Our struggle to put an end to apartheid should not make us forget that we must continue to strive against the racial discrimination that exists in many countries of the world in one form or another.

Let us take the opportunity offered by this special session to send a unanimous and constructive message to all South Africans that the international community stands ready to co-operate for the attainment at the earliest possible time, through negotiations, of a system of true democracy in that country.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to state that one of the points of departure for those negotiations is the release of all political prisoners, in particular of Nelson Mandela. When President Barco conferred the National Order of Merit on Nelson Mandela a short time ago he said:

"Mr. Mandela is an example of wisdom, courage and commitment. He is a world symbol of the defence of human rights, of dignity and of equality."

(Mr. Penalosa, Colombia)

He went on to refer to him as

"a leader of exceptional human qualities whose convictions have not been weakened after unjust imprisonment, suffering and solitude, a man who is admired and respected by the world, whose only weapons are his ideals of peace and his moral strength".

President Barco concluded by summing up the Colombian position with regard to apartheid, as follows:

"History has shown that oppressive force has never been able to triumph over justice. Racism is an abnormal attitude, used in an attempt to justify domination, exploitation and discrimination.

"The segregationist policies which still exist as government strategies or as party ideologies essentially violate human rights. It has been rightly stated that apartheid is a disgrace to the world and a challenge to civilization. Thus the international community's condemnation of apartheid has been emphatic and unanimous. Colombia stands in solidarity with the international community and rejects the intransigent attitude of the South African Government and its National Party. Its policies of oppression have turned into State terrorism".

Mr. TANAKA (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I should like first of all to express my heartfelt congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Joseph Garba on his assumption of the important post of President of this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid.

I appraise highly the role that the United Nations has been playing in efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and in promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms. Every year since its establishment the United Nations has debated the issue of apartheid and has been playing a major role in mobilizing world opinion and in co-ordinating international action aimed at its abolition. The international community cannot justify racial discrimination in any form. The abhorrent system of apartheid ignores universal and basic values of mankind and flagrantly violates the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The international community must be united in its efforts to abolish apartheid. I sincerely hope that this special session will result in a significant step towards the resolution of the issue.

Today the world is witnessing massive waves of political change, and southern Africa is no exception. There have been developments towards peace in Angola and Mozambique. Namibia has set out, under the supervision of the United Nations, on the process towards its long-awaited independence. That the election for a constituent assembly was carried out in a free and fair manner last November is an auspicious development. Japan has been closely involved in the process for independence. As part of its co-operation for peace and stability in southern Africa it has made, in addition to its assessed contributions, a voluntary contribution of \$13.55 million to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to help cover start-up costs. It also dispatched a 27-member team to supervise the election.

(Mr. Tanaka, Japan)

In the light of those positive developments, action is necessary to eradicate apartheid in South Africa, which is not only the most serious political issue on the African continent but also a challenge to basic human values.

When Mr. De Klerk, pledging change in South Africa, was elected President last September, my Government expressed the strong hope that his Government would, on its own initiative, clearly make the abolition of apartheid its goal and create a wave of peaceful and democratic change. There have been developments in a desirable direction: eight political prisoners have been released, including Mr. Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the African National Congress; anti-apartheid gatherings are now tolerated; and the abrogation of the Separate Amenities Act has been announced. While those actions in South Africa are encouraging, it must be emphasized that apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be abolished.

From that point of view my Government has been urging the Government of South Africa to meet the international community's expectations for fundamental change and take the following measures. First, in order to achieve peaceful dialogue we urge the Government of South Africa immediately to lift the state of emergency, release political prisoners, including Mr. Nelson Mandela, and lift restrictive measures against anti-apartheid organizations. Secondly, we urge the Government of South Africa to enter into dialogue with credible black leaders immediately towards establishing in South Africa a democratic government that will be free of racism. Thirdly, we urge the Government of South Africa to take concrete and effective measures towards dismantling the system of apartheid. The racially segregated education system must be abolished. All discriminatory laws, including the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, must be abrogated. Further, all South African nationals must be accorded the right to participate in politics -

(Mr. Tanaka, Japan)

particularly through the one-man-one-vote system, which is a basic principle of democracy.

From that point of view Japan strongly supports a negotiated settlement of the issue of apartheid, as called for in each of three recent documents - namely, the resolution on international support for the eradication of apartheid, which was adopted at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly; the Harare Declaration of August this year; and the statement concerning southern Africa adopted by the Commonwealth summit meeting in October.

The proposed draft declaration of this special session attaches importance to creating a climate for negotiations. My Government strongly supports that point.

The changes we are witnessing in South Africa are the result of pressure applied within South Africa against the immoral system of apartheid as well as of the endeavours undertaken by the international community. Japan will continue to watch carefully the actions taken by the Government of South Africa to bring about domestic change.

I should like in this connection to elaborate on the restrictive measures which Japan has taken against South Africa. As a demonstration of its opposition to apartheid, the Government of Japan does not maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa but limits its relations to the consular level. My Government strictly limits the issuing of visas to South African nationals for sports, cultural, educational and academic exchanges. It does not issue tourist visas to South African nationals. In the economic field my Government has banned direct investment in South Africa since the 1960s and there is no direct investment in joint ventures in that country. Moreover, since the 1970s my Government has been requesting voluntary restraint by the Japanese banking community with regard to the extension of loans and as a result there are no medium- or long-term loans outstanding.

(Mr. Tanaka, Japan)

As regards trade with South Africa, Japan does not export arms; it prohibits the export of computers to apartheid-enforcement agencies, such as the armed forces and the police, and prohibits the import of iron and steel from South Africa. Japan's trade with South Africa has decreased in yen terms almost every year since 1981, and in fact, its trade last year was less than 60 per cent of its 1981 level. My Government has appealed to the Japanese business community to exercise restraint in trading with South Africa. Subsequently, in 1988 Japan's trade showed a 4 per cent decline in dollar terms from the year before, and a 6 per cent decrease by October of this year as compared with the same period last year. Japan will continue its restrictive policies as long as the situation in South Africa does not improve substantially.

While urging the Government of South Africa to dismantle its system of apartheid, my Government will make positive contributions in three distinct fields in order to foster peaceful change in southern Africa.

First, by expansion of assistance to the people of South Africa who are the victims of apartheid. Japan has been expanding its co-operation with regard to the United Nations southern African funds, the purpose of which is to assist the black population of South Africa and Namibia. Similarly, my Government has been making efforts to strengthen its support for the "Kagiso Trust", a South African assistance body, to which Japan has been extending assistance since fiscal year 1987.

Secondly, by assistance to the development efforts of the neighbouring countries of South Africa. In particular, Japan has been making efforts to expand its economic assistance to countries in the region which are trying to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Japan's assistance to the nine member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has shown a dramatic increase, from \$120 million in 1986 to \$270 million in 1988.

(Mr. Tanaka, Japan)

Thirdly, by strengthening political dialogue with southern African countries. As part of its efforts in this regard, in October of this year my Government hosted President Mugabe of Zimbabwe on a State visit to Japan, where he and Prime Minister Kaifu exchanged views on the situation in southern Africa in general and the issue of South Africa in particular. The two sides shared the view that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be abolished as soon as possible. My Government expects to receive President Mwinyi of Tanzania on a State visit later this month.

Japan is determined to continue its wide-ranging efforts to strengthen these positive measures for peaceful change in the region.

The issue of apartheid is closely related to the dignity of humankind, which is the common concern of the international community. Accordingly, not only the Japanese Government, but the entire nation is engaged in a broad range of anti-apartheid activities. For example, quite apart from governmental assistance efforts, the Japanese business community is collecting contributions to assist South African blacks. Moreover, at the end of last month, members of the Japanese Diet, transcending partisan politics, formed the Parliamentarians Anti-apartheid League. Also, a United Nations anti-apartheid seminar is scheduled to be held in Tokyo in January of next year. These efforts demonstrate the ever-increasing opposition to apartheid among the people of Japan.

In recent years, as Japan's relations with African countries have grown closer, my Government has been strengthening its efforts to help enhance stability and development on the continent. In this context, efforts aimed at ending apartheid continue to be among its highest priorities.

(Mr. Tanaka, Japan)

As Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other black leaders of South Africa have emphasized, the united and unflagging efforts of the international community are indispensable to the struggle for the earliest possible abolition of the inhuman system of apartheid. I wish on this occasion to reaffirm Japan's commitment to do its utmost to achieve that end.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): Apartheid is an abomination to every Israeli, to every Jew, to every Zionist. It is totally unacceptable, whether as an ideology and as a political system. We in Israel share in the pain of those suffering under its yoke. Apartheid must be abolished. It should be banished for ever.

More than any other people or nation, the Jewish people have experienced the outcome of State-endorsed racism. The horrible implications of systematic racial discrimination could not be clearer to any other people. Only a generation ago, we lost 6 million of our brethren who were burned in the ovens of Nazi Europe in a genocidal onslaught fanned by the fires of racism. Moreover, the anguish of persecution and oppression has been the lot of the Jewish people throughout their history of exile. It is from the depths of our national experience, therefore, that we decry, reject and are repulsed by apartheid.

The very soul of Zionism - the national liberation movement of the Jewish people - emanated from a national rebellion against religious and ethnic discrimination. Zionism struggled to attain self-emancipation and redemption for a people long subjected to persecution. Zionism is, therefore, the very antithesis of racism, and served as a model for many liberation movements around the world.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Prominent champions of black African liberty sought to emulate Zionism as a model for the liberation of their peoples from the grip of colonialism and racism. William Dubois, one of the early advocates of African freedom, declared in 1919 that

"The Pan-African movement means to us what the Zionist movement means to the Jews."

And he was not alone.

As Nelson Mandela stood before the South African court that sentenced him, on 20 April 1964, to life imprisonment he delivered a speech on the moral limitations of political struggle. He declared that his movement sought to ensure high moral standards in resistance activities. Those moral standards, he proclaimed, were an "importation from the Jewish nation's underground organizations".

Modern Zionism is rooted in a tradition of justice and equality that reaches back thousands of years to the dawn of Jewish history and the origins of moral thought. Millenia ago, when the practice of slavery was deeply imbedded in all societies, the Jews introduced to the world a revolutionary idea: that men are inherently born free and equal. At a time when slavery was considered a natural state of the human condition, the lofty ideals of the prophets Amos, Jeremiah and Isaiah on the innate liberty and equality of all men were being preached from the hills of Judea and the dusty expanses of Samaria. It was from Jerusalem that the morality of human equality and the passion for justice emerged.

Our profound empathy and identification with those suffering under apartheid is thus not only a result of our own abject condition in history; it is derived also from the deepest wells of Jewish morality. The fusing of Jewish moral passion and the Jewish historical experience is what led the Jewish people to take a leading role among the champions of human dignity in modern times.

Theodor Herzl, the father of modern Zionism, wrote that after the liberation of the Jews we should dedicate ourselves to the liberation of the blacks. This

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

strong affinity with the struggle of the blacks underlies the decades of friendly relations between Israel and black African nations.

Since its rebirth in 1948 Israel has trained thousands of Africans in agriculture and economics in the context of the technical co-operation programmes developed between Israel and African States. This assistance in nation-building continued even during the years in which, following intense pressure and threats from Arab States, relations between Israel and some African nations were curtailed.

Israel's abhorrence of apartheid stems also from the nature of its contemporary society. Israel is a multiracial society composed of some 100 ethnic groups of all shades and colours. It is the most colour-blind nation in the world, a society both democratic and pluralistic.

The declaration of independence of the State of Israel guarantees to all inhabitants, regardless of origin, colour or religion, that the Government

"will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens without distinction as to race, creed or sex."

Hebrew and Arabic coexist as the two official languages of our country. The Arab citizens of Israel enjoy full civil and political rights. They occupy important positions in Government, the legislature and the judiciary, a representation that is evident even in our Mission to the United Nations.

The black majority of South Africa is systematically denied the rights of full citizenship and is in fact disenfranchised. Such an abysmal situation is untenable. Apartheid in its entirety must be abolished.

On the declarative level, Israel's repulsion for and total opposition to apartheid have been enunciated so often, in so many forums, by the Government, Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and hosts of other Israeli leaders that it should be quite self-evident by now. Representatives of Israel around the world have issued solemn declarations protesting apartheid and reaffirming our

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

total condemnation of its ideology and practice. These declarations reflect Israeli public opinion, which regards apartheid as anathema to Zionism and the fundamental values upon which Israeli society is predicated.

On the operative level, the Government of Israel has instituted far-reaching measures against South Africa which serve as an example to other Western democracies. Since the implementation of these measures in March 1987 Israel has continued to curtail its associations with South Africa. We have banned all investments in South Africa, all scientific co-operation, and all access to and from our ports. We have severed all cultural ties with South African organizations connected in any way with the apartheid régime. Israeli athletes are prohibited from taking part in sports events in South Africa. There is no promotion of tourism, and official visits are prohibited.

In this context we wish to state categorically that it is the adamant and long-standing policy of the Government of Israel to have no co-operation whatsoever with South Africa in the nuclear field. Any allegations to the contrary are offered without reference or substantiation and fail to be subjected to any form of scrutiny or examination. Instead, such imputations are the product of political and polemical agendas that have nothing to do with the struggle against apartheid, but rather aim at defaming Israel by attempting to link it with South Africa and apartheid. This libel stands in direct contradiction of the facts.

We are convened here in a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the campaign and struggle against apartheid. Yet this laudable objective continues to be prejudiced and abused by digressive efforts on the part of those whose only goal is to attack Israel. Apartheid is too great an evil, the struggle to eradicate it too important an objective, to be cynically manipulated by an obsessive campaign of hate against Israel.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

We urge all those who are genuinely concerned about the plight of those suffering under the yoke of racial discrimination in South Africa to resist efforts which sidetrack the struggle against apartheid and cause it to degenerate into a meaningless exercise in polemics.

For the struggle against apartheid to succeed, action must be taken, and it must take precedence over rhetoric. The black community is in need of a strong and developed leadership, a leadership that is able to improve the lot of the people and share the reins of power on an equal basis and in an orderly and peaceful fashion; it has no need of empty slogans and endless tirades. The black community needs an adequate and self-sustaining infrastructure; it does not need stultified Propaganda.

In taking an active stand against apartheid Israel has extended special assistance to representatives of the South African black communities. By the end of 1989 Israel will have accommodated close to 200 South African black leaders in a variety of training programmes focusing especially on co-operative development. A course on "The role of people's organizations in community national development" has recently been concluded and was attended specifically by students from the South African black community. Israel is one of the very few countries which offer such assistance. Other nations should be urged to follow suit. Such concrete measures will contribute substantially in fostering the basis for the struggle against apartheid and serve to encourage the transformation in South Africa that will, one hopes, culminate in peaceful relations of equality and tolerance among all sectors of the population.

We declare once again our unswerving determination to stand by the peoples of Africa in the struggle to eradicate apartheid, as we stand by them in their efforts to further development and welfare in all of the continent of Africa.

Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): The decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly to consider apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is undoubtedly timely for several reasons: first, the changing circumstances in the region and in apartheid South Africa itself warrant a careful and urgent appraisal; secondly, it is important to signal South Africa that the problem of apartheid continues to preoccupy the international community; thirdly, the burden imposed by South Africa upon its neighbours continues to be as severe as ever and the United Nations must examine the effectiveness of its responses to the situation.

To have a proper perspective of the problem under discussion we must be clear about what the situation is in South Africa today. The promises of Mr. F.W. De Klerk to reform apartheid, his release of some anti-apartheid activists and the desegregation of some beaches cannot overshadow the stark realities on the ground, which, among other abhorrent facts, are that the De Klerk régime is in power on the strength of a racist political system that ignores the voices of three-fourths of the population of South Africa; the homelands or bantustans policy that condemns blacks to the remote, barren 13 per cent of the country and by which blacks are not recognized as citizens of South Africa is firmly in place; hordes of political activists are in detention, and some of them face the certainty of judicial murder; assassination squads and ultra-conservative racists with official backing or blessing are poised to escalate a campaign of assassination of prominent anti-apartheid activists; black-on-black violence fomented and encouraged by the Government continues to take its great toll on the lives of persons whose political consciousness is anathema to the racist régime; segregation in health facilities, in housing, in education and in sports is still the order of the day; blacks do not receive equal pay for equal work; the anti-apartheid movements are banned and there

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

is no freedom of association in South Africa, occasional rallies with official tolerance notwithstanding; the state of emergency continues in force; UNITA and RENAMO bandits armed and supported by South Africa continue to ravage Angola and Mozambique; and South Africa has not forsaken the use of military force against the front-line States in the effort to preserve apartheid. And who can predict what South Africa will do when the Cubans finally leave Angola? Indeed it is increasing its military preparedness.

Whatever promises of hope emanate from De Klerk must be seen against that depressing background. There is as yet no commitment by the South African régime to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In all his statements Mr. De Klerk has been emphasizing group rights and interests and is absolutely opposed to a meaningful system of one-man, one-vote. A group-rights policy reflects continuing contempt for the blacks. It means a veto for the white minority and the continuation of white privileges. This is no change of heart. There is no adequate basis for staying further action, as is being advocated by certain Western circles with the gullible support of some countries.

The question is not whether or not negotiations are the way to peace. No one apart from the racist South African régime has ever closed the door to negotiations. For decades the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have called for dialogue, only to be met with defiance and contempt. For centuries the blacks have called solely for the recognition of their legitimate rights as human beings, only to be met with beatings, imprisonment, torture and death. Peaceful protest had until recently been the committed weapon of the liberation movements, but to no avail. Can the international community and the liberation movements be made to feel guilty for having had recourse to the only options available in the circumstances?

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Mr. De Klerk is talking about negotiations, but not because South Africa sees any intrinsic value in negotiations. South Africa may now wish to negotiate precisely because the combination of weapons used by the international community and the liberation movements have created an awareness of the unbearable cost of continuing on the present course. These weapons - political pressure, isolation, economic sanctions and, above all, armed struggle and Cuban internationalist military support - are what have brought about the present climate of hope in South Africa. Can anybody seriously deny that South Africa would still have been present in Angola and Namibia without the introduction of Cuban internationalist forces into Angola?

Negotiations are the ultimate process for settling disagreements, but history shows that they are often possible only when there is a balance of terror or of force. That being the case, the wisest course for the Assembly to take is to continue along the path that appears to be yielding dividends until such time as the objectives for which those policies were fashioned have been achieved. We do not want talk only about the prospect of negotiations. If the racists now want negotiation, let them engage in it and not just talk about it.

We have often been reminded that sanctions do not work - even though the very countries that make such claims also say that sanctions will hurt the black population the most; and in other circumstances they are willing to impose sanctions on Poland, on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on China and on Cuba. These same countries try to goad the liberation movements into renouncing violence without a corresponding commitment by the South African régime to forsake violence and State terrorism, thus forgetting their own path to freedom and independence. If, for example, the people of the United States had not taken up

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

arms against Britain or the Western allies had not fought against nazism, would they have been what they are today? It is shameful that the pursuit of economic interests can take precedence over commitment to moral values enshrined in the Charter and that this course of action can hypocritically be founded on pious concern for the blacks who are the very victims of apartheid.

There is a sinister effort afoot to deny the international community a voice in the solution of the apartheid problem. How can this be? Apartheid has been declared by the United Nations a crime against humanity. Its elimination has become an objective of the United Nations. The concept of human rights is fundamental to the existence of the United Nations and is increasingly accepted as a standard for judgement of the conduct of nations - a standard enshrined in many international instruments.

Apartheid has been the cause for South African aggression and the destabilization of front-line States, the devastating and appalling cost of which has been graphically described in the study commissioned by the Inter-Agency Task Force of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development and executed by the United Nations Commission for Africa. Apartheid has caused extensive damage to front-line States, shattered their economies and brought about untold loss of life and the displacement and misery of millions. Apartheid is an affront to the dignity of blacks all over the world. In the circumstances, can the question of apartheid be considered simply as an internal problem to be solved only by South Africans? The world has an interest in the total elimination of apartheid and must prescribe the standards by which apartheid will be considered to have ceased to exist. Ghana therefore strongly supports the Harare Declaration and would like to see it reflected fully in whatever final

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

document this special session of the General Assembly adopts. If we fail to do so, the South African régime will have succeeded in hoodwinking the international community. Racist chicanery would once again have yielded dividends and emboldened South Africa to delay the demise of apartheid.

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

The other consequence of international responsibility for the elimination of apartheid is the need to put in place a meaningful programme of assistance to the front-line States to overcome the devastating consequences of South African destabilization. We have been told that the nine countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) lost 43 per cent of their actual gross domestic product through the destabilization activities of apartheid South Africa in 1988 alone. The cumulative loss from 1980 to 1988 stands at 210 per cent of the gross domestic product for 1988. In human terms, the region has suffered millions of deaths and the reduction of millions more to refugees or displaced persons who need urgent assistance to cope with their current conditions of life. The response of the Western industrialized countries to the economic demands of Eastern Europe gives me hope that they will equally adequately address the needs of the front-line States. This Assembly should produce a credible programme of assistance.

Namibia is, mercifully, set on a course for independence despite South African attempts to scuttle Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We must, however, be vigilant in order to deny South Africa the opportunity to reverse the process. We must make every effort to provide such assistance as will enable the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to make a success of the opportunity offered for the emancipation, self-determination and welfare of the people of Namibia. Ghana stands ready, always, to play its part in helping the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

In conclusion, Ghana would like to emphasize that, international pressure apart, the struggle for freedom is the primary responsibility of the people of South Africa, and they must be on their guard. Increased pressure from them will hasten the demise of apartheid far more quickly, and will avoid the danger of their being pressured to accept undignified compromises. On the other hand, if

(Mr. Asamoah, Ghana)

Mr. De Klerk's diplomatic offensive, intended to avert further international pressure, should persuade them to believe that real change is in the offing, they risk setting the clock of progress back, with disastrous consequences.

South Africa is still engaged in high defence spending and in the acquisition of sophisticated weapons, with the help of Israel and certain Western countries, whatever denials we may hear here. They are not doing this for fun. At any rate, the anti-apartheid forces must be ready to deal with the inevitable blind violence that will be unleashed by extremist whites when the prospect of black rule becomes real. The lessons of the backlash from the colons in Algeria and the birth of RENAMO should not be lost on them.

Mr. TANASIE (Romania): The delegation of Romania has fully supported, from the very beginning, the initiative of convening a special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. The initiative was prompted by the critical situation in South Africa caused by the policy of apartheid and the increasing danger it represents for peace and security in that part of the world. It reflects the conviction of the international community that the time has come to put an end to this inhuman policy, which is rooted in the systematic and illegal institutionalization of racial discrimination. Condemnation of apartheid is already universal and it is now generally recognized that only its eradication, not its correction or reform, can lead to a peaceful and lasting solution in South Africa and peace on the entire African continent.

The Romanian people expressed its great satisfaction with the results of the recent elections in Namibia. The forthcoming independence of Namibia is not only a historical turning-point in the destiny of the Namibian people, but at the same time a great victory against the apartheid system. Romania has consistently

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

condemned the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination practised by the South African régime and has given its solidarity and political support to the democratic movements for the implementation of the people's aspirations for a free and dignified life.

All over the world, Governments, peoples and public opinion are deeply concerned at the continuing tense situation in southern Africa, which is the fault of racist South Africa and certain forces supporting it. We share the opinion that, while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace. The policies and actions of the apartheid régime continue unabated in spite of the fact that these policies have long been condemned by the United Nations as a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and of the universally recognized principles and standards of international law, and as a threat to peace and security. Some recent changes in the apartheid policy announced by the Government of South Africa should be viewed with caution, as they are not intended to dismantle the system.

This special session is taking place at an appropriate period of history. It is indeed generally recognized that the legitimate struggle of the liberation movements and international rejection of the apartheid system, as well as a global effort to resolve regional conflicts, have created new and favourable conditions for further progress towards solving the problem facing the people of South Africa.

Romania has consistently pronounced itself in favour of the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to develop for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will live and work together to build a harmonious society. It is essential that the people of South Africa themselves should come together to negotiate, end

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a united, non-racial and democratic State. In such a State, all its people should enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

The resolutions adopted so far by the General Assembly, under which we are considering the agenda of this special session, underline the destabilizing consequences of the policy of apartheid for the whole subregion of southern Africa and its impact on the situation of countries in that region, the front-line States in particular, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization.

Romania demands that an end be put to the state of emergency introduced by the minority régime. All political prisoners and detainees should be released immediately and unconditionally. The ban on all political organizations and opponents of apartheid should be lifted, and the safe return of all political exiles and fighters for freedom should be guaranteed. At the same time, effective measures should be taken to end the policy of bantustanization and forced population removals.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

It is obvious that eradicating apartheid requires efforts of many different kinds. Alongside the political struggle, full attention should be given to improving the economic, social and cultural conditions of the whole population. In this respect it is also appropriate to recall the appeal of the General Assembly to all States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations urgently to increase economic, educational, legal, humanitarian and all other forms of assistance to the people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

Apartheid cannot be eliminated by those practising it. All political forces should be called on to participate in the process of negotiations to eradicate apartheid, hold free elections, and draw up and adopt a new constitution.

In the overall efforts aimed at eliminating apartheid the United Nations system has an important and increasing role to play. First, our Organization should be called upon to remain seized of the provisions of General Assembly resolutions on the South Africa question. There must be a decisive and more concerted stand by the international community on the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Romania fully observes those resolutions and has no relations of any kind with South Africa. We believe that all States have a duty to co-operate with the United Nations in the efforts to bring about a speedy end of colonialism, foreign domination and apartheid.

It is clear that the United Nations can perform a useful role in mobilizing world public opinion on action aimed at abolishing apartheid and racial discrimination. In this respect, one should not forget that apartheid is an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind.

As a State which has ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, Romania is of the opinion that all acts

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid violate the principles of fundamental law and constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. As in previous years, we have fully supported at the current session resolutions on this issue, which underline that the ratification of, and accession to, the Convention on a universal basis and the implementation of its provisions without delay are necessary to make it effective and therefore contribute to the eradication of apartheid.

It is the firm belief and hope of Romania that our session will make a valuable contribution to overall efforts and actions aimed at ending the dangerous situation prevailing in southern Africa as a result of the policies and practices of apartheid.

The lessons of history should not be forgotten. They teach us all that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist there can be neither peace nor justice.

Therefore the Assembly is expected at this session to adopt an action-oriented document which will help to eradicate the apartheid system in South Africa.

The delegation of Romania is ready to associate itself with all those delegations which share the conviction that the United Nations should fully perform its noble mission in the implementation of the legitimate aspirations of African States and peoples for the total liberation of the continent of Africa from colonialism, racism and apartheid.*

* Mr. Jaya (Brunei Darussalam), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. VOKOUMA (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French): Burkina Faso regards this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences as one that must provide real solutions to a real problem.

Previous speakers have said that the international climate has been marked by a certain détente. We agree. However, apartheid in South Africa is one of those issues that have not been settled and that make that détente a very relative matter.

Africa, which is becoming marginalized in many respects, still bears the hideous wound of apartheid. Day after day it is advised to be reasonable and patient. In other times, in dealing with similar scourges, reason has been applied in a different way, with immediate, uncompromising resort to armed struggle. That was the reaction of those who today whisper "Restraint" in our ears and yet come to terms with the racist régime, which they most categorically reject. We wish that rejection were as clear as it is categorical.

The South African people can no longer accept such infamy. That is so true that, under pressure from the South African people, the struggle of the liberation movements and international public opinion, the South African authorities have chosen to change the face of apartheid, but only the face. They must go further, because the South African people demands, as the international community demands, the total elimination of apartheid.

Apartheid is the cause of tensions and conflicts within South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, and is therefore a threat to international peace and security.

The majority in South Africa are unable to exercise their rights because of the colour of their skin, as is borne out by the recent elections, from which 70 per cent of the population were excluded. The foundations of apartheid remain intact; the state of emergency continues. Nelson Mandela and other political

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

prisoners are still languishing in the racist régime's gaols; the liberation movements and democratic organizations are still banned. Furthermore, the legislation governing the odious system is still in force.

In drawing up a so-called programme to end apartheid, the apartheid régime and its friends are once again trying to gain time, faced with the inevitability of the victory of the South African people. The programme is part and parcel of the South African régime's delaying tactics and ruses, to which the international community has become accustomed. The régime has always tried to fool the international community with sham reforms. Such a hateful system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished, and the international community must increase its pressure to that end. The timid reforms that the racists have tried to put into effect are the result of the pressures of international sanctions, the liberation forces and other democratic forces in South Africa. It is in that context that we must see the recent freeing of Walter Sisulu, Mohammed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Wilton Mwakayi, Oscar Mpheta and Jafta Masemula.

We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the valiant people of South Africa against oppression and for the restoration of its dignity.

Not content with subjecting the South African people to all kinds of suffering, the apartheid régime, flouting elementary principles of international law, has imposed on southern Africa the law that might is right, thus violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region and causing enormous suffering to our brothers in southern Africa. The front-line States and the other neighbouring States are the victims of South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization. Apart from direct military action and economic pressure, South Africa supports, trains and finances armed bands which make attacks on those States.

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

In Mozambique, which has had no respite since its independence, the main instrument of destabilization used by South Africa is RENAMO, whose bandits, armed and supported by Pretoria, massacre populations and indulge in pillage and the destruction of economic and social infrastructures.

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

The cost of these acts of terror is a heavy one: more than 700,000 dead, 2 million displaced persons and the systematic sabotage of the Mozambican economy, which makes it difficult to carry out the programme of economic recovery begun by FRELIMO and the Mozambican Government and supported by the international community.

We affirm our solidarity with the people and Government of Mozambique and our support for its peace initiative. We hope that this process will lead to positive results for the well-being of all the Mozambican people.

The People's Republic of Angola is in an equally difficult situation. The UNITA rebels in the pay of South Africa and the destabilizing forces have targeted the economic and social infrastructure and the peaceful population. The Gbadolite summit offered hope of a settlement but subsequent events have shown that the road to peace is still long and full of pitfalls. Indeed, in spite of the cease-fire concluded at Gbadolite, the UNITA rebels have continued to carry out attacks of all kinds against the population and the various infrastructures. Even worse, the allies of UNITA have continued to provide arms and financial assistance to Jonas Savimbi.

We appeal to all the parties to continue negotiations to ensure for the Angolan people the peace and development of their country.

Namibia remains for us a source of concern. In the elections that took place there the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was victorious, but we must recall once again that the independence process began thanks to pressure by the international community, to SWAPO and to the defeats suffered by the racist régime's army. That independence process is now at a crucial stage and the international community must remain vigilant so as to counter the manoeuvres of the racists and their allies and the obstacles they are likely to put in the way of independence.

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

No country in the region escapes the state of war created and maintained by South Africa. In addition to Mozambique and Angola, other countries - especially Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe - have seen their economies deteriorate because of the destabilizing activities of South Africa. In all, the acts committed or ordered by South Africa have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and the flight of thousands of refugees to neighbouring States, weakening still further the economies of those States. Other losses have been estimated at more than \$50 billion.

These examples illustrate the inhuman and destabilizing nature of the apartheid régime. Pretoria's objective is clear: to destroy the economies and keep control of the States of the region and thereby cause them to despair of their struggle against apartheid.

In the light of this disastrous situation the international community must increase its assistance to the front-line States and other countries neighbouring South Africa, especially through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, so as to bring about without delay regional economic integration and reduce dependence on South Africa.

The international situation and the upheavals which are now taking place everywhere in the world augur well for a peaceful settlement in South Africa, but the South African Government must still prove to the South African people and the international community its determination to eradicate apartheid and live in peace with neighbouring States.

The liberation movements have shown their readiness to begin negotiations by formulating a programme to this end. The programme, which was adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa at Harare last August and by the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

Countries, in Belgrade, contains a set of measures which could restore confidence and serve as a basis for dialogue between South Africans. These measures are, inter alia: the unconditional release of all political prisoners; the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other political organizations in South Africa; assurance of the return of political exiles; withdrawal of the army from the townships; the lifting of the state of emergency; and the cessation of executions.

The South African régime should take the hand extended to it if it desires peaceful change in South Africa.

There is no need to expand on the danger to international peace and security inherent in the system of apartheid. Continued support for that iniquitous system would finally engulf the entire region in flames.

By the same token, the increased military collaboration with the racist régime by certain countries is a source of serious concern to my country, which clearly condemns this practice as a violation of United Nations resolutions and certainly not in the interest of peace. Such co-operation breaches the arms embargo against the apartheid régime. South Africa's acquisition of nuclear capability seriously hinders the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. In this connection we denounce and condemn the co-operation between Israel and the South African régime.

We are convinced that sanctions, if they were applied with more determination and co-ordination, could compel South Africa to put an end forthwith to internal repression and the destabilization of neighbouring States. We appeal to States which maintain trade relations with South Africa to end those relations.

(Mr. Vokouma, Burkina Faso)

I reaffirm the solidarity of the people and Government of Burkina Faso with the heroic people of South Africa. We reiterate our support for the front-line States and other neighbouring States. We expect the international community also to give greater assistance to these countries, especially Angola and Mozambique, to enable them to face up to the state of war which has been imposed on them by the apartheid régime.

In conclusion, I simply wish to point out that Burkina Faso has always denounced and condemned the hateful system of apartheid. A small landlocked country far from the scene of action, Burkina Faso is concerned by the fate of our brothers in South Africa and southern Africa. Therefore a number of activities have been organized to enlighten the people of Burkina Faso on the realities of apartheid. These activities are organized by the Government and national anti-apartheid organizations, such as the Burkina Faso movement against racism and for friendship among peoples, the Burkina Faso United Nations Association and the Burkina Faso human rights movement, and these are opportunities for our people to show their solidarity with and support for the black people of South Africa in their just struggle.

If the international community desires the elimination of apartheid through a peaceful process, it must begin with the specific proposals set out in the Harare Declaration. We are convinced that once the apartheid system in South Africa is eliminated, southern Africa will enjoy the peace necessary for its economic and social development and for the progress of the peoples of the region.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to express our deep appreciation to the Chairman and members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their efforts and valuable achievements in the course of this year.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa has particular significance, as is reflected in the collective participation of the community of nations. This support is a source of pride to us as Africans because it proves the validity of our position with regard to that inhuman régime.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

I find myself left with little to say after hearing the address of two prominent African leaders, namely President Kaunda and President Mugabe, who spoke on behalf of us all, amply demonstrating Africa's categorical position with regard to that inhuman régime.

Undoubtedly, we as Africans feel ashamed, nay disgraced, that our continent is the only one in which the abhorrent apartheid system is still in force. Africans have long struggled against and resisted colonialism and have sacrificed millions in defence of freedom. Our peoples have suffered from the most heinous forms of colonization by the French, the British, the Italians and the Portuguese. But we have always managed, in our long struggle, to achieve political liberation, although we are still subject today to economic domination.

That system, which is the offshoot of colonialist forces in southern Africa is not only an affront to humanity but an extension of the obnoxious system of colonialism itself. Though it has been condemned by the entire world, apartheid persists in the most heinous forms of discrimination and persecution against our people in southern Africa.

The independence of Namibia - which is not a gift granted by South Africa but the fruit of a long and arduous struggle on the part of its people and of all Africans - confirms that the forces of injustice and oppression will not endure, however long they last. It was a pleasure for me to hear President Mugabe speak for Zimbabwe, which was once called Rhodesia and ruled by a white minority. Now, however, Ian Smith is gone and Mugabe has remained. The day will also come when the voice of Azania and its people will be heard and when South Africa will meet the same end as Rhodesia. This hope will undoubtedly be realized, even if our struggle is still a long one. The apartheid régime continues to receive support from many evil forces that refuse to concede to the resolutions of the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

international community calling for sanctions against that régime. The nuclear capability of racist South Africa, backed by the other racist régime in Palestine, the testing of missiles - and South Africa's enormous military potential indicate the gravity of the situation, and show that the road before us is not an easy or a comfortable one. The continuing collaboration between these two illegitimate and racist régimes, created by the same forces of colonialism in Palestine and in southern Africa, clearly indicates the need for our solidarity primarily as Africans, but also as citizens of the world, against racism in all its forms.

The front-line States in southern Africa continue to be the victims of acts of aggression and economic pressures by the racist régime. It is our duty to prop up and strengthen those States inasmuch as this is the only means of bringing pressure to bear on apartheid. Since it is not enough to catalogue the evils of the régime, its repressive measures or its aggressive and evil nature, we should rather discuss the means necessary to put an end to it once and for all.

Despite all the violations and the failure on the part of certain countries, to implement it the international economic boycott has proved to be a viable means. The international community is today more than ever duty-bound to strengthen the grip of the boycott by providing every possible support to the forces of resistance and liberation in southern Africa. The people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, has triumphed. Even though we stress the importance of the role played by the United Nations and the international community, the main credit is due to the people of South Africa. Only the struggle of that people, led by its liberation movements, can ensure an end to the abhorrent racist régime.

I should like to stress the full total solidarity of my country and its leadership with the people of southern Africa. My country, which has given, and

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

continues to give, every possible support to the liberation movements in southern Africa, will spare no effort to increase that support. At the same time, we reiterate our conviction that the Harare declaration can mark the beginning of the end of abhorrent apartheid.

The fragmentation of Africa and the economic pressures to which it is being subjected cannot be handled by us alone. The international community is called upon to support the struggle of the African peoples, in particular the people of Azania, to enable it to put an end to the racist régime.

Once again I wish to stress our conviction that the régime is bound to collapse sooner than later. History has demonstrated that the will of peoples is invincible. Yesterday we heard President Mugabe; tomorrow we shall hear the peoples of Azania and Palestine and celebrate the end of all forms of injustice and the downfall of the racist régimes.

Mr. PEERTHUM (Mauritius): A special session of the General Assembly on apartheid could not be more timely. Many changes are taking place in southern Africa and South Africa at present. Our gathering will be another landmark in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa. We particularly commend, in this regard, the efforts of Ambassador Garba of Nigeria within the Special Committee against Apartheid, whose work is contributing substantially to our discussions.

Change is now the key to the future of South Africa. The way chosen will lead either to peace or to escalated violence. The South African Government cannot continue to promise the end of white domination to come and at the same time cling to repackaged versions of apartheid called meaningful change. It must realize that the process of change has already started within its own society. Mere acknowledgement of it is not enough and not acceptable inside or outside South Africa. Is the South African régime, therefore, serious about a process of fundamental change in the country and willing to propose concrete plans for a democratic non-racial society? Or has it no intention of accepting a genuine process of political negotiations with the anti-apartheid opposition? History is not on the side of apartheid.

All of us are familiar with the extraordinary sequence of events that has contributed to undermining the tenets of apartheid and shaking erroneous beliefs founded on generations of misconceived truths and theories. South Africa's withdrawal from Angola was motivated partly by acute financial crisis and fierce domestic opposition threatening the very foundations of apartheid society. Never before had the military yielded to such pressures and seen its ability to impose its designs both within and outside curtailed to that extent, despite an avowed strategy and policies for destabilization. At the level of institutions, events in Namibia have proved that a free and fair democratic process towards a non-racial

(Mr. Peerthum, Mauritius)

society can be achieved peacefully. South Africa therefore has no excuse for procrastination. As the report of the Special Committee puts it:

"As long as Pretoria clings to apartheid in any form and is unwilling to create a climate conducive to negotiations, a peaceful resolution of the political conflict in South Africa shall remain elusive". (A/44/22, para. 273)

But the momentum of change in South Africa will go on. Mass resistance to the régime through the recent defiance campaign has shown that Pretoria is facing a huge internal challenge, increasingly supported by part of its white population. Measures of repression under the state of emergency cannot reduce such renewed opposition, nor can policies aimed at co-opting moderate blacks prevent Pretoria's growing isolation.

The international community too is at a crossroads and must assume its responsibilities. It cannot remain passive or undecided while opposition within South Africa gathers new strength.

As the report of the Special Committee points out, sanctions have contributed to slow rates of growth and chronic structural difficulties in the South African economy, which remains extremely dependent on the rest of the world for its economic viability. Further sanctions must target explicitly the main areas of dependence and vulnerability of the South African economy. The denial of external trade, transport facilities, foreign financing, foreign technology and expertise remains crucial for the demise of apartheid.

The Government of Mauritius fully understands that the effectiveness of such measures depends on the willingness of all States to co-ordinate the imposition, monitoring and enforcement of the measures. As a small island State with limited resources and a vulnerable economy, Mauritius endeavours to apply sanctions to the best of its ability. All our external-trade figures are openly published. Those

(Mr. Peerthum, Mauritius)

indicate that imports from South Africa have been decreasing in recent years and amount to only 8 per cent of our total imports. Investments are even more insignificant: less than 1 per cent. Tourism with South Africa has dwindled by 50 per cent. Our trade patterns are historically geared towards Western Europe and Asia. They could not without serious costs be changed overnight with the supposed object of taking advantage of the South African market, nor would that be allowed.

Therefore we fully support the tightening of measures against South Africa. Such measures should, however, be viewed not in a spirit of confrontation but as having the aim of bringing South Africa to the negotiating table before it is too late.

At the summit meetings of the non-aligned and Commonwealth countries in Belgrade and Kuala Lumpur respectively, my Prime Minister proposed Mauritius as a venue for negotiations aimed at reaching a peaceful settlement between the parties concerned in South Africa. That offer was motivated by the unique experience of Mauritius, where constitutional guarantees and safeguards for ethnic minorities have made it possible for a multiracial society to exist in harmony in a democratic set-up. A formula of guarantee to the white minority, acceptable to all parties concerned, could be worked out during those negotiations. Such guarantees would be extended during a transitional period which would give enough time to eliminate the mistrust and suspicion that have resulted from the system of apartheid. The legal and constitutional expertise accumulated in Mauritius during the past 22 years could be made available in that regard.

That offer also takes into consideration the Organization of African Unity Declaration issued in Harare in August, which enunciated the principles for a peaceful political settlement in South Africa and spelled out the essential conditions for the creation of a climate of negotiations, namely: the lifting of

(Mr. Peerthum, Mauritius)

the state of emergency; the end of restrictions on human rights and freedom; and the release of all political prisoners. Clear guidelines have thus been set out for a process of negotiations to start, at a time when the climate for global co-operation and understanding has never been so favourable. The path of meaningful change is open. Will South Africa have the courage to take it?

Mrs. CHAN (Singapore): This first-ever special session of the General Assembly on apartheid is being held in a year of profound and historic change. In April 1989 Namibia began its long-awaited transition to independence. In November Namibians were able to vote in a free and fair election under United Nations supervision for a government of their choice to determine their country's destiny. In Europe we are seeing one major ideological system redefine itself while in Eastern Europe political institutions are in the process of being recast. And this year the Berlin Wall, that powerful ideological divide that kept two worlds apart, was brought crashing down. In this context of breath-taking changes it behoves us at the United Nations to pause for a few days to reflect on the question of change or lack of change in South Africa. We, the international community, should focus our minds at this special session on what we can do and should do to hasten the dismantling of the ideological walls of apartheid, to bring a swift end to an evil system whose existence is an affront to all who believe in human rights and human decency.

The question before us today is simply this: is South Africa on the brink of change? It has been argued by some - and before this special session is over will possibly be argued by a few more - that change is coming slowly but surely to South Africa. Given South Africa's record I humbly suggest we should examine the developments carefully before we accept them at face value. Apartheid has shown itself to be a political chameleon. It is adaptive and resilient. If we should see change, let us hope it is not an unchanging change. It has always been South Africa's tactic to yield on petty apartheid in order to distract from dismantling grand apartheid.

In 1986 the Group of Eminent Persons appointed under the Nassau Agreement on Southern Africa had this to say after concluding a six-month visit to South Africa:

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

"... we draw the conclusion that while the Government claims to be ready to negotiate it is in truth not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change or to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its programme of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall white control".

Sadly, those conclusions still hold true today as we are about to enter the 1990s.

Recently we have read reports that four residential areas have been opened to all races in South Africa and a few beaches are now accessible to blacks, with the promise that other public places like libraries and parks will be desegregated soon. But the fact of the matter is that the set of legislation - the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act - the cornerstone of apartheid, is yet to be repealed. The abolition of separate neighbourhoods on a piecemeal basis, if it does not lead to the elimination of apartheid legislation, does not carry a real meaning for change.

In any case these reforms must be viewed against the National Party's five-year political programme to give the country's black majority a role in government through an intricate federal system based on ethnic, cultural and geographical voting blocs. That is the basis on which black South Africans would be allowed to govern their own affairs. National issues, however, are to be decided through consensus in the legislature. This means that the 5 million white South Africans, or 15 per cent of the population, would be able to veto any legislation that threatened their privileges. The plan is viewed by black South Africans as an attempt to transform South Africa, which is a nation of a black majority, into a nation of many minorities. The African National Congress (ANC)

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

has said it would reject any constitutional proposal based on a group concept. We can understand why: it is another way of preserving apartheid; it is apartheid by another name.

Furthermore, we must remember that South Africa has forged ahead with plans for territorial segregation, a strategy known as "grand apartheid". This has entailed the forcible removal of more than 3 million black people in an act of social engineering which has caused intense suffering and disruption. The Christian Science Monitor of 18 August 1989 reported that many of the residents of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein had been incorporated under threat of coercion into the so-called independent homeland of Bophuthatswana. Many of the black South Africans look on the tribal homeland system as one which serves to perpetuate deprivation and violent repression.

In promising evolutionary change the new South African leadership seems to be contradicting itself. With each piecemeal gesture towards conciliation new contradictions have been cropping up in the enforcement of law that perpetuates the white minority role. As with a knot of string, when one strand is pulled out, others seem to draw tighter.

We should ask ourselves why South Africa has been so active this year in demonstrating that it is prepared to become more liberal. The pressures for change within South Africa have been gaining momentum each year, but this year the pressures have a special meaning. With Namibia on the verge of liberation, with the anti-apartheid and international pressures building and the internal economic crisis showing, South Africa's back is to the wall. As Walter Sisulu, the recently released leader of the ANC said at a major political rally attended by 2,000 anti-apartheid organizations, "the régime has been forced into a state of transition". Sisulu said the reforms should not be regarded as "the great

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

beginning" but as an attempt to "de-escalate the struggle" and end South Africa's international isolation.

The new leadership seeks to buy time and space. Its concern is how to give power to the black majority without actually yielding it. There is of course a fundamental flaw in that proposition. It cannot be done. Sooner or later such a stunted and deformed political arrangement would have to be jettisoned to make way for political reality.

The days of apartheid are clearly numbered. Tens of thousands of South Africans have participated in multi-racial demonstrations against apartheid. The fragmentation among the white South African minority runs deeper with each passing year. In September this year 780 whites of military age refused to serve in South Africa's armed forces. Resistance to draft on other than religious grounds is an offence punishable by a six-year prison term. Some of these young men have chosen to serve in prison rather than serve in an army which enforces apartheid. The Democrat Party, a coalition of liberal whites which campaigned for universal suffrage, managed to capture 33 seats in the September elections. This is an astounding trend and one which the South African Government must heed.

My delegation is troubled by the letter issued by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. F. Botha, which was circulated as a United Nations document on the eve of this special session on apartheid. We consider it unacceptable that South Africa should take the United Nations to task for considering a draft declaration on apartheid. To suggest that international negotiations and debate on apartheid is a "blatant intervention in the domestic affairs of a Member State" (A/S-16/6, p. 2) is patently absurd. The universally abhorred system has been a crucial and urgent issue on the United Nations agenda for almost four decades. Why has it suddenly become a domestic issue beyond the pale of discussion?

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

The letter also spells out a vision of a free and democratic system that the South African Government intends to create. While it sounds reasonable, careful reading suggests that what is proposed is an equal but separate system in the country. The dismantling of apartheid measures will exist only in the social system but this is not obviously so in the political system. This is the crux of the matter. As Walter Sisulu said:

"Our grievance is on exclusion from power and our objective is the transfer of power. Segregated beaches have symbolized our exclusion, but their desegregation is not a transfer of power."

What can the international community do to convince South Africa that there is no alternative to the introduction of fundamental change, that the apartheid system must be dismantled completely, in its social, economic and political aspects?

The most effective weapon is sanctions. Whether economic sanctions really hurt is a debate I do not propose to enter into. President De Klerk certainly takes them seriously. He released eight prominent black nationalist prisoners just before the Commonwealth summit meeting to demonstrate his commitment to reform and to forestall further toughening on sanctions. The threat of sanctions did not drive white voters into the laager. Under threat of sanctions, many voted for reform. It is therefore important that the international community should uphold comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime. The Singapore Government endorsed a statement adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at Kuala Lumpur on 12 October 1989 calling for continued sanctions against South Africa as a means of

"bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until change is irreversibly secured".

(Mrs. Chan, Singapore)

I began this statement by reflecting on the sudden, swift and profound political changes that have occurred elsewhere in the world. One of the lessons we would have learned from this episode in history is that where pressures for change exist, change will come. It cannot be stopped even in countries where political structures are institutionalized and rigid. Indeed, if change is delayed, the change that comes eventually and inevitably will be sweeping. It may even run out of control. South Africa should learn from contemporary history. If it does not allow genuine political change in South Africa through reform, the result would be change through violence. Then the white community would find it is completely swept aside.

I am told that the Afrikaaners Broederbond, of which President De Klerk is a member, recites a certain aphorism to strengthen their resolve when taking action. The aphorism goes like this: "The greatest risk is not taking any risk." I urge President De Klerk and his associates to heed their own aphorism. They should take the biggest risk of their careers and lives by risking fundamental change for justice and democracy in South Africa. They should cross the Rubicon by eliminating the basic laws of apartheid and genuinely share power with the black majority so that together they can build a new society in which blacks and whites can coexist peacefully and prosperously.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): This special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is taking place on the initiative of the decision taken at the ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Nicosia during September 1988. The Final Document of that Conference rightly regarded the relentless repression of the black majority in South Africa by the Pretoria régime and its incessant acts of aggression and destabilization directed against the front-line States as necessitating the further mobilization of

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

concerted international support for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and throughout the southern African subregion as a whole. Thus, the impetus for these deliberations was the imperative need to confront squarely in this authoritative forum Pretoria's utter disdain for the Charter of the United Nations and its defiance of relevant decisions of the Organization. Significantly, that initiative was also predicated on the inability of the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter and compel South Africa to comply with its decisions. Subsequently, the General Assembly at its forty-third session concurred and adopted by consensus resolution 43/50 G, on the convening of this first-ever special session on the issue of apartheid.

The delegation of Indonesia deems it a solemn obligation to join in the global expression of indignation and condemnation of the policy and practices of apartheid of the Pretoria régime which the General Assembly has declared a crime against humanity. That pernicious racist doctrine is the root cause of the conflict in South Africa and must be abolished in all its forms and manifestations.

Yet, despite the determined efforts of the international community to put an end to this scourge, despite the countless resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the decisions of the Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international forums, apartheid continues to persist in our midst.

Notwithstanding claims to the contrary, little substance has been given to assertions and declarations of change by the racist régime. For, although the degree of repression has somewhat lessened, the denial of human rights to the vast majority of its population has persisted. The trappings of apartheid, reflected especially in the Group Areas Act, the Internal Security Act and the bantustan

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

policy remain untouched. The state of emergency and the attendant restrictions on anti-apartheid activities remain in force. In effect, minority rule and domination continue to be entrenched.

Whatever the manoeuvre employed by the régime, whether cosmetic and piece-meal measures or repression, the opposition to apartheid remains undiminished and has emerged with new strength. The growing resistance and the upsurge of popular rebellion by the oppressed black majority, led by the liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), has now permeated all strata of society and reached all corners of the country. Renewed efforts by Pretoria to impose any version of racist domination, under whatever guise, will be doomed to failure. South Africa must therefore accept the reality that it can no longer perpetuate apartheid.

This special session offers a unique opportunity for the seeking of a consensus and a common strategy, both by the South African régime and by the international community, on ways and means to eradicate this evil once and for all. As the representatives from Africa who preceded my delegation at the podium have observed, it is necessary, first and foremost, for the racist régime to demonstrate its commitment to genuine changes and to show good faith in negotiations.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Peaceful and legitimate change require the unconditional release of and amnesty for all political prisoners, the revocation of the state of emergency, the restoration of fundamental rights and the formation and functioning of political parties along non-racial lines. All this would constitute a positive response and movement towards a process of constructive dialogue with the genuine representatives of the people of South Africa.

As a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa and the United Nations Council for Namibia since their inception, Indonesia reaffirms its unswerving commitment to the struggle against apartheid. It has been our long-standing conviction that justice for the black majority in South Africa cannot be achieved without the resolution of this burning question. Peace and stability can be attained only when apartheid is dismantled in its entirety and the South African society is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial society.

The priority item now on the international agenda is the task of bringing about the emancipation of the long-suffering black majority in South Africa through the eradication of apartheid. Indonesia is more convinced than ever that without real and effective pressure on the Pretoria régime the principal objectives of freedom, justice and equality in South Africa itself will remain beyond our grasp.

In this regard my Government continues in its commitment to abide by the mandatory arms embargo, the oil embargo and all voluntary sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. Until the odious policy of apartheid is for ever abolished, Indonesia will not establish any relations with the racist Pretoria régime. It is the policy of Indonesia to support the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. Together with the international community, we will

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

spare no effort to ensure that the just cause of the anti-apartheid struggle prevails and victory is achieved.

But to ensure the certainty of victory there must be a concerted effort based on clear guidelines on the priority actions that will lead to the main goal of the total elimination of apartheid.

In this respect my delegation agrees that the Harare Declaration, adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) last August, provides a viable framework for bringing a speedy end to apartheid. It seeks the establishment of a new constitutional and political order on the basis of universal suffrage; it seeks the opening of a new era of peace for all Africa in which racism, minority rule and colonial domination would be a relic of the past; and it seeks a democratic South Africa that respects the rights of all countries and follows a policy of friendship and peace with all peoples. My delegation supports the call for the special session to endorse that Declaration and for the international community to participate directly in the relevant provisions of the Programme of Action contained therein, including, inter alia, stepping up all-round support for the South African liberation movements, intensifying the campaign in favour of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa, and rendering all possible assistance to the front-line States.

These, indeed, constitute the essential elements for concerted action by the international community as represented in the Organization. There is also no doubt that they are consistent with the position enunciated by the vast majority of Member States at these meetings. It is therefore fitting that the OAU Programme of Action is accorded prominence in the draft declaration before us, which is as clear and principled in its orientation as it is realistic in the feasibility of its implementation, and we urge its unanimous adoption.

Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana): After years of unrelenting pressure on the racist régime in South Africa the international community can now anticipate with guarded optimism the eventual demise of the odious system of apartheid. Recent developments would seem to indicate that the tyrants of Pretoria are exhausted and can no longer sustain their administration of hateful oppression. The victimized masses have valiantly withstood persecution and are within sight of liberation. In this crucial hour, we the United Nations must assist them to press home their advantage and deal the death blow to the apartheid system.

Coming as it does in the wake of South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia, the special session of the General Assembly is an occasion not only for rejoicing at this happy outcome but also for renewing our determination to remove apartheid from within South Africa itself. It is important to our struggle that the effective momentum that we have attained be not lost through careless complacency. Like a wounded animal retreating to its lair, apartheid is now at its most dangerous and will fight cunningly for its survival.

Our continuing approach must therefore, despite the confidence engendered by past success, be cautious and calculated. Pretoria's every action must be watched for its ultimate intention and weighed to determine its significance. The new rulers have recently made some gestures which, they say, are a demonstration of their good faith. Their release of a few detainees from prison and their readiness to address some cases of petty apartheid are cited as evidence of a new disposition. Regrettably, however, these limited measures do not go to the heart of apartheid, which remains as strong and as functional as ever. We cannot therefore be satisfied until the system is totally destroyed and replaced by a form of government that is truly representative, just and lawful.

The Assembly must consequently deplore the delaying tactics employed by the régime to preserve its domination in South Africa. We must strongly condemn the

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

protracted state of emergency, which the Pretoria régime conveniently maintains as a cover for oppression. We must express our growing concern at the constant and disturbing reports of the operation of death squads and of vicious attacks on anti-apartheid activists. There can only be disillusion when political opposition remains banned and the black majority continue to be denied the right to assert their fundamental human rights. The continued incarceration of a large number of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, must be rejected as totally unjustified. There are, of course, other unspeakable atrocities perpetrated against the population at large but which remain concealed from the outside world by the blanket of secrecy which now shrouds the public media in South Africa.

These practices can hardly be said to be indicative of a serious willingness by Pretoria to accept change and to relinquish power. Yet we have been assured by the new head of the régime that he is committed to a programme of reform and renewal. "The time has come", he is reported to have said on assuming office, "for South Africa to restore its pride and to lift itself out of the doldrums of growing international isolation, economic decline and increasing polarization."

These are fine words, but unfortunately Mr. De Klerk has not said precisely how he intends to achieve his goal; nor has he elaborated any concrete plan for doing away with apartheid. Instead, he has posited that segregation in South Africa is a reality of life that must be accepted. He thus speaks of "gradual change" and warns against "excessive expectations". The world is obliged to ask, what is "gradual", what is "excessive"?

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

The De Klerk régime must therefore be told in no uncertain terms that the cosmetic measures it has thus far applied to mask the ugliness and corruption of apartheid will not suffice to make the system acceptable in the eyes of the international community. It must proceed immediately to the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black majority for the complete dismantling of apartheid and the installation of a new political order in South Africa. To this end, it must remove its military presence from the townships, release all political prisoners and permit free political activity. By taking those basic steps it can create the requisite climate for dialogue and negotiation which can bring peaceful and lasting change to southern Africa.

To ensure Pretoria's movement in this direction the international community must continue to apply the strongest possible sanctions necessary to obtain its full acquiescence and commitment. By the régime's own admission sanctions have been conducive to reform by limiting its own capacity to administer apartheid. The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa, of which Guyana has the honour to be a member, recently considered an expert study on the application and the impact of sanctions against South Africa and confirmed

"the legitimacy of sanctions as an instrument of policy to induce dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and, in the circumstances, the urgency of even stronger signals to the new Government".

At their October summit conference in Kuala Lumpur, the Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed that due consideration should be given to the report's recommendations in the light of developments in South Africa and in the region. At this critical juncture, therefore, there must be no relaxation of sanctions, which instead should now be tightened and widened to guarantee their maximum effectiveness.

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

An essential adjunct to a policy of sanctions against South Africa must be a plan of assistance to the peoples of southern Africa who have been the hapless victims of destabilization and deprivation by the apartheid system. The report of the Economic Commission for Africa, entitled "South African Destabilization: Resistance to Apartheid", testifies to the disastrous consequences of the ill-conceived policy of apartheid. We must therefore continue to help those front-line States which bear the brunt of Pretoria's destruction. We must provide substantial support within South Africa to the oppressed masses who will urgently need economic and social development programmes to prepare them for their new life in their post-apartheid nation.

As stated by my President at the non-aligned summit conference in Harare three years ago:

"It is not too early to begin preparing for a southern Africa without apartheid. We are confident that victory will be won. We should therefore give thought to the role we can play so as to assist the people of South Africa and Namibia to enjoy, as quickly and as fully as possible, the full fruits of their freedom and to take their rightful place in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and in the wider international community."

The Government and the people of Guyana are themselves fully committed to the abolition of apartheid and to the building of a new South Africa free from racial animosities and division. We shall continue to work at the United Nations and elsewhere to bring constant pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime for its early demission from power. In this context we wish to pay tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid which, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Garba of Nigeria, has laboured unceasingly to liberate the South African people from its

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

unequalled yoke. We encourage it to intensify its efforts to mount a major assault on apartheid's remaining stronghold.*

South Africa's racist rulers are now particularly vulnerable. Time has effectively run out for attempts at reform, since the few changes that have been made are grossly inadequate to the demands of its people. Even its white citizens are reportedly coming to the conclusion that the régime will have no alternative but to negotiate on fundamental constitutional change. The new régime in Pretoria thus has a clear choice - either to accept its own illegitimacy and majority rule or else face the wrath of apartheid's victims who cannot and will not tolerate further domination by such an iniquitous system. We can only hope that in keeping with the spirit of positive change now moving throughout the world it will see fit to choose the path of peaceful negotiation.

In our view, the Harare Declaration of August this year provides an excellent blueprint for negotiation and as such should be readily endorsed by the Assembly. It is expected that its main guidelines will find full reflection in the final document of the special session. We commend this political chart to the De Klerk régime for serious consideration as a way forward in creating a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It does not seem, however, judging from a letter addressed 7 December 1989 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (A/S-16/6) that the régime is prepared to accept this framework for future action. The Declarations are casually dismissed as rigid and unserviceable.

What, then, can we expect from such an arrogant and contemptuous attitude? Precious little, we fear. Yet we cannot reasonably expect the oppressed masses of

* Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

South Africa to tolerate indefinitely the cruel inhumanity of apartheid. As one of their funeral dirges so forcefully reminds us:

"Let it not be forgotten
that our anger will endure forever;
our lust for freedom is more
lasting than all the gold
in the Witwatersrand".

We urge the Pretoria régime to take heed of this cry of anguish and to move away from the brink of disaster while there is still time.

Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): It is gratifying to see Mr. Garba presiding over the deliberations of this sixteenth special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We are confident that with his experience and background, together with the commitment to peace, freedom and justice that he has so ably demonstrated as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session and as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, he will guide this important special session to a successful conclusion.

The proclamation of 1983-93 by the General Assembly as the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the adoption by consensus of the Programme of Action recommended by the World Conference demonstrate the commitment of the international community to the eradication of the evils of apartheid, racism and all forms of racial discrimination. Today, mid-way into the Decade, the situation in South Africa remains unchanged.

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, as we witness the dawn of a new era of hope for mankind brought about by an improvement in the international political climate, the pernicious and horrendous system of apartheid, rightly declared by the international community a crime against humanity and an affront

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

to the universal conscience, continues to stand out with total impunity as the major impediment to our concerted efforts to achieve a just and peaceful world. Indeed, the current wave of peaceful change which elsewhere has brought the achievement of solutions to regional conflicts remains effectively precluded and systematically thwarted by the racist minority régime in Pretoria with its odious policies of aggression and oppression of the majority non-white populations in southern Africa.

My delegation views with grave concern the renewed state of emergency in South Africa under which the most draconian laws, under the notorious "common purpose" notion, are being invoked to silence those protesting and struggling against the racist oppressive régime. It is our considered view that the continued existence of apartheid not only jeopardizes the peace and security of the subregion but also continues to pose a grave threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

It is, however, noteworthy that the South African régime, though sadly still entrenched, is shaken by the general opposition to apartheid by the international community and by the courage and determination of the black population in their struggle for the total and definitive liquidation of this evil system. The perpetration of genocide at home against the defenceless black majority and the practice of State terrorism abroad against the front-line and neighbouring States remain the corner-stone of apartheid.

It is true that the recent cosmetic changes in South Africa have given rise to some optimism about the final demise of apartheid; among these changes were the release of Walter Sisulu and six others, the decision by the South African authorities not to enforce the state-of-emergency ban on protest marches and the opening of beaches to all races. Nevertheless, the professed desire of the new Government of Mr. F. W. De Klerk for positive change needs to be viewed from the perspective of the overall situation and in the context of the legitimate aspirations of the majority black population. The report of the Special Committee, document A/44/22, attests to the fact there has been no substantial movement towards dismantling the essential pillars of the apartheid régime. The national liberation and mass democratic movements remain proscribed. Nelson Mandela and some 3,000 other anti-apartheid activists continue to languish, without trial, in white South African gaols. Black freedom fighters are still incarcerated on death row; hence the adoption at the outset of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly of resolution 44/1, calling for the commutation of the death sentences imposed on Mangena Jeffrey Boesman and all other political prisoners. Fundamental apartheid laws such as the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, which are strengthened in many respects by other restrictive laws, particularly against the print and news media, remain intact. Furthermore, the recently held

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

elections, which excluded the overwhelming, black majority and was condemned in General Assembly resolution 43/13, suggests that the fulfilment of expectations of radical reform is not in sight.

There is no doubt that piecemeal measures, cosmetic changes and promises of reform by Pretoria would in no way lead to any meaningful or fundamental change in South Africa. Apartheid, as has been stated repeatedly in this Assembly, cannot be reformed: it must be dismantled. Appeasing, persuading and pampering the racist régime to change its policies would only fortify Pretoria in its shameful defiance of world opinion. Freedom is an inalienable right. It cannot be negotiated or dished out in small portions over a period of time. Besides, the so-called reforms, which also include the introduction of the infamous Bantustan states and the discredited tricameral constitution - co-opting a small section of the oppressed majority into the system - should be seen as deceitful and dubious measures designed to disguise the entrenched system of apartheid, which has begun to erode under the impact of the consolidated international campaign to isolate the Pretoria régime and under the internal pressures brought to bear by the heroic resistance of the liberation and democratic forces in South Africa. The experience of the past has given us cause to be sceptical: these and other, related moves by the racist régime are geared towards the continued frustration of the genuine need for total change.

My delegation notes with indignation the numerous acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against the front-line and neighbouring independent States, including the deliberate massacres of refugees under the policy of the iron fist and hot pursuit practised by the racist régime, which have caused enormous human and material losses. In this context, my delegation would like to express its support for the communiqué issued by the summit meeting of the front-line

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

States held in Gaborone, Botswana, on 8 March 1989, and, in the same vein, we pay a tribute to those States which continue to bear the heavy burden of giving refuge to the victims of apartheid. The independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Angola and Mozambique must be protected against South African aggression.

My delegation is also concerned about the precarious predicament of the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which are constantly threatened by military incursions and economic blackmail by Pretoria. According to reports, over a million people have died in the SADCC countries, and the cost of the destabilization by South Africa is estimated to be in the region on \$60 billion for the period from 1980 to 1988. In this regard, my delegation would like to reaffirm its support for the objectives and efforts of the SADCC, which reflect the desire of the countries concerned to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa and achieve economic and collective self-reliance.

The determination of the Pretoria régime to develop a nuclear capability in violation of paragraph 12 of the Declaration in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held in 1978, and in violation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), provides the racist régime with a dreadful means of blackmailing the neighbouring States. It is therefore of compelling urgency for appropriate measures to be adopted to curb this serious threat to the peace and security not only of the region, but also of the entire world.

My delegation firmly believes that a total economic boycott and complete isolation of South Africa, if widely and strictly applied under Chapter VII of the Charter, would help create the necessary impetus for negotiations between all concerned. Furthermore, the evidence available from various reports confirms that the economic and financial sanctions already applied against South Africa have so

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

far produced some effect, thereby disproving the erroneous view of those who held that sanctions would not be effective.

In order to establish a sound basis for a just, lasting and universally acceptable solution and to create an atmosphere conducive to genuine and just negotiations in keeping with the views articulated by the African States in the Declaration adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare on 21 August 1989, South Africa must be forced, by economic sanctions and complete isolation, to accept a negotiating scenario based on the following: the immediate lifting of the state of emergency; the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela; the immediate removal of the proscription on all political organizations and anti-apartheid movements, including the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and labour organizations; the repeal of the Internal Security Act and all other draconian measures; the removal of the racist troops from townships; the unimpeded return of all political exiles and freedom fighters; and initiation of a process of dialogue through the convening of a round-table conference of all parties to the internal conflict, with a view to elaborating a definitive agenda for negotiations.

In this connection, my delegation supports the decision of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to work towards the convening of a meeting of the Security Council in Africa for the purpose of assessing the totality of racist South Africa's acts of repression in South Africa and its State terrorism in the region with a view to undertaking appropriate action in response.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

My delegation would like to express its endorsement of the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the report of the Secretary-General, whose untiring efforts in the pursuit of world peace and international understanding we salute.

Lastly, we would like to commend, for adoption by consensus, a declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences; this would be, as stated in the Secretary-General's report,

"a positive and credible response to the unequivocal call for the dismantlement of apartheid". (A/44/1, p. 7)

Mrs. THORPE (Trinidad and Tobago): On behalf of the Trinidad and Tobago delegation, I extend warmest congratulations to Mr. Garba of Nigeria on his election to preside over the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. My delegation has witnessed with great admiration his unquestionable devotion, and the devotion of his country, Nigeria, to the ongoing struggle for peace and justice in southern Africa and for the total elimination of the system of apartheid. This long-standing commitment and the adept and professional manner in which he continues to undertake his responsibilities augur well for the successful conclusion of our current deliberations. He may rest assured of my delegation's full co-operation in this important endeavour.

The convening at this time of a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is most opportune. At the international level a spirit of co-operation now pervades inter-State and international relations. Generally, Governments have begun demonstrating an increasing willingness to adhere to the rule of law and to abide by universally accepted principles, thus creating a climate of hope, confidence and trust. There also appears to be a growing sense of urgency among many leaders with regard to achieving lasting solutions to perennial conflicts and addressing the complex political, social and economic problems confronting our societies.

In southern Africa itself the growing success of the political, social, economic and financial pressures being brought to bear on the Pretoria régime has heightened the prospects of peace in the subregion and opened the way for the long-awaited emergence of Namibia as an independent State. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the internal and external pressures on the régime continues to reinforce in the minds of an increasing portion of the minority population in South Africa understanding of the unprofitability of maintaining the abhorrent system of apartheid.

(Mrs. Thorpe, Trinidad and Tobago)

For the oppressed majority in South Africa apartheid is synonymous with daily violence to the mind, body and spirit, violence shrouded in a cloak of deception and false respectability and legality. It has signified, among other things, the deprivation of basic human rights, including the right to life; economic exploitation and forced impoverishment; and exclusion from the influential State political institutions and processes, which, in any event, perpetuate domination by a small white minority. Over 28 million non-whites continue to be subjected to this barrage of violence.

In the past year we have witnessed the persistent assault by Pretoria on the anti-apartheid forces. Under the umbrella of the provisions of the extended nation-wide state of emergency, the régime has continued to employ those blatantly repressive measures with which we have, regrettably, become only too familiar. The well-orchestrated assault on the foes of apartheid within South Africa has included measures such as detention without trial; torture of detainees and long-term prisoners; the use of banning and restriction orders against individuals and organizations; the imposition of death sentences for politically related activities; and sabotage, assassinations and executions. What is more, women and children and members of the clergy have not been excluded from the ever expanding list of victims.

Trinidad and Tobago welcomed the release in November 1988 and in October this year of a few prominent members of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and other political prisoners. The fact remains, however, that Mr. Nelson Mandela, that beacon of hope and courage, and more than 800 other political activists remain incarcerated. And, according to the

(Mrs. Thorpe, Trinidad and Tobago)

current report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, as of June 1989
88 political prisoners were awaiting execution.

Also of concern are accounts of State-sanctioned or condoned acts of sabotage against anti-apartheid forces, including religious groups and trade unions, and the activities of vigilante groups and death squads operating within the country. Reports indicate that over the past 10 years 59 anti-apartheid activists have been assassinated in South Africa and an additional 61 have been assassinated in exile, while at least 30 have disappeared or have been abducted from neighbouring States. Trinidad and Tobago strongly condemns these reprehensible acts. This deplorable state of affairs in South Africa cannot and must not be allowed to persist.

Moreover, Pretoria must also be forced to abandon the contemptible tricameral parliamentary system, which guarantees the veto power of the white minority. Trinidad and Tobago rejects unequivocally the sham elections to the racially divided South African Parliament held on 6 September 1989.

The new leader of the racist régime has succeeded in raising the expectations of some within and outside South Africa by his highly publicized pronouncements of so-called reforms. He has, however, not been successful in demonstrating in any substantive manner a willingness to dismantle the pillars of apartheid. Indeed, his public statements on the matter have only confirmed his intention merely to tinker with the petty manifestations of apartheid, unless compelled by the weight of internal and external pressures to institute meaningful changes.

This exercise in deception and futility poses additional challenges for the majority population as they battle the consequences abroad of Pretoria's well-oiled Propaganda machine. The nature of the obstacles they must now confront is amply demonstrated by the hasty rescheduling by major transnational banks, in

(Mrs. Thorpe, Trinidad and Tobago)

October 1989, of South Africa's international debt, long before much of it would have become due, in June 1990. However, the anti-apartheid movement operating within and outside South Africa has, over the years, demonstrated that it is equal to such challenges.

In response to the ever changing requirements of the internal fight against apartheid, the opponents of that bankrupt system continue successfully to readjust their tactics and strategy. Pretoria's attempts to stifle the political activities of one group have consequently led to heightened activity by others, while restriction of some types of organized opposition has given rise to other effective forms of protest. Current efforts to forge a broad alliance of anti-apartheid forces within South Africa should also be seen in the light of the changing requirements of the struggle, which remains challenging, costly and dangerous.

No less challenging and costly is the struggle being waged by the front-line and other neighbouring States against South African aggression, destabilization and State terrorism. Through direct attacks and the waging of proxy wars, Pretoria has destroyed sections of key transportation networks in Mozambique and Angola which are critical to the development and independence of not only those States, but also the land-locked nations of southern Africa.

(Mrs. Thorpe, Trinidad and Tobago)

Recent estimates suggest that the regional conflict has resulted in approximately 1.5 million deaths in the independent States of southern Africa and in a \$60 billion loss in gross domestic product and physical destruction during the period from 1980 to 1988. The magnitude of the losses and its consequences for the current and future development of those States are recorded in the valuable report commissioned by the Inter-Agency Task Force of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development. According to that report, the total number of children who perished in Angola and Mozambique alone as a result of eight years of war numbered "more than the combined casualties of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki". Pretoria's wanton aggression has also swelled the ranks of Angolan and Mozambican refugees in neighbouring countries to more than 1.5 million, with Zambia playing host to as many as 127,000, in addition to the 10,000 Namibians and South Africans who have also sought refuge. More than 6 million persons in Mozambique and Angola have also been displaced.

What is particularly disturbing and most perplexing is that the Pretoria régime has been able to inflict such despair and destruction on the States of southern Africa, while the collective mechanisms provided by the United Nations Charter to deal with such threats to international peace and security have remained dormant.

My delegation echoes the wise sentiment expressed by the President that this is not the time for recriminations and acrimony, but for concrete and meaningful contributions to the immediate solution of the complex problems and issues emanating from the policies and practices of apartheid. The United Nations is well placed to seize the golden opportunities now available to achieve a significant breakthrough in the impasse in South Africa.

(Mrs. Thorpe, Trinidad and Tobago)

In the face of the sugar-coated pronouncements emanating from Pretoria, the racist pariah must be challenged to prohibit political trials and executions and to release, immediately and unconditionally, all political prisoners and detainees. Likewise, the régime must be challenged to lift the state of emergency; to withdraw all troops from the townships; to lift all bans and restrictions on proscribed and restricted organizations and persons; to dismantle the tricameral parliamentary system; and to repeal the Population Registration Act, the Internal Security Act, the Group Areas Act and all other pillars of apartheid. The unanimous adoption of the draft declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa contained in Conference Room Paper 3, now before the Ad Hoc Committee of this special session, would represent such a challenge.

The draft declaration provides a useful basis upon which genuine negotiations with the leaders of the oppressed majority can be conducted. In the absence of appropriate responses on the part of the Pretoria régime to the gauntlet thrown down before it, the draft declaration provides for adequate replies by the anti-apartheid forces within South Africa and by the international community.

Mr. TRINH XUAN LANG (Viet Nam): The international community has every reason to devote this special session of the General Assembly exclusively to the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Apartheid, it has been universally concluded, constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. It has indeed been the worst stain on our civilization. Since its inception apartheid has violated every right that a human being deserves to exercise and every value that mankind cherishes.

In our civilized world apartheid must not be allowed to exist anywhere. The democratization that has gained ground in international political life, whereby fundamental human rights and values are to be pursued and upheld, makes it more

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

urgent than ever before that this obnoxious system be eliminated. Recent far-reaching developments in world politics have unfolded a complex process for greater co-operation between nations in tackling problems of both regional and global dimensions. While the community of nations should exert concerted efforts, it should not let the complexities arising therefrom affect in any way its unanimous objective - the total, effective and speedy eradication of apartheid. This special session is therefore expected to make a positive contribution towards that end by mobilizing and uniting world-wide efforts.

Apartheid is all the more dangerous and inhuman in that it has been pursued as a State policy and an institutionalized system by the South African régime. It is not simply racism, but racism at its worst. This abhorrent régime, first instituted as far back as 1911 with the passing of the Colour Bar Act by South Africa, has based itself on severe discrimination on grounds of race or colour of skin. Indeed, it has been designed to ensure the fullest exploitation and repression of the South African black majority and to treat them as an underclass or slaves. All the fundamental human rights of that majority have for many years been trampled upon, including its right to live as human beings. There have been the Sharpeville and Soweto, and many other, massacres engaged in by the racist régime to suppress the will of the South African people for self-determination and freedom and a life of dignity. Therefore, that people has had no choice other than to struggle by all means possible to liberate itself and its country from this inhuman, racist rule. Despite brutal repression, it has proved its heroism, staunchness and indomitability. Its just cause has enjoyed the support and assistance of progressive mankind as a whole.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The extension inherent in apartheid lies in the policies of colonialism, destabilization and aggression the South African régime has been pursuing in regard to the southern African region. It has repeatedly carried out acts of aggression and subversion against the front-line States of southern Africa, especially Angola and Mozambique, causing great human and material losses. Those countries cannot use the fruits of peace and stability in order to concentrate on their national development, which is of particular importance at the early stage of their independence from colonialism. Reports have estimated that as a result of this policy of the Pretoria régime the region has suffered the loss of up to 1.5 million lives and more than \$60 billion over the last nine years.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

In Namibia, the Pretoria régime has maintained its illegal occupation of the Territory for the past 23 years, with a record of most inhuman practices and repression. While we welcome the transition of Namibia to independence, now under way, the process has to be viewed against the backdrop of South Africa's intransigence over the years and all the obstacles it has created to this very day to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The South African régime relaxed its intransigence only when it had met with failure in its colonial war in Namibia as a result of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and supported by progressive mankind as a whole. It relaxed its obstinacy only when it had suffered defeats in its wars of aggression against the front-line States and was faced with the strong condemnation and pressure exerted by the international community. Therefore, international pressure in this regard should be maintained and exerted to its utmost.

It has been urged time and again that sanctions, especially comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, be imposed against racist South Africa as an effective means of contributing to the eradication of apartheid. Over the past years sanctions, though as yet non-mandatory and unco-ordinated, have proved their effectiveness. Some countries, however, while articulating strong condemnation of apartheid, continue to find reasons against the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The continued support and assistance rendered by some countries to the South African régime, indeed, only helps that régime sustain its resistance to the total eradication of the abhorrent system of apartheid. It is of grave concern that the mandatory arms embargo continues to be violated. Measures must be found to close the loopholes therein to ensure its full observance. It is necessary that the continued co-operation of Israel and some other countries with South Africa in the military field be ended immediately.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

At its ninth summit Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement "cautioned the international community against contacts with South Africa, the outcome of which is against the interests of the oppressed people of that country." (A/44/551, p. 53, para. 45)

It also

"regretted that attempts were currently being made by certain Western countries to assist South Africa out of its isolation by the international community." (ibid., para. 46)

Faced with the growth of the South African people's struggle and strong pressure by the international community, the South African régime recently gave promises of changing its apartheid policy. However, those words must be measured against the fact that the central pillars of the apartheid system remain intact. Such repulsive legal instruments as the Population Registration Act, the Land Act and the Group Area Act all remain in effect. The state of emergency and the ban and restrictions on anti-apartheid mass organizations and personalities have not been lifted. The release of some political figures imprisoned by the racist régime, welcome though it may be, must also be viewed alongside the fact that Nelson Mandela and thousands of other anti-apartheid fighters continue to serve sentences in gaols.

The history of the South African régime's tactics and untrustworthiness give reason for caution and vigilance. In 1986, at a time when it badly needed foreign bank credit and loans, South Africa lifted the state of emergency. Then, only a few months later, it just as eagerly reimposed it. At the present time international pressure as well as sanctions should in no way be relaxed but rather maintained and strengthened.

It is clear that, as stated in the Secretary-General's report,

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

"A mere dilution or softening of apartheid will not answer the expectations of the majority of the people of South Africa nor of the world as a whole"

(A/44/1, p. 7)

In no way can apartheid be reformed; it must be eradicated in its entirety. Until apartheid has been eliminated totally the people of South Africa have the legitimate right to use all the means available to achieve national liberation, as has been reaffirmed by the Non-Aligned Movement.

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reiterates its firm support for the just struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), and the front-line States to achieve the total elimination of apartheid and restore peace, stability and security in the region. We support the Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, of 21 August 1989, including the principles and conditions contained therein concerning the creation of the necessary climate for negotiations in order to transform South Africa into a just, non-racial, democratic, unitary and peaceful society.

It is our firm conviction that at this special session we shall work out concrete, effective measures to facilitate the speedy achievement of that end. As we stand on the threshold of a new century, we as the community of nations must do our utmost to bring about the eradication of apartheid and ensure a world of peace, equality and prosperity for future generations, thus helping mankind rise to new heights of civilization and achievement.

Mr. PAOLILLO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): It has become a commonplace to point out that over the past two years we have witnessed a process of change unprecedented in international relations, which has made possible greater rapprochement between rival blocs and Powers and improvement of the processes of the peaceful settlement of various regional conflicts. However, it appears

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

necessary to reaffirm this to highlight the contrast between that general trend and the persistence of certain situations of injustice, violence and instability afflicting vast sectors of humanity.

The present state of affairs in southern Africa is perhaps the saddest and most notorious example of that kind of situation. In that region the suffering and despair of the peoples living in conditions of violence and underdevelopment are exacerbated, and in large measure caused, by that most odious form of racial discrimination, apartheid.

There is nothing new to add to what has been said about apartheid, that political system that keeps the people of South Africa from living in dignity and with full enjoyment of its rights. Unfortunately, in its attempt to survive and perpetuate its hold, the apartheid régime is expanding its perverse influence beyond the frontiers of South Africa and affecting also the well-being and security of neighbouring nations.

The front-line States, as is only natural, have been the first to feel its direct impact. It is easy to comprehend from a brief look at the political, social and economic effects of apartheid in those countries the extent of the human tragedy being experienced there.

The war goes on, taking a terrible toll in human lives - over 1 million deaths since 1980.

Just as horrible is the situation of the millions of refugees and internally displaced persons. The stark tragedy of the refugees, the human dimension of which is clear, is an additional, extremely onerous burden on the economies of the host countries. Nevertheless, the front-line States are continuing to keep their doors generously open to the refugees.

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

It is clear that the economic situation of these countries is growing worse day by day. This has resulted in a pronounced decline in the gross domestic product, an increase in defence expenditures and a growing and inevitable dependency on the support of the international community - all of which is compounded by the food crisis and the deterioration of the environment, as well as the destruction of the basic infrastructure in certain neighbouring countries. How, then, can one reasonably expect even a minimum of economic and social development to take place in that region?

Not only as a Member of the United Nations and a peace-loving country but also as a member of the Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic, of which the region of southern Africa is also part, Uruguay cannot but feel deeply and directly concerned over the unabated tension that has been caused in the southern part of the African continent. The continued existence of apartheid in South Africa impedes the development and consolidation of that Zone of Peace to which we, together with more than 20 countries on two continents, are committed. As this is an enormous challenge to the ethical, legal and political values that have been embodied for ages in the conscience of mankind and as this is a factor acting against international peace and security, apartheid is a universal problem that concerns all of us, and we must all co-operate to bring about its early resolution.

The determined and co-ordinated steps taken by the international community with regard to the situation in southern Africa have already produced positive results. The process now under way leading to the definitive independence of Namibia is an eloquent example. Likewise, the statements made and measures regarding apartheid taken in the past few months by the new Pretoria Government, under the influence of domestic and international pressure, can be interpreted as steps in the right direction, that is, towards a definitive and peaceful solution of the problem and the establishment of a united, multi-racial and democratic

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

society in South Africa. However, it will be possible to confirm that interpretation only if the South African Government shows, by clear and immediate actions, such as, for instance, the freeing of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, that the measures adopted do not reflect tactical or cosmetic designs but represent real progress towards genuine negotiations to end apartheid by peaceful means. The fact is that in the language of the war against apartheid there is no room for words such as "reforms", "changes" or "improvements". Indeed the only valid word is "eradication" - complete and immediate eradication.

We are convinced that this special session will not be a mere exercise in rhetoric, reiterating condemnation of the racist South African régime, but rather that it will be an expression of the determination of the international community to provide a framework for the process of negotiation for the political reorganization of South Africa, for bringing about peace in the region and for achieving the recovery of the ravaged societies in the region. The Declaration adopted by the Organization of African Unity in Harare last August provides the concepts and the parameters for this framework.

In any event what we do in the future will have to have the following objectives, among others: first, the search for a comprehensive settlement of the problem of South Africa based essentially on negotiations among the parties to the conflict, that is, between the liberation movements and the Pretoria Government; secondly, intensification of the international efforts to ensure the effectiveness of the measures and sanctions to pressure the Government of South Africa, as stipulated in the various United Nations resolutions; thirdly, a study of specific measures to ensure co-operation with the countries of the region that have suffered adverse effects; and, finally, support for the initiative launched by the Governments of the region as regards the achievement of peace and comprehensive

(Mr. Paolillo, Uruguay)

reconstruction in a spirit of tolerance among the parties concerned and respect for self-determination.

Above all, this special session will have to demonstrate once again that the nations of the world are more united than ever in the struggle against apartheid, more aware than ever of the means of achieving its elimination and readier than ever to turn the terrible reality of apartheid today into a bad memory of the past. Under the wise and inspired leadership of the President of the Assembly, Mr. Garba of Nigeria, we are convinced that this special session will indeed achieve its goals.

Mr. MAUNG (Myanmar): It is with a sense of hope and expectation that my delegation takes part in this special session - the first ever devoted to apartheid. The convening of this historic session is a manifestation of the unwavering and continuing commitment of the international community to bring to bear moral, political and economic pressure on the apartheid régime in South Africa. This session provides us with an opportunity to reinforce the commitment we have given to the people of South Africa and to send them a clear and unambiguous message of support affirming that until that evil system of apartheid is totally eliminated from their country the international community will not relent in its efforts. My delegation takes heart that at such a critical period a distinguished son of Africa, Mr. Garba of Nigeria, is presiding over our deliberations. His outstanding leadership of the ongoing forty-fourth session of the General Assembly and his deep personal commitment to the international struggle against apartheid, as exemplified by his most effective chairmanship of the Special Committee against Apartheid over the past five years, assures us of the success of this special session.

Like all delegations gathered here, the delegation of Myanmar is much encouraged by the new climate of conciliation and accommodation that prevails in

(Mr. Maung, Myanmar)

our world today. Major conflicts are gradually being resolved and long-standing international disputes are moving closer to settlement. Confrontation and mistrust are giving way to dialogue and understanding. Regrettably, the apartheid régime remains impervious to these positive world-wide trends.

More than four decades have passed since the United Nations came to grips with the question of apartheid. Throughout all these years, the United Nations has time and again adopted resolutions condemning the policies of apartheid of the racist régime of South Africa, calling for the abolition of that system, which represents the most repressive and institutionalized form of racial discrimination. That such systematic denial of the rights of the majority of South Africans continues to this day is indeed a tragic commentary on our times. It only serves to underline the fact that the international community must do more. But time is running out, and exhortations by themselves will never end apartheid. In addition to moral and political pressure, concerted efforts for the strict enforcement of sanctions will be needed before the white minority relents and yields its monopoly of power.

(Mr. Maung, Myanmar)

In recent years, the steady pressure of sanctions, combined with increasing diplomatic pressure, appears to have produced some changes in South Africa. In 1986 the notorious Pass Laws, which restricted the movement of black South Africans, were abolished. In 1988 Pretoria agreed to withdraw from Angola and to grant independence to Namibia. Subsequently, in October this year the South African authorities unconditionally released Walter Sisulu and seven of his colleagues. More recently the new Government headed by Mr. F.W. De Klerk has permitted peaceful demonstrations. However, the situation in the country remains, in essence, as grim and disappointing as ever. The state of emergency has not been lifted and hundreds of freedom fighters, including their leader Nelson Mandela, remain in prison.

It continues to be a matter of deep concern to the delegation of Myanmar that the policy of apartheid in South Africa has exacted its toll on neighbouring States as well. Pretoria's unjustifiable actions, far from being confined within its own borders, threaten peace in the whole region. Moreover, the damage that is being inflicted on the overall economic and social well-being of neighbouring States is staggering. The international community is thus faced with the grave responsibility of averting a serious catastrophe in southern Africa.

In the circumstances, what can the international community do to hasten the end of apartheid in South Africa and to create conditions whereby the people of that country, regardless of their race or colour, would enjoy their inalienable rights? My delegation believes that in addition to reaffirming our strong moral and political support for the struggle of the black majority in that country the international community must maintain and strengthen mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

(Mr. Maung, Myanmar)

The idea of sanctions against South Africa is not new. They have a long history. A comprehensive trade ban was imposed on South Africa by some countries as early as 1946. My own country has since its independence in 1948 scrupulously supported such a ban throughout the years and has to date no economic or trade relations whatsoever with Pretoria.

Despite claims to the contrary by the apartheid régime, it is apparent that the present sanctions, even though found wanting in many ways, have had substantial impact and have increased the isolation of the white minority. As reported by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the combined effects of disinvestment, the dearth of new capital investment and the denial of long-term credit have all contributed to undermining South Africa's ability to impose its designs both within and outside its borders.

My delegation therefore shares the widely held view that sanctions are a powerful weapon against the apartheid régime. We must, however, underline that those sanctions can be fully effective only when there is willingness on the part of all States to work together to ensure their imposition, monitoring and enforcement. For obvious reasons sanctions, to be effective, cannot be carried out piecemeal and over several decades. The time has now arrived for the international community to take concerted action. A realistic and comprehensive framework for such action has been laid down in the Harare Declaration of August 1989, which was subsequently endorsed by the non-aligned summit meeting held in Belgrade two months later, in September. My delegation considers that the final document to be adopted by this special session should be action-oriented and based on the Harare document.

Racial discrimination is offensive to all human beings. As such there can be no doubt that sooner or later the abhorrent system of apartheid in South Africa

(Mr. Maung, Myanmar)

will have to give way to a just and civilized order where a united, democratic and non-racial society can thrive. The question is, how would these changes come about? It is our hope that, in the light of the unprecedented changes taking place around the globe, the proponents of apartheid in South Africa will demonstrate the necessary courage and wisdom to seize this opportunity to end apartheid through negotiations.

Mr. MAKSIMOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic actively supported the proposal to hold a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, since we believe it to be an important stage towards the elimination of apartheid and for uniting all anti-apartheid forces. The United Nations has made a significant contribution to the struggle against the policy of apartheid. A consensus has emerged in the United Nations to the effect that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eliminated.

In this connection I wish to refer to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which stresses in particular that

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

The situation in South Africa has been described in detail and thoroughly analysed in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid and other documents, and in statements made by many delegations during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly and this current special session. The policy of apartheid has been described as a crime against mankind. It poses a threat to

(Mr. Maksimov, Byelorussian SSR)

international peace and security and has done irreparable damage to neighbouring African States.

According to the Economic Commission for Africa, the armed aggression and policy of destabilization of the racist régime of Pretoria against those African States has cost them, in 1988 alone, \$10 billion, and over a nine-year period damage totalling \$60 billion.

In recent years, under the powerful impact of anti-apartheid forces and the unflinching position of the world community, a certain evolution has been taking place in South Africa. The new leadership says that it supports the idea of proceeding towards the elimination of apartheid, but in fact all we have seen is that in South Africa basic discriminatory laws are still in force there. Many hundreds of political prisoners are languishing in gaol and death sentences are handed down and implemented against those who oppose the régime.

(Mr. Maksimov, Byelorussian SSR)

A striking feature of today's world - and this point has been made - is a shift from confrontation to co-operation, to the establishment of new political thinking, the keypoint of which is the concept of freedom of social and political choice. Because of this new political thinking, a number of problems that seemed insuperable have been resolved, or are on the verge of being resolved. For example, United Nations machinery to decolonize Namibia has been set in force whereby free democratic elections have been held. There is reason to believe that the United Nations plan for granting independence to that country will be fully implemented within the agreed time-frame.

What still remains to be done is to dismantle the apartheid system in South Africa. As of now, as was stressed in the Harare Declaration, there are conditions which, if Pretoria shows genuine and serious willingness to participate in the talks, can create possibilities for eliminating apartheid peacefully. If the new Government in South Africa wants to gain our confidence - in international affairs, among other things - it has to take practical steps to establish a favourable climate for dialogue with the leaders of the African National Congress and other democratic organizations. It must lift the state of emergency and rescind all repressive laws, free Nelson Mandela and all other political detainees, remove all bans and restrictions for individuals and political organizations that oppose apartheid, and halt all political trials and penalties.

We hope that these and other measures will be reflected in the declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, which the General Assembly is to adopt at this special session. Now, as never before, we need a more concerted position in the struggle against apartheid. Therefore it is important that a declaration be adopted by consensus, which would be a clear expression of the resolve of all States Members of the United Nations together to take effective steps to eliminate the apartheid system.

(Mr. Maksimov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Byelorussian SSR decisively condemns Pretoria's racist policies and believes that the special session of the General Assembly should make an important contribution towards establishing a productive dialogue to find practical, peaceful steps to eradicate apartheid and create in southern Africa a democratic non-racial society.

Mr. PITARKA (Albania): After the important debate that took place during the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the agenda item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", our Organization has convened again, this time in the first special session to be held on this topic, to deliberate once more on efforts to put an end to the serious evil of South Africa. This is another demonstration of the concern and resolution of the African peoples and countries, and of the public opinion of the entire world, to strengthen further their support for and solidarity with the long-suffering people of Azania, with their just liberation struggle and their perennial efforts to get rid of the abhorrent apartheid régime.

This special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is being held in conditions of new and encouraging developments in the region. After a long struggle of 22 years, the long-suffering Namibian people are rejoicing over the prospects of freedom and independence for their country, the termination of colonial occupation and racial repression. The resolute armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which enjoys the solidarity of the fraternal African peoples and the international community, enabled them to enjoy eventually the inalienable right to exercise their free will and self-determination.

This was manifested in the elections that took place from 7 to 11 November this year in Namibia, under the auspices of the United Nations, wherein the SWAPO representatives won the majority of votes. We avail ourselves of the opportunity

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

to extend our congratulations to the Namibian people and wish them new successes in attaining their final victory: complete freedom and independence for their homeland and the transition of their country on the road to reconstruction and independent development.

The victory of the Namibian people also gives new encouragement and significant assistance to the struggle being waged by the Azanian people to deal the final blow to the racist apartheid régime in South Africa as well.

The oppressed Azanian people have intensified their all-round resistance and struggle in the last bastion of apartheid and racist colonialism in South Africa. The working people, the younger generation, women and the other strata of the coloured population, are swept in an extensive massive movement, openly defying the white-police violence and the fascist laws of apartheid, which have failed and will fail to quell their fiery aspiration and will to achieve freedom and social justice, an aspiration that persists and constantly flares up despite the sufferings and sacrifices.

Testimony to this was, among other things, the protest strike staged by 3.5 million Azanian workers over this year's 7 September elections. The present stage in the people's resistance is at the same time a manifestation of the staunch response of the Azanian people to the demagogic farce of the Pretoria régime regarding the so-called reforms, which are being publicized and propagated by its imperialist and neo-colonialist apologists as new opportunities to end the apartheid policy and "democratize" life in South Africa through bargaining.

But the long history of suffering and heavy oppression, of violence and racial Persecution against the 28-million-strong Azanians by the white racist minority, reality itself and the undeniable facts of the intransigence and arrogance shown by the Pretoria régime and the preservation of the laws of the segregation system

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

against the coloured majority, have convinced the Azanian and the other African peoples that reforms cannot change apartheid; it must be pulled out by its very roots.

Freedom is an inalienable right, it is not granted through negotiations, nor through declarations and offers to appease the apartheid régime and coax it into willingly resigning its policy of apartheid. On the contrary, by so doing, they infuse fresh blood into and perpetuate apartheid's life, encourage it overtly to challenge the African peoples and the entire international community.

Facts prove that in South Africa, the white minority régime continues to pursue its policy of apartheid, to preserve and carry out its fascist laws to persecute and crush the anti-racist liberation movements and organizations, to intensify violence, imprisonment and the country's bantustanization, without letting up its destabilizing activities against the neighbouring countries as well. This policy keeps aflame the dangers and the tense situation in the entire region of southern Africa.

Under the circumstances it is becoming increasingly clear that without the resolute struggle of the South African freedom fighters and the solidarity and all-round support of the other African peoples and the international community at large for their just struggle, the desired changes cannot be attained, and apartheid cannot be eradicated.

It is necessary, therefore, to increase and intensify our Organization's support as well, to strengthen and render more concrete the pressures on Pretoria's racist régime, until it is forced to abolish its racist laws and its policies of apartheid. This calls at the same time for the termination of support for the régime which a good number of States and multinational corporations accord through constant relations and assistance in the economic, military, and even in the political field.

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

The Albanian people and Government join in and fully support the just demand of the African peoples and countries for complete international isolation of the apartheid régime and the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against it. South Africa's future is indisputably in the hands of the Azanian people itself, in its determined liberation struggle. Yet, the pressure and solidarity of the international community, as extraneous factors, undoubtedly create a favourable background promoting the strengthening of the resistance and the struggle of the Azanian and other African peoples to put an end to the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Pitarka, Albania)

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, as sincere and firm friends of the peoples of Africa and consistent supporters of their just struggle, have supported and will always support the liberation struggle of the Azanian people and every endeavour and constructive step of the international community and our Organization that makes a contribution to that struggle. A clear expression of that solidarity is the fact that our country has maintained and still maintains no relations at all with the Pretoria racist régime. It has denounced and condemned it vigorously. Abiding by those principles, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported and sponsored United Nations resolutions that rightfully express those legitimate demands and support the inalienable rights and aspirations of the Azanian people to self-determination and their struggle for freedom and independence. We once again reiterate our conviction and confidence that their struggle will emerge triumphant and that the Azanian people will attain their final victory over the scornful apartheid régime.

Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): For four decades the United Nations has consistently debated and condemned the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Apartheid, an institutionalized system of racial discrimination and oppression of the black majority, has been and remains characterized as a crime against humanity and an affront to the universal conscience. Moreover, the international community has continued to reiterate that that abhorrent system negates respect for the dignity of mankind and deprives the black majority, which constitutes at least 75 per cent of the total population of South Africa, of its civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

A few examples will vividly demonstrate beyond any shadow of a doubt that the system of apartheid continues to be an effective force. The state of emergency has been renewed by the South African authorities for the fourth time. The black

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

majority has been denied its fundamental human freedoms. Prominent black leaders have been imprisoned or exiled. Such laws as the Population Registration Act, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act remain unabolished. A racially segregated parliament remains in place while plans to sustain existing bantustans and create more remain intact. The mass media is strictly censored. Political trials and executions have continued to take place.*

Concerted opposition to and organized defiance of apartheid have stirred the conscience of the international community. National liberation movements, predominantly the banned African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), in collaboration with trade union federations and other anti-apartheid mass organizations including churches, have registered their abhorrence of the policies of apartheid.

In the light of that, the most pertinent questions to pose are these: For how long can the Government of South Africa continue to maintain its apartheid system? And how should that country's leadership's policies of reform be viewed?

It is my delegation's view that since the Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976 the seriousness of the problem of apartheid has had a tremendous impact not only on the black majority but also on the white population in South Africa. Many white proponents of apartheid are increasingly coming to the realization that the system has no future whatsoever, with the result that a good number of them have emigrated. The condemnation of apartheid by the Dutch Reformed Church, the bastion of Afrikanerdom, and the serious attempts by some bold leaders of white groups within South Africa to discuss in person with the ANC the future of South Africa are clear signals that that abhorrent system is doomed to failure.

* Mr. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

It must be reiterated that the intolerable system of apartheid cannot be reformed; rather it must of necessity be eradicated. While my delegation welcomes the recent release from prison of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven of his colleagues, we hope at the same time that it will be the beginning of a genuine peace initiative on the part of the South African Government, which has the basic responsibility for bringing about a negotiated solution to this explosive racial situation by peaceful means.

His Majesty's Government is on record as advocating a fundamental policy of peaceful dialogue and as considering that policies of repression and violence have never helped anybody. It is therefore the Kingdom's strongest belief that the South African authorities must create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful and meaningful negotiations with all the genuine leaders inside and outside South Africa with a view to establishing a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. That, however, would entail the lifting of the state of emergency and the unconditional release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and all other political parties and mass anti-apartheid groups and the return to South Africa, without pre-conditions, of all political exiles and refugees. That, we believe, would help create an atmosphere conducive to firm and concrete negotiations.

The policies of apartheid have had far-reaching consequences in the southern African region. Racial discrimination and oppression, which are highly characterized by violence, have not only led to heavy human losses and tremendous suffering but also weakened and then devastated the political, economic, social, cultural and military infrastructure in the southern African States.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

Since the establishment on 1 April 1980 of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), its nine member States have experienced South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization in the form of war damage, especially in Angola and Mozambique, higher defence spending, economic dislocation and the plight of refugees and displaced persons amounting to \$60 billion and with a death toll of over 1.3 million people.

In Mozambique alone, at least 400,000 people have lost their lives as a consequence of these acts of destabilization, and millions more have been forced to flee to neighbouring countries. In his statement delivered before the General Assembly on 12 October 1989, His Majesty King Mswati III of Swaziland expressed great concern at the problem of Mozambican refugees and displaced persons.

(Mr. Dlamini, Swaziland)

He stated:

"The continuing war affects Swaziland in many ways. The refugees fleeing the conflict are of particular concern to us, constituting at least 7 per cent of our total population. Fifty thousand refugees currently stretch our resources in land, finance and employment." (A/44/PV.30, pp. 8-10)

Our country is landlocked, with a population of 750,000 and a size of about 17,000 square kilometres. Moreover, it must be mentioned that the acts of destabilization in Mozambique have caused untold damage to many of the community schools and to at least 800 health centres, resulting in severe malnutrition and mortality as well as in the deprivation of half a million primary schoolchildren of educational opportunities. The increasing shortage of food supplies poses a grave threat while the dislocation of production and transport facilities has generally deprived many Mozambicans of economic rehabilitation.

Finally, my delegation is deeply concerned at the series of attacks, abductions and bombings by South African agents carried out against the opponents of apartheid, especially the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress in the SADCC States. There is, for instance, conclusive evidence that during the early hours of 12 December 1986 South African Government forces illegally invaded Swaziland, violently abducted four people and ruthlessly killed two of them.

Such destructive and destabilizing acts of aggression, which are a major threat to regional and international peace and security, have not only violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of these neighbouring countries but have also demonstrated a lack of respect for commitment to peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. POMPEY (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): We are pleased that Mr. Garba is presiding over this special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We are confident that his presidency will see us through to the successful conclusion of our deliberations.

My delegation also wishes to take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his special role in the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia and for his commitment to the struggle against apartheid.

We meet today against the backdrop of that historic first election in Namibia's transition to independence and encouraging signs from the Pretoria régime, which we hope are indications of the beginning of real progress in the initiation of a genuine process of dismantling apartheid. Despite those positive developments, the central pillars of apartheid still remain in place. The Public Safety Act of 1903, the 1960 laws banning the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Final Security Act of 1962, the legislation on the subjects of trespass and housing and work permits and other repressive legislation, which has been reformed and strengthened in some respects, continue to institutionalize the odious doctrine of apartheid.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines has consistently joined in the unanimous and repeated calls of the international community for an intensification of the international campaign to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. We share the view that it would be unwise at this point in time for the international community to lower its guard. We must maintain international pressure against South Africa. To this end we call upon all Member States to respect the sanctions already imposed by the United Nations and to take steps to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African régime until it complies with the just demands

(Mr. Pompey, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)

of the international community. These include repeal of the draconian press laws, the cessation of all political trials and executions, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the unconditional release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

The delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is of the firm conviction that the developments which have taken place in recent months are the direct results of both the pressure brought to bear by the heroic resistance inside South Africa and the effects of the severing of political, diplomatic, military, economic, sporting and cultural ties with South Africa. In this regard we fully endorse the comprehensive declaration on the question of South Africa adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity at its meeting in Harare, in August 1989, the Kuala Lumpur Statement on Southern Africa adopted by the Commonwealth Countries at their summit conference in October last, and the decisions pertinent to the issue which were taken at the ninth summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1989.

We are well aware that in recommending action against the policies of apartheid, it is also important to recognize the special status and situation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and especially Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Untold damage has been done to the economies of those countries because of apartheid. Yet the leaders of SADCC and the front-line States remain resolute in their support for the efficacy of sanctions, despite the obvious pain and suffering caused by South African destabilization. It was 29 years ago that Chief Albert Luthuli, the Nobel Prize winner, first called for economic sanctions. At that time he said:

(Mr. Pompey, Saint Vincent and
the Grenadines)

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price which we are willing to pay. In any case we suffer already. Our children are undernourished and on a small scale so far we die at the whim of a policeman."

In more recent times President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe had this to say:

"We are already suffering. How much more can we suffer? We support sanctions because it will shorten the time we must suffer."

The only way in which that time can be shortened is by the international community continuing to provide assistance to SADCC and the front-line States, thus enabling them to become economically less dependent on South Africa, while at the same time increasing international pressure for change in South Africa - change which must ultimately lead to the dismantling of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a new constitutional order based on respect for the principles of equal political, economic and social rights for all South Africans, regardless of race, language or religion.

(Mr. Pompey, St. Vincent
and the Grenadines)

On this day, the delegation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines would have wished the international community were meeting to celebrate the end of the abhorrent system of apartheid, but this is not the case. Once again, however, my country wishes to express its continuing solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and calls for an intensification of international action against the apartheid régime. We realize that only the complete eradication of the apartheid system will enable the South African people to find a peaceful solution to the serious problem facing it and the region of southern Africa.

In conclusion, the delegation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines wishes to pay a tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, which has discharged its mandate successfully for more than 25 years and has made a major contribution in raising public awareness of the evils of apartheid and in organizing international action against it.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): People, we are told, have hardly woken up to the sordid facts of apartheid, but through persuasion and moral or political pressure we have managed to have it acknowledged that the system is fundamentally unacceptable and that it must go. This is the apparently simplistic consensus which is the basis of all United Nations action, and it was on the strength of this consensus that the African States, supported by the non-aligned countries, the majority of third-world countries and also the socialist countries, for more than 25 years called for sanctions against the Pretoria régime, since Pretoria did not seem to be taking the warnings or the condemnations - and still less the possibility of collective enforcement action - seriously. Others, in spite of or because of their special responsibilities under the Charter, wished to retain, from this original consensus, only the verbal condemnation of the system,

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

and were happy to leave the question of an end to apartheid vague by retreating behind Article 2 of the Charter or the argument that the Government of South Africa was capable of reforming itself. There is no need at all to reopen the debate on the subject because we know all the negative effects that this dual interpretation had on the legitimate struggle of the South African people's national liberation movements: the struggle was stifled by the Pretoria régime's claims that it was the champion of the free world at the time.

Now we are letting it be said that a new situation or, rather, new situations are developing in southern Africa. Namibia will soon be independent; the return of peace to Angola and Mozambique, in spite of the vicissitudes caused by political machinations, is not such a far-fetched idea any more; black nationalism, as was shown by the recent conference for a democratic future, is reawakening in a rather spectacular, if not unexpected, way; the South African Government seems, according to its own logic of disinformation, to be ready to make some conciliatory gestures; and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is closing ranks in order better to deal with economic and political destabilization. The picture is fragmentary and confused, but the most optimistic or indulgent among us have already taken the few steps towards concluding that the conditions for opening a dialogue have been met. But we must face the fact that we are working on the basis of signs and not certainties, and so long as there is the slightest doubt, we have the duty to abide by the principles of the Charter, made clearer and strengthened by all the resolutions we have adopted to oppose apartheid and its adverse effects on the region. It will not be said of us that we sold out our South African brothers and did not fulfil our obligations and promises to the front-line States in return for illusions, however well presented.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

The main difficulty is that the problems southern Africa faces are closely linked; for example, the achievement of independence in Namibia would be of only relative importance if we were not assured that in that region peace, law, justice and security would be shared equitably, in accordance with the approach which seems to guide the rest of the world. Even if we agree that we may have reached the stage where apartheid, so-called petty apartheid, is now only a nightmare of the past - but one that lasted for a long time and deeply marked the personalities of three or four generations of South Africans; even if we agree that peace and harmony can be restored in South Africa and around it, after the heavy loss of human life, the influx of refugees and displaced persons, the destruction of infrastructures and the chaos in the socio-economic system; even if we agree that institutional apartheid is moving towards an accommodation - but one which in no wise accepts the sharing of power in accordance with democratic rules, since some circles in South Africa and elsewhere consider it their right to pre-empt such power: are we equally sure that democracy will decisively prevail, without a shadow of hegemony or repression, or the maintenance of bantustans? For reasons of convenience and expediency, a conciliatory attitude may be displayed, but the truth is that it will be difficult to change a mentality nourished and shaped by arrogance, ignorance, fundamentalism and a belief that those with that mentality are different or have a special mission.

We can make any number of hypotheses, then. What we have to do is pick and choose amongst them with care, so as not to be found lacking when we shall have to call for the application of our principles in order to protect the South African people's fundamental rights. Those rights have unfortunately not yet been recognized. Yet people are already saying that dialogue must come, forgetting the reception Pretoria gave the Lusaka Manifesto. It is true that our ideas and our

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

initiatives are now focused on the new Harare Declaration, but it would be an illusion and pointless to use this renewal of African generosity and the current international situation as pretexts for abandoning the sanctions policy without getting anything real in return. There was a time, 25 years ago, when the Foreign Ministers of Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Liberia and Madagascar, were given the mandate by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), to visit the capitals of the Security Council member countries to ask them to put diplomatic pressure on the South African régime and to agree to the sanctions provided for in the Charter. The most specious counter-arguments were put forward, and the results fell far short of what we had hoped. We had to wait until 1985 to wring from the Security Council the decisions of which we are all aware - and whose applications still leaves something to be desired. So do not ask us to give up so easily what we had to fight so hard to achieve. For if we wish to be consistent, are we to understand - having accepted that diplomatic pressure and sanctions go hand in hand - that the day sanctions are lifted bilateral action will stop, thus giving free rein to the arbitrary will of South Africa?

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

Sanctions are not eternal; they are not an end in themselves. They will become obsolete when there is a real desire on the part of South Africa and others to build a humane political society in South Africa, based on justice, equity, the effective observance of human rights and recognition of human dignity; to contribute to the economic rehabilitation of the front-line States - in particular, Angola and Mozambique - the victims of aggression, destabilization and the reckless, deliberate extension of apartheid beyond its borders; and, finally, to redefine and guarantee new relations between the States of the region, based on mutual respect and mutual benefit.

Apartheid will then have lost its *raison d'être*. A global society, acceptable to all sections of the South African people, the other peoples of southern Africa and international opinion, will emerge and become an irreversible reality. Then we shall be able to talk of significant dialogue, no longer based on the desire to rid ourselves of the problems of southern Africa at the least possible cost.

It may be said that we are taking back with one hand what we give with the other. But let us look at the example of what is happening in other regions of the world. There is no dialogue without preconditions or objectives. Despite our professions of faith here in the Assembly, the South African people has the right to self-determination according to circumstances and its own interests. All that we can do is to assist it in its various forms of struggle against apartheid, recall as often as is necessary the principles that we share, guarantee that the achievements of its revolution will not be exploited by opportunists and ensure by our stands that the environment is favourable to it.

Beyond that, it is up to the people of South Africa, and to it alone, to tell us whether it is ready to deal with the complexities of dialogue, to assume

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

responsibility for the consequences, which we hope will lead to the eradication of apartheid and the advent of a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa, reconciled with itself, its neighbours and the rest of Africa.

Mr. ERI (Papua New Guinea): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the three Member States of the Melanesian Spearhead Group - the Republic of Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea - on this important issue: apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

At the outset I wish to reaffirm the strong commitment to the total elimination of the world's most abhorrent political and socio-economic system, apartheid, by our respective Governments. We therefore join the international community in expressing our profound outrage over a system which is not only repressive, but totally inhuman. We believe that every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to the heroic struggle of those thousands of black South Africans, men, women and children, who have tried, and continue, to wage a struggle to liberate and preserve South Africa for all of its peoples.

In this regard, we pay tribute to all those people for their tolerance, forbearance and resilience, which are characteristic of a proud and cultured people. We appeal to the international community to close ranks with that people at all levels and fight with the objective of the complete eradication of apartheid and racist domination.

The message we have for the Pretoria régime is this: apartheid has failed; millions of South Africans - black, coloured, Indian and a growing number of white people, young and old, parents and children - all reject it.

The tragic incidents of Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 and the current defiance campaign all speak of this fact - unequivocal opposition to, and rejection of, apartheid.

(Mr. Eri, Papua New Guinea)

The anti-apartheid movements world-wide, the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity continue to apply pressure on the racist régime. The prospects of victory become brighter each day.

Namibia is finally at the crossroads of its independence. The agony, destruction and oppression which the Namibian people have suffered for more than a century are about to end. We salute the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Namibian people for their determination and tenacity in waging the long and bitter struggle for their God-given right to be free people. Their heroic struggle for freedom and independence has won the support and resolve of the world community.

While the historic Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is being implemented and the process of transition to Namibia's independence has been set in train, the Governments of the Melanesian Spearhead Group join others in paying tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his personal interest, dedication and diligence in fulfilling the trusteeship obligations of the United Nations for Namibia and its peoples.

Perhaps the changes under way in Namibia and the constitutional reforms in South Africa will be seen as the gauge for some signs of positive change in South Africa, but we believe it was the military pressure by SWAPO and its allies that brought Pretoria to the negotiating table in 1988. We are also of the view that the struggle of the South African people and the trade and economic sanctions imposed by certain Western countries and other members of the international community have impacted on the racist régime's economy. Those changes brought about the current possibility of political changes in South Africa.

Vague promises and such exercises as altering the machinery of apartheid - constitutional juggling - have often gone hand-in-hand with massive arrests and detentions, largely aimed at weakening the unity of the black South Africans.

(Mr. Eri, Papua New Guinea)

One of South Africa's strategies to perpetuate its racist régime has been to impose even tighter censorship on the print and other news media. This has involved the imprisonment of journalists and the banning of anti-apartheid newspapers and alternative news media.

Another notable repressive measure which Pretoria has employed successfully is to woo and pit one black group against another. As the Co-Chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa, the former Head of State of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, aptly described it, it is

"black-on-black violence, where they identify those they can arm, pay and organize into vigilantes, whom they unleash in the townships against opponents of apartheid."

(Mr. Eri, Papua New Guinea)

These and other repressive measures must be dismantled by South Africa to show its commitment to genuine political, social and economic reforms.

While our Governments are committed to the negotiating concept and its implementation, as presented by the Group of Eminent Persons, we are convinced that one of the prime conditions for victory is unity. We speak first of international unity. The international unity of which we speak draws all who support justice to support the people of South Africa.

We, the Melanesian people of the South Pacific, experienced apartheid-like conditions under colonialism. Today we have our political independence and are striving to help other Melanesian peoples gain theirs. We therefore appeal to all the people of South Africa, be they black, coloured, Indian or progressive whites, to unite into a strong and cohesive body to negotiate with Pretoria. The calibre and charisma of leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are catalysts in countering the divide-and-rule policy of South Africa.

However, the Pretoria régime must create a climate conducive to the opening of negotiations. This means that Pretoria must release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners who remain incarcerated. It must cease its reprisals against neighbouring States, lift restrictions on trade unions, print and news media and, most important, end its systematic violence against the opponents of apartheid, especially the black people of South Africa.

We believe that there are sufficient mechanisms in place to mount political, diplomatic and economic pressures on Pretoria. These must be increased and fully utilized. Effective co-ordination of these measures will intensify our collective efforts to rid the African continent of the last vestiges of white minority rule.

(Mr. Eri, Papua New Guinea)

These measures have, we believe, had a great impact on South Africa. They are not directed against the victims of apartheid; rather, they are collective measures designed to apply pressure on Pretoria to relent and bring about immediate and positive political changes. But let us not be complacent. We believe that more must be done, primarily by those countries that have stronger economic interests in South Africa. They must join the international community in the effort to completely dismantle the racist régime of South Africa.

Our Governments would firmly support any initiative by the international community for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We also support and endorse the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, which sets forth the basic conditions for initiating dialogue between the representatives of the people of South Africa and the Pretoria régime.

In conclusion, the Governments of the Melanesian countries in the South Pacific stand ready to support the people of South Africa who are the standard-bearers of the heroic struggle for racial harmony and freedom for all. Despite the immense distance which separates us, our rich cultures and traditions unite us across the miles.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation, it gives me pleasure to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his election to the presidency of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly and on the organizational skills and acuity he has displayed throughout the forty-fourth session. The special session will surely be particularly effective under his presidency, inasmuch as he is a son of militant Africa, the virtues of whose country need not be extolled, particularly in regard to combating racism and racial discrimination.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab
Emirates)

Over the past 40 years the General Assembly, in resolution after resolution, has condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity. We need not debate the crimes perpetrated by that régime in South Africa itself or against the front-line States, after the comprehensive and exhaustive statements made by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe at the opening of this special session.

Nor, is there any need for us to demonstrate that the changes undertaken by the new government in South Africa are merely cosmetic and superficial, neither touching on nor altering the substance of the policy of apartheid, which, according to the media, continues to be pursued. The media are overflowing with news of repression and detention of the black population by the South African authorities. There have been many developments in southern Africa this year. The elections, which have affirmed the independence of Namibia, are in the forefront of these developments, as are the quadripartite agreement on Angola and the release of some black political leaders from South African gaols. But undoubtedly the most important of the developments is the Harare Declaration of last August, which, in its substance and timing, has confirmed the credibility of the front-line African States and their determination to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation in southern Africa.

The Harare Declaration has formulated a clear and comprehensive plan of action which, if implemented, would provide the shortest and soundest way to save South Africa and the region as a whole from the horrors of racist apartheid - a system that constitutes an affront to all humanitarian values and concepts and an obstacle to economic development in the region.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

The conclusion that can be reached from the developments in the course of the past year is that political, economic and military pressures have yielded results and that the racist régime would have refused to negotiate had it not been for such pressures and, of course, the valiant African resistance against apartheid. We are convinced that the continuance and the stepping up of economic pressure through further measures would serve the ultimate objective we all seek, namely the complete dismantling and final eradication of apartheid.

As President Mugabe stated, one of the most serious loopholes in the current international position with regard to apartheid is Israel's role, whether in the military and nuclear field of collaboration or in the economic, cultural and scientific spheres.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

The racist régime in South Africa has found an ally in Israel that enables it to break out of its international isolation, to have access to international markets and to acquire sophisticated military technologies that cannot be obtained directly elsewhere. That collaboration between Israel and South Africa goes, by its very nature, far beyond everyday transactions to the level of strategic co-ordination, thereby posing a grave and constant threat to the Arab and African States, especially so since the ideological foundations of the two régimes are identical in approach and application, namely, the precepts of racial discrimination.

The United Arab Emirates is proud of its solid and full commitment to the resolutions of the General Assembly and those of the League of Arab States on the comprehensive boycott of the Pretoria régime. My country has no diplomatic, economic, cultural, sports, military or any relations whatsoever with South Africa, and has imposed a total ban on the exporting of oil - which is among its major exports - and petroleum derivatives to South Africa. We follow closely any breaches of the embargo by shipping companies to prevent their recurrence. Therefore, we unreservedly support the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and other nationalist organizations. We also support the struggle of the front-line States, whose independence and political and economic stability are imperilled by their standing up to the Pretoria régime. We salute the positions of principle adopted by those States and reiterate our full solidarity with them and with the struggle of the black majority in South Africa until apartheid is eradicated and peace and stability re-established in southern Africa.

We wish to reaffirm once again that the apartheid régime cannot be reformed nor modified. It must be eradicated. The only way to its elimination is by

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

evolving a clear and concerted international position that enables practical and effective measures to be taken so as not to leave any room for manoeuvring or bargaining for the racist régime.

We are confident that the torch of freedom that has dispelled the darkness in many parts of the world must ultimately shine forth in southern Africa. We believe that racism runs counter to human nature and that, just as it perished in other parts of the world, so will it ultimately be eliminated both in South Africa and in Palestine.

Mr. SEBURYAMO (Burundi) (interpretation from French): Allow me to associate myself with previous speakers in conveying once again my delegation's heartfelt and sincere congratulations to the President and the other officers of the General Assembly for the renewed trust bestowed upon them through being entrusted to guide this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

Apartheid is a blot on civilization. It is an anachronism that is abominable because it is clearly the most disturbing of all the forms of evil that cultivate a spirit of division and hatred. Hence, South Africa, which has institutionalized that racist system, is seen as the last bastion of slavery and colonization, phenomena that today's international community recognizes as obsolete.

Burundi, faithful to the principles of its foreign policy, has steadfastly condemned that policy of racial discrimination, which is totally unacceptable because it still openly flouts human values in general and life itself four decades after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The only future for that ignoble system is its immediate and unconditional elimination. It has been recognized that apartheid is an abhorrent crime. It is also a scourge that cannot be reformed but must be eradicated.

(Mr. Seburyamo, Burundi)

This special session gives us a further opportunity to work to change the situation of millions of human beings in southern Africa who are living under the yoke of the apartheid régime. We must take advantage of the current favourable international political climate in international relations to see to it that the winds of change also blow in that part of Africa, which has experienced that nightmare for too long.

To that end the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, to which Burundi lent its full support, is undoubtedly the "navigational manual" - to use the appropriate description employed yesterday by His Excellency Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe - to guide the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial society based on recognized democratic principles.

At the risk of contradicting some people we believe that there is nothing today that enables us to assert that the racist régime of Pretoria is prepared to march to the cadence of change that is now beating out a new rhythm in a part of Europe. The few superficial reforms and isolated gestures are insignificant and not very credible so long as they do not affect the foundations of the odious system of apartheid.

We therefore urge the international community to increase its vigilance and to intensify its pressures on South Africa, for those so-called reforms might simply be diverting international opinion from the real roots of the evil. The international community must not give credence to the professions of faith being made by the South African authorities until certain pre-conditions are met, for example, until all discriminatory laws, which form the basis for that much-denigrated policy, are abrogated; until an end is put to the state of emergency; until Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners are unconditionally released and until the terror unleashed against anti-apartheid

(Mr. Seburyamo, Burundi)

fighters is stopped and true and sincere negotiations are entered into with the majority of the South African people.

In every forum in which it has been called upon to do so my country has always brought forward those conditions, which we believe constitute an indivisible but minimal body of actions that must be demanded from the South African régime before it can be given any credibility.

(Mr. Seburyamo, Burundi)

The destructive consequences of apartheid have spread beyond the borders of South Africa. Countries neighbours of the racist régime have suffered its terrible repercussions. More than once South Africa has engaged in all manner of destabilizing manoeuvres, violence and destruction against the front-line States. The material and human cost of this cynical, bloody game is incalculable, although the figures of \$60 billion since 1980 and the loss of 1.5 million lives have been put forward, not to mention the displaced persons, the refugees, the undernourished or uneducated children or the thousands of disabled.

The enormous economic and human price paid by the front-line States is part of a deliberate strategy to keep those independent States economically dependent on South Africa and even somewhat submissive politically towards their powerful neighbour.

That situation is intolerable for the region, and the international community should consider and redouble its efforts to put an end to that outlawed régime. The international community should unite and mobilize its energies to meet the challenge before it.

In that connection, we consider that before apartheid can actually be eliminated, we must continue and intensify our efforts and impose new sanctions against the Pretoria régime. Experience has shown us that that may be the only way to influence rapid change in South Africa, even if some are not convinced of that. Together with the strict implementation of those measures, the international community should also mobilize to assist all victims of apartheid.

I wish in conclusion to reiterate the support of the Government of Burundi for the liberation movements in South Africa, which represent the genuine aspirations of the black population of that country, in particular the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

(Mr. Seburyamo, Burundi)

My Government's action is supported by the National Movement of Support for Southern Africa, a non-profit organization whose activities provide moral and material support for the victims of apartheid and which participates in the national and international campaign against the modern world's most degrading system.

Burundi sincerely hopes that the unanimous spirit at the time of the convening of this special session means that our deliberations will lead to an international consensus by which all States can work together towards the speedy, total elimination of apartheid.

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): It is over 40 years now since Pretoria adopted its apartheid policy as an institutional framework for the racist practices of the white minority. The aim was and continues to be the monopoly of political power, total control of the economy and the enslavement and exploitation of the black majority which is subjected to every form of repression and injustice and deprived of the most basic of human rights.

Since the adoption of that policy, the international community has denounced it in numerous General Assembly resolutions because it flagrantly violates the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and flies in the face of all the norms of decent human conduct.

However, the Pretoria régime took the position of defying the will of the international community, flouting the resolutions of the United Nations and disdaining world public opinion. Obviously, that régime has decided to live outside the dictates of both human conscience and civilized behaviour.

The African majority did not sit idly by. It rebelled in defence of its dignity and rejected the enslavement embodied in that loathsome policy. In this, it has been supported by the majority of the world's nations. The United Nations imposed sanctions under the Charter, and called for an economic and military

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

boycott by its Members of South Africa in the hope that that government would change its policies.

But the South African government persisted in its policies. It did this against the backdrop of assistance and support extended to it by a number of States which encouraged it to ignore world public opinion, flout United Nations resolutions, and persist in torturing and persecuting the black majority. With that end in view, it imposed the state of emergency, detained thousands and resorted to violence, torture and murder.

Recently, there have been certain developments designed to give the impression that there is some hope that the situation in South Africa may improve. In reality, however, nothing has changed. The lot of the black majority has not improved. That majority is still denied the most basic of rights. So long as the policy of apartheid continues to be institutional in South Africa, the black majority will continue to be deprived of the right to participate in democratic political life. The recent changes which are being touted are merely cosmetic and palliative. They are not a radical or lasting remedy.

The liberation movement and the economic and political pressure that has been brought to bear on apartheid have contributed to the undermining of that policy and given us hope that if the international community redoubles its efforts and takes a concerted stand, apartheid will be eliminated.

However, the ongoing co-operation by certain States with the government of South Africa obstructs the elimination of that racist policy. There is no doubt that the Security Council's sanctions would be more effective were South Africa not aided and abetted by those States.

It is that assistance that has enabled the Pretoria régime to acquire a nuclear capability and, thereby, become a military power that threatens peace and security not only in southern Africa but in the continent of Africa as a whole.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

That was done in defiance of United Nations resolutions which imposed an embargo on arms supplies to the racist régime.

A grave development in this context has been the increased collaboration between that régime and Israel. Israel has given the South African régime the assistance and technology that have enabled it to develop nuclear weapons and the missiles capable of delivering such weapons. This flagrantly contradicts Pretoria's protestations that it is determined to embark on a new policy. What it is embarking on, in actual fact, is a bid for more military clout, more repression of the black majority and more intimidation of the front-line States. The ultimate aim, of course, is the perpetuation of the policy of apartheid.

There is only one option open to the international community: it must persist in its efforts to eradicate the loathsome policy of apartheid, which flies in the face of every human value.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at its ninth Summit Conference, which was held recently, has called for this. The Special Committee against Apartheid has also called for this and, indeed, alerted the international community and world public opinion to the dangers inherent in Pretoria's policy. It has called for a united front against apartheid. For this, it deserves praise.

The General Assembly must not be taken in by the semblance of reform or the illusion of change. It must insist on justice, democracy and equality for the whole of southern Africa. It must warn the Pretoria régime that efforts will proceed relentlessly until the policy of apartheid has been totally eradicated.

Mr. NOOR (Afghanistan): The verdict of the international community on apartheid is clear-cut: this inhuman and abhorrent system must be dismantled and must be replaced by a free, democratic and non-racial system of government. Apartheid cannot be reformed because its blindness and insensitivity to basic humanity and to human values are so total that they leave no room for human rights

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

and dignity to assert themselves. Apartheid reformed would still be apartheid and, thus, would remain evil and unacceptable to humanity.

The state of emergency declared by the Pretoria racist régime has, over the years, merely strengthened the hand of the minority régime to subject the black and other non-white majority of South Africa to Draconian laws. Thus freed from legal constraints, the police and the army have resorted, with impunity, to random and brutal killing and torture. The wave of repression, murder and torture has taken the lives of so many South African sons and daughters. The lives even of small children have not been spared.

The policy of bantustanization perpetrated by the Pretoria racist régime is aimed at effectively confining the majority of the black population of South Africa to an area that represents less than 30 per cent of the country and consists mainly of barren and unproductive land that is not capable of supporting those people. The black-majority people living outside the bantustans are deprived of the rights and privileges of citizenship in their own country. Forceful and cruel displacement of hundreds of thousands of black people has also resulted from this oppressive policy.

Human progress and civilization dictate that the system of apartheid cannot survive for ever. It cannot survive because humanity as a whole cannot tolerate its existence and, more important, because the people of South Africa will not allow it to exist. Those people have risen to defend their human rights and dignity, to eradicate the shameful phenomenon of apartheid, and to establish a free, democratic and non-racial system in their land.

Under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and other national liberation movements, the people of South Africa have launched a liberation struggle that is bound to be victorious. We salute their courage and resolve, and we express our full support for and solidarity with their noble

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

cause. We also voice our full support for the front-line States in southern Africa, which are targeted by the Pretoria régime for destabilization, aggression and acts of sabotage.

My delegation welcomes the Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on southern Africa, which was adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989. Endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Declaration advocates peaceful change in South Africa - putting an end to apartheid and replacing it with a democratic and non-racial system. We welcome also the recently held conference for a democratic future in South Africa, in which the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements of the country participated. The readiness - clearly voiced at the conference - for negotiation with the white-minority Government is testimony to the principled position of South Africans who are fighting for a democratic and non-racial system. Now it is up to the Pretoria régime to abandon the impossible dream of perpetuating apartheid and to enter honestly into constructive negotiations with the representatives of the majority. The successful conclusion of such negotiations towards the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa in which every citizen of the country, irrespective of race or colour, would enjoy equal rights, is the only peaceful alternative to a violent transformation of South African society.

To this end, the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the lifting of all bans and restrictions, and ending the state of emergency are some of the steps that the Pretoria régime must take before meaningful dialogue can begin. The adoption of a new constitution enshrining the principle of a united, free, democratic and non-racial society and the form of government - and this is what the negotiations must focus on - will pave the way for the ending of apartheid in a peaceful and orderly manner.

(Mr. Noor, Afghanistan)

In the meantime, it is necessary for the international community to increase all forms of pressure on Pretoria to enter into and conclude an honest and constructive dialogue. The General Assembly, at this special session, must send to Pretoria the strongest possible signal that this body and the international community have every resolve to tighten sanctions, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, against the racist régime until that régime demonstrates its willingness to work, through serious negotiation with the liberation movements, to dismantle apartheid for a speedy transition to a democratic and non-racial system.

Mr. DAZA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): This sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of apartheid, offers two symbolic elements that hold promise for the resolution of a matter so profoundly disturbing to the international community.

First, the fact that Ambassador Garba is presiding over this session is a guarantee that serious efforts will be made to overcome the devastating moral and material effects of apartheid. He has been and is deeply involved in the African peoples' struggle for freedom and the ceaseless efforts to secure a life in dignity for all human beings. One of the most important manifestations of such a life is the elimination of all racial discrimination.

Secondly, we must emphasize that this special session is being held at a time when we genuinely perceive the beginning of an era in the life of the international community in which peace and co-operation occupy a privileged position. Tensions are diminishing everywhere and a vital momentum towards freedom and understanding is replacing aggressiveness and dogmatism. Apartheid has no place in that new era.

My country's history has been associated with the securing of the fundamental equality of human beings, based on rights which are higher than those of the State and which must constitute a guarantee for the entire social structure.

When Chile attained its independence almost 180 years ago, that equality was consolidated in the constitutional texts drafted and put into effect by the first Governments of the Republic. We thus have an institutional, political and social process identified since the birth of freedom in Chile with that higher principle which the Chilean people has never relinquished.

That historical imperative, the Chileans' deep conviction that all men are born free and equal, explain the consistent position maintained by Chile over many years in the Organization particularly in the Special Committee on decolonization and the Council for Namibia. It also explains the steadfast pronouncements against

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

the policy and practise of apartheid made again and again by the Chilean Ministers for Foreign Affairs who have attended sessions of the General Assembly.

All that in turn explains the satisfaction with which we have observed the process of Namibian independence, which undoubtedly constitutes one of the most far-reaching events the international community has experienced in recent years, when we bear in mind its great significance for world peace and for ensuring a life in dignity for human beings.

In addition to congratulating the Namibian people on the example it has set for the world, we should like to emphasize here that that event is a happy coincidence with the convening of this special session and a reason for optimism about the search for ways of overcoming apartheid. I say that because, in being allowed to take the road of freedom and democracy, the Namibian people has definitively left the odious effects of racial segregation behind.

We have the privilege of being not only observers but also active participants in the achievements that are modifying the face of the world in a positive manner. A fervent desire for greater political freedom and social and economic progress has sprung up in places where only despair and dogmatism had hitherto prevailed. With their exorcism, men and women who had lived under oppression rose to demand of their leaders new ways of life in harmony with the dignity inherent in every human being.

It appears that the leaders of South Africa also do not wish to remain on the fringes of the new spirit that is vitalizing mankind. We have observed that the Government of President De Klerk has adopted some measures, which we venture to regard as encouraging, designed to renounce, at least in part, policies and practices whose elimination all the nations of the world had for many years been demanding abolished because they were contrary to and incompatible with the very essence of our civilization.

(Mr. Daza, Chile)

Nevertheless, although we would like to believe that the South African leaders are inspired by goodwill and will persist in their efforts, we are of the view that apartheid does not admit of partial measures to improve its image or of mere modifications of form, no matter how profound they may be. In the opinion of Chile and its people, the only acceptable measure is the definitive elimination of the policy and practice of apartheid and all other manifestations of discrimination in the world.

The fundamental task of the United Nations - the strengthening of peace around the world - will remain unfulfilled as long as apartheid persists within the international community.

Mr. KHAMSY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is pleased to see Ambassador Garba presiding over this special session of the General Assembly devoted to a particularly compelling question which has utmost importance at present - the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. His great experience and his well-known and highly appreciated activities at the head of the Special Committee against Apartheid surely constitute a guarantee for the success of our meetings. In carrying out his task, he can count on the complete co-operation of our delegation.

The United Nations Charter, which speaks out clearly in favour of the dignity and equality of all human beings, irrespective of their race or the colour of their skin, was adopted in 1945. Just one year later, in 1946, outraged by the heinous practice of racial discrimination in South Africa by the white minority in power, the General Assembly took up the question, which was debated for the first time, in the hope of seeing it disappear for ever from the face of the earth.

Instead of complying with the demands of the civilized world and abiding by the relevant recommendations of the international community, the South African

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

Government chose to intensify, particularly against the black majority, the policy of segregation and repression that it had institutionalized by that time in the apartheid régime. It must be recognized in that connection that the commitment and the efforts of our world Organization in the struggle against that inhuman régime over the years are more than commendable and should be highly appreciative.*

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

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

The General Assembly has rightly declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity and constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first article of which proclaims that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights".

The world in which we live is changing, in an atmosphere of general relaxation of tension. Indeed everywhere we have been witnessing for some time a redoubling of the efforts to promote mutual understanding, détente and constructive dialogue in the search for solutions to the most crucial problems facing mankind, particularly those concerning the peace and security of peoples and their fundamental right to freedom and self-determination. In view of this positive development towards peace and international brotherhood, it is sad and indeed repugnant to note that the Pretoria Government still persists in imposing its immoral and criminal régime on millions of human beings in the lands of their ancestors merely because of their colour and it seems unwilling to undertake any basic initiative to dismantle this heinous system.

Hence, to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the black majority population South Africa has chosen to use the most repressive and brutal means, ranging from the reimposition of the state of emergency, for the fourth consecutive year, leading to mass arrests and detentions and summary executions, to kidnappings and assassinations. The activities of groups of armed civilians and death squads which terrorize defenceless populations are not only tolerated but encouraged by the authorities. The Draconian censorship of the press to conceal from the rest of the world the violations of human rights, the measures of prohibition, the forced population removals and the political trials are all part of the repressive strategy of the Pretoria Government.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

Among the approximately 3,500 political detainees are included trade unionists, students, community and religious leaders, journalists and mass movement activists. Many of them have been subjected to ill-treatment and torture and have been languishing for years in prison. It has been indicated that 40 persons have been executed this year, while others, whose death penalty has already been pronounced, are only awaiting execution.

Because of its destabilizing effects, the criminal policy of apartheid has also spilled over into the countries neighbouring South Africa. Armed incursions and raids against the front-line States have caused an enormous toll of death and destruction and in some cases destroyed broad economic infrastructures. Pretoria has also armed and equipped bandits and other traitors in its pay in order to make it possible to maintain in those States, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, an atmosphere of perpetual insecurity, thereby seriously undermining their economic development programmes.

Some circles known for their good will towards the Pretoria Government seem inclined to admit that Mr. De Klerk has seriously committed himself to undertaking in-depth reforms of the apartheid system. We have noted that there have certainly been some changes recently, but they are really only superficial, because the nature and the structure of apartheid still remain the same, with the maintenance of the rights of certain groups and the maintenance of white superiority. Actually it would be quite naive to talk about reform, for, in view of the nature of the system, we know that it cannot be reformed. In South Africa apartheid must be abolished or eliminated and replaced by a democratic system that is not based on prejudices of race, colour or belief.

In Namibia, if the South African Government agreed to enter into negotiations concerning the process leading to the Territory's independence, surely it was not

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

because of Pretoria's good will. The reversals it suffered on the battlefield in the south of Angola, the growing international pressure, the economic sanctions adopted by many countries and the courageous struggle and sacrifices of the people of the region, under the leadership of their respective national liberation movements, all helped to bring about the changes we have noted. The international community should not in any way be swayed by promises of freedom and superficial changes. Since apartheid cannot be reformed or liberalized, the pressure must be maintained and strengthened, and comprehensive and mandatory sanctions such as those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter must be applied against Pretoria.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes to reiterate its firm support for and solidarity with the peoples that are victims of South Africa's apartheid, under the banner of the African National Congress, the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, and the front-line States in their just struggle to regain their fundamental rights to human dignity and self-determination, to achieve complete national independence and to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We associate ourselves with the international community in calling on Pretoria to end its political trials and the executions of patriots, to free unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners and detainees still in prison, to eliminate all the bans and restrictions on organizations and individuals, to withdraw all troops from the townships, to lift the state of emergency and to abrogate the laws designed to limit the political activities of the black population and coloured communities.

It is only by taking such measures and agreeing to undertake political negotiations with the African National Congress and other patriotic movements that Pretoria will be truly able to claim that it has started along the path towards the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial society.

(Mr. Khamsy, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

In this spirit, my country fully supports the Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the question of South Africa adopted on 21 August 1989 in Harare and endorsed by the ninth summit conference of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade in its final documents.

Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): The active and highly effective role that Ambassador Garba has personally played as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid over the past five years makes it doubly appropriate that he should now preside at this special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. It will be further testimony to his well-known commitment and outstanding diplomatic skills when this special session adopts the action-oriented plan drafted by the Special Committee to bring about the speedy and peaceful dismantling of the universally abhorred system of apartheid.

The winds of change which are blowing strongly across the world have already brought changes in areas where that was thought impossible only a few months ago. The pace of those changes has been so rapid and their scope so extensive that their impact cannot yet be fully grasped. What is clear, however, is that a different world order is in the process of forming, the consequences and ramifications of which will be far-reaching, altering significantly the course of human history.

In this climate of dynamic social and political change and transformation, the apartheid régime of South Africa faces an historic opportunity to rid itself of an obsolete and universally condemned legacy. The international community must co-operate to ensure that this historic opportunity is not wasted. Indeed, in the words of the President, a joint venture between the international community and the entire people of South Africa is called for to bring about concrete and meaningful resolution of the complex problems and issues emanating from the policy and practices of apartheid.

The Declaration on the Question of South Africa, enunciated by the Organization of African Unity at Harare last August, is a far-sighted statement of principles and provides a constructive basis for a dialogue between the Pretoria régime and the genuine representatives of the people of South Africa. That

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

dialogue must begin now. The Government of South Africa, for its part, must demonstrate by concrete action that it is serious about its stated wish to move towards "a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

(A/S-16/1, p. 2)

Many forces within South Africa have for many years called for fundamental changes in the country's political system. The clamour has become urgent as overwhelming numbers across the whole spectrum of South Africa's peoples realize that time is running out. The recent historic Johannesburg Declaration of the Conference for a Democratic Future, amongst other things, called for intensified pressures as a means of expediting genuine negotiations towards the total abolition of the apartheid system.

In the turmoil generated by the apartheid régime, for too many years now the front-line States have borne a crippling burden, incalculable in human terms, and some \$60 billion in financial cost over the past eight years. Those countries must continue to receive the international support necessary to help them cope with the massive destabilization activities directed against them by the apartheid régime.

The people of Namibia, after many years of repressive colonialism, only last month successfully exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and are well on the way to independence. United Nations involvement, although 11 years late in being allowed to implement the independence plan, was instrumental in smoothing the way once the political will for a settlement had been confirmed. We look forward to welcoming Namibia as the hundred and sixtieth Member of the United Nations.

In the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa the United Nations could again play a useful facilitating role, providing the impartiality and oversight which would give comfort to and allay the suspicions of those doubtful of South Africa's real motives; but in the final analysis it is up to the people of South Africa

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

themselves to solve their problems in their own way. Given good will and a determination on the part of all the parties involved to negotiate a solution, there is every reason to hope for a successful outcome.

A great deal of suspicion persists over South Africa's sincerity and credibility. The release in October of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners, was a sign of the thawing of South Africa's policy and attitude towards political activists, but the change of heart must be further confirmed by the release of all the remaining political prisoners, especially Mr. Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the removal of the ban on political organizations if the South African authorities are to be taken seriously.

It is a fact of international politics that some countries have more influence on world events than others. In the affairs of southern Africa the final settlement of the impasse over Namibia confirmed this truth. It is therefore incumbent on those countries to mobilize their collective influence to expedite South Africa's acceptance of fundamental concessions as a tangible manifestation of their commitment to working towards a solution. The Security Council, and especially the permanent members, have a special responsibility in this regard.

This special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa provides the opportunity to harness international consensus, to secure the necessary political commitment and to adopt a pragmatic plan of action to bring the abhorrent apartheid system to a speedy end.

Mr. STANISLAUS (Grenada): It pleases my delegation to see Ambassador Garba presiding over the special session devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, a problem on which he has been working long and hard, having skilfully and effectively chaired the Special Committee against Apartheid here at the United Nations.

(Mr. Stanislaus, Grenada)

The time constraint imposed by the large number of informed and eloquent speakers participating in the special session devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa conjures up a quotation from William Shakespeare: "Brevity is the soul of wit." In that spirit, therefore, and with that in mind, my delegation's statement will go down as one of the shortest in this session.

A social, political and economic cauldron has been boiling for some time now, under the very noses of those who adhere to the odious, outmoded and obnoxious system of apartheid in South Africa as an instrument of public policy. They refuse to heed the heat and to see the handwriting on the wall, that apartheid is doomed and that sooner or later the walls will come tumbling down.

In their greed to hold on to power, the adherers to this iniquitous system practise the unjust absurdity of the tyranny of the minority over the majority.

"Power concedes nothing, it never has and never will." So spoke the great black American abolitionist Frederick Douglass, of beloved and revered memory in 1863, on the occasion of the abolition of slavery.

The South African minority will not voluntarily relinquish its stranglehold on the South African majority. Power has to be wrested from them, and in that noble pursuit the South African anti-apartheid movement can be further aided by the international community, acting decisively, resolutely and unitedly, in the application of compulsory and mandatory economic sanctions and other pressures against the South African régime.

The beloved Grenadian patriarch and revered Caribbean patriot, T. Albert Marryshow, wrote in 1917 in a series entitled "Cycles of Civilization", a veritable treasure in the Caribbean archives, that the civilized world would have to come to grips with the racist policies of South Africa. That was 1917 - long

(Mr. Stanislaus, Grenada)

before there were many independent African States, long before the United Nations. Marrayshow was then attacking Jan Smuts, one of the early architects of the emerging apartheid practice.

The destructive consequences of apartheid are well documented. The physical consequences such as the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, the murders, maiming and other forms of cruel and inhumane treatment, meted out to children and old people, innocent men and women, imprisonment without charge or trial, the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the bantustan system, the pillaging of the best land, the heavy financial burden to maintain the diabolical system and the destabilization of the front-line States - all those are but a part of the litany of physically destructive consequences of apartheid in southern Africa.

(Mr. Stanislaus, Grenada)

Not so easily measured and seen however are the psychologically destructive consequences of apartheid. Many traumatic and psychological scars remain with the victims of this cruel and inhumane treatment in their own land. And since apartheid appeals to the lowest instincts of man, a combination of two evils, racial hatred and intolerance, the practitioners of this iniquitous and barbaric system are hurt more than they realize by their consuming hatred and indifference.

The Grenada delegation remains cautiously optimistic that we have seen the worst in apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa; that the words of H.W. Longfellow, "the lowest ebb is at the turn of the tide", can be applied to a change in direction leading to the eventual eradication of this scourge. The international community must, however, remain vigilant to the possibility that there might be new faces in Pretoria with the same old purpose and intent.

We applaud the heroic fighters in South Africa and in southern Africa - living and dead - imbued with the determination that in order to arrive at their destination they must sail sometimes with the wind, sometimes against the wind, sometimes with the tide, sometimes against the tide, but sail they must - not drift or lie at anchor.

My delegation is pleased to have allowed extra time for the next speaker, the representative of Nicaragua, to make what we anticipate will be a substantive, informative and eloquent statement. Therefore, I end on the note of brevity where I began, by quoting an eminent speech professor, namely: "When you are asked to speak, all that is necessary is a good beginning and a good ending, but the closer the ending is to the beginning the better the statement".

Mr. SERRANO CALDERA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): Speaking on behalf of Nicaragua in the General Assembly, I wish to reaffirm the responsibility of the entire international community and the United Nations as a whole with regard to the freeing of the South African people. Apartheid, in addition to the theological considerations that could be made, violates a biological, sociological and moral principle. It destroys the essential fundamental solidarity linking all human beings as members of the same species. It makes it impossible to mould society on rational bases of human coexistence and assails the ethical foundations, both individually and collectively, inasmuch as it causes inequality and injustice. It is, as has been affirmed, a crime against humanity and an historical aberration, for no policy can be based on the denial of a fundamental right.

The struggle against racism has been and is the inescapable duty of all peoples. And for this reason, from this rostrum, we appeal to all countries, organizations and individuals committed to freedom in the world to lend the most resolute support to the people of South Africa to achieve and fully enjoy their fundamental human rights, namely, the right to life, equality before the law, freedom, and all the civil and political rights which they have been denied.

For some time now we have started to see changes to the status quo in international relations which appear to be creating a new world scene and giving hope for a new era of peace, disarmament and liberty. However, to what extent will these changes, which we all welcome, take into account the peoples who have been exploited and humiliated for centuries? To what extent will they take into account the fate of millions of men, women and children dying of hunger or disease caused by malnutrition and want? To what extent will account be taken of the fact that there are continents that have been plundered and degraded, and that there are vast masses stripped not only of material property but of fundamental dignity as human beings? Will enough thought be given to the fact that so long as there is poverty

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

and exploitation there will be no peace and that hunger and social and economic injustice among human beings and peoples of the world are the root causes of war?

How much consideration will be given to the yearnings of peoples struggling against colonialism and discrimination, a legitimate activity to secure their liberation and to acquire their dignity and fundamental rights? We hope that they will succeed, because otherwise the causes of war and desolation will not have been abolished and any arrangement, however powerful the interlocutors may be, will be ineffective, and any agreement, however necessary it may be, will be insufficient, because it will be incomplete and hemiplegic.

The world, for better or for worse, is today inevitably interdependent and solutions, in order to be effective, must take into account everyone, not only just a few.

We have witnessed the enormous efforts made by the United Nations and the Secretary-General in the search for political and negotiated solutions to various conflicts. In this connection, we welcome the independence of Namibia, which has entailed for its people a lengthy struggle and sustained efforts in order to free itself of colonialism, and also the holding of elections, in accordance with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

These efforts made by the large majority of the international community, have not, unfortunately, had a significant impact on the internal situation in South Africa or in that country's relations with the brotherly front-line countries. The heinous apartheid system persists in South Africa basically unchanged. Overwhelming evidence shows that the majority black population continues to be oppressed, discriminated against, murdered; suffice it to mention in this connection the interminable imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the assassination of the Uppington and Sharpeville martyrs and the indiscriminate repression of the majority of the population.

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

In addition, South Africa's continual acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring countries persist, taking a great toll in terms of human life and of damage to the economy and the infrastructure of these countries. The repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States and the persistence of apartheid remain the fundamental causes of the crisis in southern Africa, and they are also a threat to international peace and security.

Nicaragua endorses the Declaration on the Question of Southern Africa adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, last August. This document, which is of great importance, formulates viable, well-designed proposals for negotiations between the white governing minority of South Africa and the black majority, with a view to finding a real and just solution to the problem of apartheid and achieving a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

In this connection, my Government identifies itself fully with the Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries adopted in Belgrade in September. In their Declaration those Heads of State or Government express unanimous support for the Declaration on the Question of South Africa adopted by the OAU. Nicaragua unreservedly supports the struggle of the black people of South Africa, whose legitimate representatives are the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.

My delegation, like all other delegations in favour of human freedom and fundamental human rights, believes that this special session is an excellent opportunity to help eliminate the apartheid régime. We trust that the session will produce tangible and substantive results. Accordingly, it is necessary that the international community, and in particular the Security Council, to which the Charter of the United Nations entrusts the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, bring every possible pressure to

(Mr. Serrano Caldera, Nicaragua)

bear so that an end may be put to the apartheid régime once and for all. The General Assembly, at this special session, must also urge all States, unilaterally or collectively, to impose or expand economic and trade sanctions against the apartheid régime.

The international community must choose between continuation of the constant, ever-escalating conflict in southern Africa and the imposition of sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which is considered to be the most appropriate and most effective method of ensuring South Africa's compliance with the decisions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council.

There is no doubt that the racist South Africa régime is holding on with the direct or indirect support of powerful allies, which are at the same time the economic beneficiaries of this system of exploitation and repression. The General Assembly, at this special session, must make an appeal to these Governments not to oppose the call of the international community but to facilitate the imposition of comprehensive, binding sanctions on South Africa.

Apartheid is a moral scourge on anyone who practises it, but it is also a blight on the entire human family. Its abolition is an historical necessity and will be an act of social justice and universal purification. Our support for its abolition is therefore unreserved, and we believe totally that the international community must yield not one inch in its struggle. The elimination of apartheid will be an act of absolute justice and integral freedom, both of which are essential if we are to aspire to a truly human and peaceful world with dignity.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), of 22 November 1974, and resolution 43/177, of 15 December 1988, I call on the Chairman of the Observer delegation of Palestine.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine): This Hall is witnessing an historic event, a landmark in the history of the achievements of the United Nations. The decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly to address a menace, a crime against humanity - namely, apartheid - is indicative of the need for an organization such as this and with such purposes, and for its contribution towards the achievement of peace, justice and the welfare of humanity.

It is the more significant that the Heads of State of Zambia and of Zimbabwe decided to make personal contributions to highlight the event.

To you, Sir, both as President of the General Assembly at this special session and as Chairman of the Committee against Apartheid, my delegation wishes to express respect and appreciation for your endeavours and leadership.

The fact that a great number of dignitaries - Heads of Government, foreign ministers and special delegates - are participating adds to the importance and significance of this special session, which is the first to address the issue of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. In a way, such destructive consequences have been catalogued, and we are not here to do more cataloguing. The crimes are very well known and have been condemned on several occasions.

These consequences are not only destructive to southern Africa but spread out to all of Africa and the entire world. Apartheid is the rotten apple in the barrel, and must be removed - the sooner, the better. Through the work of the Committee against Apartheid and the deliberations in the international forums the malady has been diagnosed, and we are here to prescribe a remedy and to put that remedy to use. We know that the dismantling of the apartheid system can be achieved only by the enforcement of mandatory comprehensive sanctions, permitting a democratic, free, one-person-one-vote system. Of course, some circles will express pity, saying that such sanctions are detrimental to the poor indigenous population.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

Those same circles seem to ignore the fact that one of the factors that helped to expedite the independence process in Namibia was international pressure. Such pressure and the threat of the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions compelled the Pretoria régime to accept and carry out Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this context we wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations team that supervised the implementation of that resolution. But we also know that, by their behaviour, our comrades-in-arms, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), manifested their political maturity and their sense of responsibility. They did represent the perseverance and determination of the Namibian people to achieve their rights, and they won recognition by the Namibian people.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

For its survival the Pretoria régime depends on the immoral and criminal support it receives from certain sources. His Excellency President Mugabe stated:

"... thanks to Israel's shameful collaboration with Pretoria, it now appears that Pretoria has regained its supremacy in the skies over southern Africa through its acquisition of the Jericho-type intermediate-range strategic missiles, which are capable of hitting all our capitals ... Israel has chosen to travel such a low road by propping up the defences of racism".

(A/S-16/PV.1, p. 48)

The Pretoria régime depends as well on economic ties, in particular with Israel, which serves as the back door to Western Europe and the United States. The Pretoria régime depends on spreading lies and falsehoods.

For the benefit of our friends and comrades-in-arms in South Africa, the freedom fighters, we wish to mention some of our experiences with the other racist régime, which occupies our homeland, suppresses our people and denies us our fundamental and inalienable rights.

As international consciousness and pressure grew, the régime in Pretoria released a few detainees, hoping that the world would forget about the 3,000 other detainees and about an entire nation held hostage. Palliatives such as a meeting with Nelson Mandela are neither the remedy nor the cure. Apartheid is incorrigible; it must be eradicated. I say this in the light of the increased consciousness and awareness of the need to achieve peace in the Middle East through the International Peace Conference under the auspices of the United Nations. And here Israel engages in a verbal campaign designed to undermine and divert attention and support. They call it "elections", but Israel refuses to spell out the purpose of those elections. Nor does it offer any guarantees that it will respect the results of such elections, which are planned to take place under the bayonets of

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

Israeli occupation troops, while almost 14,000 Palestinians are held arbitrarily in detention camps. Israel shows no sign of carrying out its obligation to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territory; rather, it insists on calling it "Judea and Samaria" - in other words, what the South African régime calls "group areas".

In Pretoria the National Party earlier this year adopted a five-year plan, as we were reminded by His Excellency President Kaunda - a plan that does not address the issue of apartheid. In Israel the Likud Party, the Party in power, adopts a plan that insists on holding on to the occupied Palestinian territory. Both plans are aimed at perpetuating the two régimes' control and domination over what they have acquired by force, and from there to pursue their policies and practices in order to create havoc and destabilize the areas.

The Harare Declaration by the Organization of African Unity is the prelude to peace and stability. We believe that the measures outlined therein should be given a chance and put to the test. Apartheid and all other forms of racism are not reformable or modifiable. Such forms and policies, ideologies and practices are incorrigible and must be eradicated. We believe this message should go out from here to the members of the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, who are under an international obligation to remove this threat to international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401 statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): Had it not been for the statement made by the representative of the Zionist entity this afternoon and its complete departure from the truth concerning the real racist, colonialist and expansionist nature of zionism, I would not have bothered to reply. As the matter stands, however, I find it necessary to define the common denominators and shared practices of the two racist régimes, in Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

First, the two racist régimes emerged in 1948. In that year, the world witnessed the imposition of the Zionist racist régime on our occupied Arab lands by the force of arms, and the rise to power of institutionalized apartheid through the ascendancy of the extremist, purist National Party under the leadership of Dr. Malan. Just exactly as the ideology of zionism has continued to be the root cause of conflict and tension in our Arab region, apartheid continues to be the real cause of strife in South Africa and conflict in the whole region.

Second, the two racist régimes are founded on the concepts of discrimination and supremacy inherent in racist dogma. Zionism's claim is that the Jews, as God's chosen people, are the superior people. South Africa's dogma is based on the claimed superiority of the white race over the black. That is the reason why General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) brands zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. The racist policy pursued by the Tel Aviv régime is not limited to the Arabs, the legitimate owners of the country; it embraces certain categories of Oriental Jews. We all remember the emigration of the Falashas to occupied Palestine. When they arrived there, they were not recognized as Jews and were asked to prove their Jewishness. Worse still, it has become clear that they were brought there to be used as a security belt and a buffer in southern Lebanon. To minimize losses in the ranks of white Zionists, the latter were replaced by the Falashas.

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

Third, both régimes crowd the indigenous populations into reserves: bantustans or refugee camps, in order to make it easier to control and repress them. Those reserves lack even the absolute minimum of hygiene and sanitations. The living conditions in the hovels of the blacks in South Africa are as miserable as those of the refugees in their camps in occupied Palestine, especially in the occupied Gaza Strip. We all remember that Mr. David Mellor, a former Minister in the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom, on a visit to Gaza last year, described the living conditions there as a disgrace to human civilization. In addition, the bantustans and refugee camps are used as a sort of labour exchange where cheap manpower can be bought and exploited. The economies of both racist régimes depend, in varying degrees, on that exploitation of cheap manpower.

Fourth, the two racist régimes believe that their identities and their so-called racial purity are endangered. Consequently, both régimes obstinately refuse to concede any rights to the indigenous population. Just exactly as the South African racist régime refuses to recognize the right of the people of Azania to freedom and independence and refuses to negotiate with their liberation movements - the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - the racist régime of Tel Aviv refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people. It refuses to recognize the very existence of the Palestinian people or admit that there is such a thing as a Palestinian cause.

Fifth, the two racist régimes consider that the land they have colonized is not the ultimate objective, but merely a starting point to the occupation of the lands of others. Just exactly as the apartheid régime which occupies the whole of South Africa and Namibia threatens the security and stability of the neighbouring countries, the racist régime of Tel Aviv occupies the whole of Palestine as well as wide tracts of the lands of neighbouring Arab countries, with a view to realizing

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

the allegedly Biblical Zionist goal of "Greater Israel" in the Arab Homeland. Mr. James Baker called upon them, in his address to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), on 22 May 1989 to abandon this illusion. The record of the Tel Aviv racist régime overflows with numerous acts of aggression that this régime has committed against the front-line Arab States. Similarly, the record of the apartheid régime is replete with recurrent attacks on the front-line African States.

Sixth, the two racist régimes now face heroic uprisings by the indigenous populations. The uniformity of the methods of repression used by both régimes has revealed their real racist nature and highlighted the fact that they derive their clout from a bent for sheer brutality. There is a striking similarity between their measures of suppression, such as the "iron fist", "bone crushing" and "hot pursuit". Both régimes operate a police machinery whose methods of torture and secret files fly in the face of sanctimonious bragging about the independence of the judiciary. Thousands of the indigenous inhabitants are detained routinely, under a state of emergency in South Africa and the procedure of administrative arrest in occupied Palestine. Both régimes turn a blind eye to the acts of aggression committed by the vigilante groups in South Africa and Zionist settlers in occupied Palestine. The aim is to crush the uprising of the indigenous population without overt intervention by the official organs of repression and portray the situation as acts of violence committed by Arabs on other Arabs and Africans on other Africans.

Seventh, both racist régimes resort to similar tactics in their drive to obfuscate the cause of the indigenous population through proposals, initiatives and cosmetic measures that have no other purpose but to gain time to crush the uprisings internally and absorb the increasing wrath that pursues both régimes in

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab
Republic)

the international arena as a result of their intransigence and persistence in their racist policies. In that respect, we have only to pay heed to such things as "constitutional reforms" and "constructive engagement". All such ploys have no other purpose but the perpetuation of the structures of apartheid. The other face of the coin is what has been dubbed "the Shamir plan". That is the name given in the new lexicon of initiatives to the supposed elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The most telling proof of the reality of those elections is the refusal by the racist régime of any international supervision over that supposed process of elections.

Eighth, both régimes collaborate, nay are closely allied, in the military, political and economic fields. They try hard to dissimulate this fact in order to avoid international criticism. However, it has been proved beyond the shadow of any doubt that that collaboration has developed into an exchange of technology and nuclear know-how. The racist Tel Aviv régime has helped its South African counterpart to develop a long-range nuclear missile in exchange for nuclear warhead grade enriched uranium. The fact that military collaboration has continued to be the strongest and most significant aspect of the relationship of the two régimes highlights the undeniably racist nature of those two régimes which champion each other.

All those aspects of the close relationship between zionism and the apartheid régime enable us to say that our solidarity with the people of South Africa stems from a common stand against a common enemy represented by the two régimes, of Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

The meeting rose at 10 p.m.