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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 12 December 1989, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. PAWLAK (Vice-President)	(Poland)
later:	Mr. GARBA (President)	(Nigeria)
	Mr. KADRAT (Vice-President)	(Iraq)
	Mr. ABULHASAN (Vice-President)	(Kuwait)
	Mr. SALLAH (Vice-President)	(Gambia)

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

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Pawlak (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1st plenary meeting, this morning, the list of speakers will be closed today at 6 p.m. I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to put their names on the list as soon as possible.

Mrs. AVICE (France) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community. In the course of the regular session of the General Assembly the Twelve have had the opportunity to outline their policy on apartheid. I should like today to demonstrate in greater depth our strong condemnation of apartheid and to give further details of the action taken by the Community and its member States to contribute to the total elimination of the only legal and institutionalized form of racism that still persists in the world.

The system of apartheid was institutionalized more than 40 years ago and has persisted in defiance of the universal conscience and the international community: four decades during which the majority of South African people have been denied the exercise of their most elementary rights by the implementation of an odious system that sets one race superior above the others and sows hatred and violence.

The Twelve vigorously reaffirm today their total repudiation of apartheid. They condemn a régime under which an individual is considered and treated primarily in terms of his or her colour. That system is the opposite of the democratic ideal

(Mrs. Avice, France)

to which all States members of the European Community are deeply committed. It violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by our Organization in the very year of the official installation of the apartheid régime. It contradicts the fundamental principle of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, whose two hundredth anniversary we are celebrating this year and which proclaims that all men are born free and equal before the law.

(Mrs. Avice, France)

It is because they believe that there can be no just and free society without respect for this principle that the Twelve reaffirm their condemnation of apartheid and declare in the strongest possible terms that they wish to see its immediate and total abolition by peaceful means. Despite universal condemnation, the South African Government is maintaining a system that is morally unacceptable and politically dangerous. The Twelve therefore very much regret Pretoria's decision to prolong the state of emergency, so preventing the emergence of a climate favouring the search for solutions to the problem of South Africa.

Similarly, the Community and its member States condemn the restrictions on organizations in peaceful opposition to apartheid and the obstacles against political activities of trade unions representing the black population. The entry into force on 18 August 1989 of the law on disclosure of foreign financing is of particular concern. We urgently call for the application of this legislation not to be allowed to prevent in any way the underprivileged majority in South Africa from benefiting from the support provided to them by the European Community and its member States.

The fate of the political detainees is another cause for concern. The Twelve have recalled that, for them, detention without trial of men, women and even young children, some of whom have been mistreated and even tortured, is an affront to human dignity and the most basic human rights.

The Twelve are similarly opposed to the maintenance of discriminatory laws, such as those affecting where people may live, forced movements of population and the bantustan policy, which means in effect allocating citizens artificially to factitious entities, thus depriving them of all their civil and political rights in their own country. Recently, the Twelve, who have often expressed their opposition

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to the forced integration of rural areas into the territory of the homelands, have indicated to the South African authorities the depth of feeling aroused in Europe by the fate of the rural community of Peelson, which was incorporated, against its will, into the Ciskei homeland in August 1988.

The continuing restrictions on the freedom of the press in South Africa, when freedom of information is a vital element in a true democratic process, are also cause for concern to the Twelve. In this regard, we are particularly concerned by the warning to the newspaper New Nation that a lawsuit might be brought against it under the state-of-emergency law on the press, and by the threats to the weekly Vreye Weekblad.

The vicious circle of repression and violence must be broken now so that a true national dialogue can begin. The Twelve are convinced that apartheid must be abolished by peaceful means. That is why they are calling for the discriminatory and unusual measures I have mentioned to be repealed, for the state of emergency to be lifted and for the policy of repression to be ended.

The political prisoners - Nelson Mandela in particular, whose state of health continues to give cause for concern - must be released immediately and unconditionally. The bans on the anti-apartheid organizations, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in particular, should be lifted without delay.

To make it possible for these goals to be reached, the Community and its member States have adopted an active policy. First, they have taken restrictive measures and undertaken intensive diplomatic action to persuade the South African Government of the need to carry out fundamental reforms. Secondly, they have implemented a series of measures to help the victims of apartheid.

(Mrs. Avice, France)

The diplomatic efforts undertaken with the South African authorities have led to a great number of collective and national actions to help the people under sentence of death, the political prisoners and those who have been arbitrarily detained. The Twelve have expressed their concern to the South African Government about the number and variety of crimes which are subject to capital punishment in South Africa. Let us not forget that at the present time, some of the people who have been sentenced to death have been sentenced for political crimes. The actions have also had to do with the problem of the state of emergency, the discriminatory laws, the homelands policy and the measures taken against organizations in peaceful opposition to apartheid.

Alongside these diplomatic actions, the Twelve have adopted a series of restrictive measures against South Africa, affecting the military sphere first of all, but then, in 1985 and 1986, other sectors also, such as co-operation in the economic, nuclear, scientific, cultural and sporting fields.

Our Assembly has been informed about these decisions on a number of occasions, and I shall therefore not list them in detail today. All these measures have entered into force and are a significant contribution by the European Community and its member States to the action taken by the international community to exert pressure on Pretoria.

Should we, however, isolate South Africa completely from the rest of the world? We think not. It is our view that the channels of communication must remain open so that the outside world can exert effective pressure on the South African Government with a view to bringing about a society which is free, democratic and without racial discrimination.

(Mrs. Avice, France)

But the Twelve are also anxious to help the victims of apartheid. To that end, the European Community and its member States have established co-ordinated programmes, in which priority has been given to training black South Africans. In 1989 alone the European Community made available 25 million ECUs - \$30 million - to the victims of apartheid. Many projects have thus been started in the areas of education and social and humanitarian assistance, with the help of organizations which are working actively in South Africa for peaceful, democratic change. In order to prepare for the inevitable developments in South Africa, those programmes will be strengthened over the next two years, by the granting of new scholarships in Europe and in multiracial universities in South Africa.

In the same spirit, since 1977 the Twelve have had a code of conduct for companies from the European Community with branches or affiliates in South Africa. Under that code, which has been brought up to date and strengthened over the years by the adoption of additional directives, the companies must pay due regard to the education, training and career development of all those who work for them. In addition to improving conditions and the standard of life, the measures taken by the European companies make a breach in the edifice of apartheid by abolishing segregation in the workplace.

The Community and its member States are also still concerned about the general situation in southern Africa, where a number of countries are affected by the consequences of South Africa's policy. They are therefore giving those countries assistance in order to reduce their dependence on South Africa, particularly with regard to transport, communications, agriculture, food products and training.

Since the adoption of the first Lomé Convention in 1975, the European Community and its member States have steadily increased their assistance to the

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member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The European Community's total contribution in the period 1975-1990 will be 3.2 billion ECUs - \$3.8 billion - in addition to the direct contribution of member States to SADCC.

Despite recent positive developments, the Twelve deplore the fact that the South African Government has not yet taken the necessary measures to begin a genuine national dialogue. They remain convinced that only negotiations dealing with the fundamental problems, with the participation of all the authentic representatives of the various sectors of the South African population, will make possible a just and lasting settlement and South Africa's peaceful evolution towards a free, democratic, united and multiracial society.

In that regard, the Twelve have followed with interest the recent initiatives of the South African Government and have noted its intention to carry out reforms. They have noted with satisfaction the freeing of eight political prisoners, including Mr. Walter Sisulu, and a large number of people detained under the state of emergency. They have also noted that peaceful demonstrations organized by the anti-apartheid movements have recently been authorized, and have taken place without violence, and that the early repeal of the Separate Amenities Act has been promised. That will have consequences for the daily life of South Africans. Finally, the increase in contacts between South African nationals and representatives of very diverse bodies of opinion is also a trend in the right direction.

Those signs seem encouraging, but the pillars of the apartheid system still exist, as do the serious consequences of that system. The South African Government must now translate its avowed intentions into deeds. Let us not slacken our

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pressure; let us encourage the South African Government to set out resolutely along the path of dialogue with representatives of the black majority, so that there will at last arise in South Africa a multiracial society based upon democratic principles and the free exercise by the people of universal and equal suffrage, as stipulated in article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

After such a long and deplorable delay, free and fair elections have at last taken place in Namibia, with the co-operation of the Pretoria Government. The progress thus made towards democracy and respect for human rights should not be allowed to stop at South Africa's borders. The Twelve therefore appealed to the authorities of that country to adopt the same constructive attitude to the elimination of apartheid.

At a time when the wind of freedom is blowing throughout the world, it is anachronistic and all the more intolerable for millions of human beings, constituting majorities in their own country, still to be suffering from the effects of the odious apartheid régime.

Our common objective can be expressed simply. It is to bring about the elimination of apartheid and to contribute to the emergence of a just and free society in South Africa. To that end, the Twelve will spare no effort, collectively or individually. They believe that this special session should also contribute to finding solutions with a view to the peaceful elimination of the apartheid system.

In order to strengthen our appeal to South Africa, so that the Pretoria authorities will heed it, we must express ourselves unanimously at the end of our work.

Mr. PAASIO (Finland): Like other speakers before me, I welcome the fact that for the first time a special session of the General Assembly has been convened to discuss and take stock of the question of apartheid. This is a great moment. I should like to express the earnest hope that the days ahead will be dedicated to a frank and thorough exchange of views on one of the most abhorrent phenomena of our time, and on ways and means to move towards the abolition of an inhuman system built upon the inequality of men.

This Organization, the United Nations, was created out of the conviction that men are equal everywhere in the world. It was from that platform that the United Nations decided to work towards the eradication of apartheid. People in my country feel strongly on this issue. We in Finland are firm believers in the brotherhood of man, at all times, everywhere. We have taken action accordingly. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, is unilaterally applying a total trade and investment ban in regard to South Africa, within the framework of a comprehensive political programme of action against apartheid.

Finland is following developments in South Africa with the utmost attention. We are watching for any signals of change, any move towards a departure from the entrenched positions of official apartheid. We believe that there are signs of such a departure within the ruling establishment in South Africa. The events of the last few months within that country seem to warrant the faint but distinct hope that South Africa has embarked upon a road towards the abolition of apartheid, towards a non-racial, egalitarian society.

I say that with considerable hesitation. Events may take another turn; the glimmers of hope may fade away; but I think that the new signals from South Africa should not go unheeded. We have noted with particular interest the letter dated

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

7 December 1989 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa to the Secretary-General, which states that

"The South African Government is irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system". (A/S-16/6, p. 2)

We expect that the South African authorities will speedily take action in order to implement that commitment. It is up to those authorities themselves to convince the international community that what we are witnessing is not just manoeuvres but real, substantial change away from apartheid.

It is too early yet to decide on any weakening of the sanctions against South Africa. We need more proof. Finland will thus continue to uphold both the letter and the spirit of the Nordic anti-apartheid programme, in its entirety. But we shall watch, listen and reflect. If the reforms in South Africa continue, we shall certainly welcome them and we shall at a certain stage have to review our policies. If, on the other hand, change in South Africa were to stop, there would be no choice but to persevere in the unilateral measures we have taken, and to continue to press for mandatory sanctions by the Security Council as the best means to make South Africa heed the universal call for change.

Basically, no decisive action to abolish apartheid has been taken thus far in South Africa. The great majority of the population still lacks political rights. The Group Areas Act and other legislative pillars of apartheid remain in force. The state of emergency has been extended to cover a fourth consecutive year. Although less strictly applied it makes it possible to stifle the voice of opposition and imprison people without trial. Executions of political prisoners continue. Furthermore, new evidence of the killing of opponents of apartheid by police death squads has recently come to the fore.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The opponents of sanctions say that sanctions do not work or that they cause more harm than good. But there is no question that much of the movement to dismantle apartheid in South Africa has been the result of international pressure. The business community of South Africa, especially, has openly advocated anti-apartheid policies in order to prevent the imposition of further sanctions.

Of course, one should regard sanctions not as an objective in itself but as a means to promote and encourage the dismantling of apartheid. Finland's only aim is the establishment of a pluralistic system where government is based on the entire population and on free elections, and where the human rights of the whole population are safeguarded without discrimination. Appropriate arrangements to protect minority rights would be a logical ingredient of such a pluralistic system. We believe that these objectives are widely supported by the people of South Africa.

In the present situation it is of the utmost importance that a meaningful dialogue between the Government and various groups of the South African population should get under way. Confidence-building measures are needed to create a positive atmosphere for such negotiations. The release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, the lifting of all bans and restrictions on organizations and persons, and the ending of the state of emergency would help to start negotiations between the Government and the opposition. We have on the other hand noted the readiness of the African National Congress to enter into an agreement with the Government and engage in a dialogue.

The countries neighbouring South Africa have been in the front line of the struggle against apartheid. They have been exposed to the destabilizing effects of the system. In accordance with the Nordic programme of action, the Finnish Government has significantly widened its co-operation with the members of the

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Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. We want to help the countries of the region increase their economic strength and reduce their dependence on South Africa.

Finland has supported the humanitarian anti-apartheid activities of the African National Congress and the United Nations Southern Africa Fund. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, among the main contributors to the Fund. Moreover, Finland has funded the activities of non-governmental organizations providing a variety of services to the victims of apartheid both in South Africa and abroad.

It is important to continue and even to intensify this support to the victims of apartheid until such time as apartheid has been eradicated. My Government intends to increase its input in both humanitarian and financial terms.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The world is witnessing dramatic changes in the international political climate. These changes derive mainly from the improving relations between the leading great Powers, but we should not underestimate the impact of the will of smaller countries to promote peaceful solutions to conflicts. We are witnessing a rapid but peaceful transformation of outdated societal structures and the coming-down of barriers long considered unbreakable. In the southern African region an equally dramatic development is taking place in Namibia, and we look forward to welcoming independent Namibia into the family of sovereign States in the near future.

The Finnish Government sincerely hopes that the present situation in southern Africa will continue to show further signs of real change for the better, thus marking the beginning of a continuing process. At the end of that process we hope to see a totally changed South Africa in internal harmony and at peace with its neighbours.

Mrs. LANDRY (Canada) (interpretation from French): All the members of the Assembly are, I am sure, moved by the same desire to help in the dismantling of the odious régime of apartheid. Thus, whenever a new Government assumes power in South Africa the international community hopes that the new leader and the new administration will demonstrate by their deeds that apartheid is approaching its end. According to President De Klerk, his administration intends to proceed with fundamental reforms that will do away with apartheid. Not only is it necessary to eliminate this oppressive web of laws and regulations that serves to sustain apartheid but, indeed, the Government must break ground for negotiations with the black leaders to introduce a non-racial democracy. With that aim in mind, the Government must lift the state of emergency, release political prisoners and legalize prohibited parties.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)

Those are the aims to be achieved. We are still waiting for President De Klerk's Government to give us concrete evidence of his determination to tackle the problem. Apartheid has brought suffering, despair and destitution to millions of people. It has left thousands of others dead, and it has imposed an incalculable financial burden upon South Africa and its neighbours. Both the victims and the oppressors bear the imprint of this iniquitous régime.

Apartheid has left an indelible stain on the honour of South Africa. Once apartheid has been swept away - and it will be - many whites will plead ignorance. Thanks to strict censorship and intense propaganda designed to fuel fear of the black majority, their Government has enveloped them in a protective cocoon of ignorance of the realities of apartheid. So we should not be surprised that these people consider sanctions cruel and often irrational.

Sanctions are effective. We are the first to recognize that they are far from perfect - they hurt both black and white South Africans. But the international community opted for this solution only after having exhausted all other avenues. For 40 years the world sought to eliminate apartheid by diplomatic efforts. Those attempts were fruitless. Apartheid is still very much present, and its corner-stones - the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, segregation in the fields of education and health care, the system of Bantustans and, above all, the denial of the franchise to the black majority are still well anchored in the laws. This is why the sanctions must be maintained.

We will not be able even to begin discussing the elimination of sanctions until the Government has given us evidence of its determination fundamentally to mend its ways. Meanwhile, it would be an insult to the men and women who have struggled and continue to struggle against apartheid in South Africa to ease our pressure upon the Government in any way.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)

Many countries, including Canada, are prepared to help South Africa to become a non-racial, democratic State. That inevitable development will require the greatest good will in South Africa itself and all possible assistance from the international community. Canada believes that the aid granted today to the victims of apartheid will hasten the advent of democracy and justice in South Africa.

Through our help in the field of education and in other forms of training, not only are we participating in the ongoing process of change, but we are helping South African society to gain the know-how that it will need once it is freed from apartheid. We are trying to strengthen what are the foundations of all free societies - for example, democratic institutions, a free press and a judicial system that is equitable and accessible. In that spirit, we support various organizations that struggle against censorship, and we stand firm in our support for human rights.

Thanks to our programme of dialogue, we are encouraging South Africans of all races to speak openly, and in a constructive spirit, of their hopes and aspirations for a South Africa that is based on equality, justice and tolerance. That dialogue seeks to create the trust that is necessary for the beginning of meaningful negotiations that may lead to the advent of a new South Africa. All those who would participate in meaningful negotiations with a view to the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa have expressed their preference for a peaceful and negotiated settlement. The international community vigorously endorses that preference. It also shares the conviction that serious negotiations cannot take place so long as some of the people concerned are imprisoned, banned or prevented, by other means, from consulting their constituents.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)(spoke in English)

That is why the Commonwealth eminent persons' "possible negotiating concept" called on the South African Government to remove the military from the townships, provide for freedom of assembly and discussion and suspend detention without trial, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, unban the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and permit normal political activity. It called on the ANC and others to enter negotiations and suspend violence. That concept remains as valid today as when it was first put forward, and it has found resonance in subsequent proposals aimed at creating the necessary climate for negotiations.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)

In this context, Canada and all the Commonwealth recently noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the 1989 Harare Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa. The Commonwealth also reaffirmed its belief that the constitutional system was a matter for all the people of South Africa to decide and that its own role remained essentially to facilitate the opening of negotiations.

For our part, we are confident that the South African people, in determining their new constitutional order, will be guided by the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(continued in French)

The present special session against apartheid is taking place at a time which we hope will prove to be a turning point in the history of South Africa. It is essential that we, the Members of the United Nations, take advantage of this historic opportunity provided to us and speak with one voice to emphasize the urgent need to eliminate obstacles to the negotiations, which are aimed at establishing a representative non-racial government.

It will be for the parties concerned to define the exact process of negotiations. There is no reason to complicate our discussions here with that aspect. However, the South African Government must know that the world is united in its demand that negotiations begin with authentic representatives of the people as a whole and not be limited by restrictions, bannings or imprisonments. When that occurs the international community will be there to provide all the necessary assistance for a peaceful transition to a truly non-racial democracy.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)

This should be made perfectly clear: Canada is a staunch opponent of apartheid, but it will also prove itself to be a reliable partner and a true friend of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Several signs emanating from South Africa give us cause for hope, signs that bring the hope that the new De Klerk Government is prompted by realism, compassion and the goodwill that was cruelly lacking in its predecessors. We particularly hail the commitment to repeal the Separate Amenities Act, the release of Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners, the decisions to allow peaceful demonstrations, the rally at which freed political prisoners spoke and, quite recently, the conference for a democratic future. We hope that these are not mere token gestures but harbingers of real change

We must understand that apartheid must be abolished, not modified. Cosmetic reforms designed only to appease local and foreign critics will result merely in redoubling the resolve and the efforts of those who are fighting apartheid. Therefore we pay a tribute to the activities of the democratic mass movement: peaceful, organized mass demonstrations which in a very specific way have given spectacular expression to the irrepressible demands of the oppressed.

We are meeting here today prompted by feelings of hope. In the same spirit the leaders of the Commonwealth, at their last summit meeting in Kuala Lumpur, in October, decided to impose financial sanctions but not new trade sanctions against South Africa. Thus they were giving the new Government some time to show its true intentions.

South Africans, whatever their race and culture, have at least one thing in common: love of their country. Their views on the future of the country also coincide: they hope for a prosperous and secure society in which their individual aspirations and those of their children can be fulfilled.

(Mrs. Landry, Canada)

It is therefore unfortunate that the supporters of apartheid are unable to understand that it is only when the vast majority of their compatriots, the blacks, Indians and Coloureds, can fully participate in shaping their future that there will be any hope that it will take shape in accordance with the wishes of all.

We deplore the sufferings and injustice caused by apartheid. We are working for the formation of a new, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We ardently hope that this new Government will have the vision to take rapid action to put an end to the violence, the injustice and the dishonour represented by apartheid, so that South Africa can take its legitimate place as a truly democratic State and a member of the international community.

Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden): Three years ago the General Assembly held a special session on the situation in Namibia. That session served as a reminder of the serious and deteriorating developments in and around Namibia - a reminder of the urgent need for the international community to rectify that situation. Today Namibia is on the threshold of a new era. Its people can at last decide their own destiny. We look forward to welcoming free and independent Namibia into the community of sovereign States and as a Member of the United Nations. The success of the elections in Namibia - and of the on-going constitutional process - provides South Africans and the rest of the world with a valuable demonstration of the feasibility of peaceful, democratic and negotiated change.

At this session we are discussing the very core problem: the obnoxious system of apartheid. Prospects for peace, security and development in Namibia and in the whole region remain endangered so long as the root cause of conflict is not eradicated.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

The hard fact is that apartheid is still in place. The majority population in South Africa continues to be deprived of its civil, political, economic and social rights. Under apartheid, people are repressed not only as individuals but as groups. Under apartheid, individuals do not count. Human beings are simply brushed aside because of their race. That is why apartheid goes deeper than political repression. Apartheid undermines respect for every human being's equal worth and dignity - a basic principle of the United Nations Charter. Apartheid is a threat to international peace and security. It is our duty as Members of the Organization to help bring about the peaceful abolition of apartheid.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

In the past few months we have seen some positive changes in South Africa. A new mood seems to be emerging. There are new openings and there is a cautious optimism that change - genuine change - can still be achieved by peaceful means. That is good, we welcome it, but it is not enough. The South African Government has yet to prove that it is prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid, in particular the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the bantustan system and the racially segregated education system.

True change in South Africa requires dialogue. Dialogue requires a climate of mutual confidence. For such a climate to be created the state of emergency must be lifted. Nelson Mandela and other leaders must be given back their freedom. Political trials and executions must cease. Political organizations must be un-banned. Ultimately, everybody must accept that peaceful means is the sole mechanism of change.

Sweden supports the Harare Declaration of the Organization of African Unity as a possible model for negotiations between South Africans. It is a valuable and constructive contribution to the necessary, direct dialogue between the South African Government and the true representatives of the majority of the people.

The Swedish Government is convinced that the positive steps taken by the South African Government have been brought about by internal and external pressure. There is no doubt that sanctions have had a strong impact on South Africa. Sanctions are not punitive measures. They are measures taken under the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations to restore respect for fundamental human rights and to remove the threat against international peace and security.

It is important at this critical juncture to continue the international pressure to bring about peaceful change in South Africa.

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

Pending the imposition of effective sanctions by the Security Council, the Nordic countries have introduced unilateral sanctions and adopted a programme of action against apartheid. This programme includes a general ban on investments and trade as well as restrictions on economic and cultural links between the Nordic countries and South Africa.

Existing sanctions and other measures should be maintained and made even more effective through better monitoring and co-ordination. We must be firm in our demands. No weakening in the pressure on the South African Government should be allowed.

Our common purpose is to abolish apartheid by bringing the Government to the negotiating table. If an irreversible process towards that objective is assured we should be prepared to adapt appropriately. Sanctions could, however, be lifted only if the South African Government had taken the fundamental, irreversible and definite steps that are decisive to dismantle the apartheid system. The South African Government now has the historic opportunity to prove that such steps are taken. Unfortunately, history has told us to be suspicious of the apartheid régime.

On the other hand, if steps in this direction are not taken in the near future the international community must resolutely and without delay strongly increase the pressure upon South Africa. That is our moral, political and legal obligation.

There are also other ways to contribute to the struggle against apartheid. The victims and opponents of apartheid need our assistance. Sweden, for example, extends substantial humanitarian assistance to the African National Congress, to trade unions, churches and other democratic movements.

Any international strategy to overcome the apartheid policies of South Africa must include support to the front-line States. That support is vital. When the

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

violence of apartheid has spilled over outside South Africa its neighbours have been the first victims.

The front-line States have given refuge to people who have been forced to escape from apartheid. They have been attacked and destabilized by South Africa.

A particularly tragic case is that of Mozambique. I appeal to all nations to redouble their support to that war-torn country. The atrocities committed against thousands and thousands of children fill me with horror and dismay.

We demand that South Africa stop the destabilization of Mozambique. We demand that South Africa cease its support to the terror organization MNR. We demand that South African territory be not used for such support.

Assistance to the front-line States is important not only in order to reduce their present vulnerability. It is important also for future development, when apartheid is gone and all the countries in the region, including South Africa, will join in peaceful co-operation. We have all an obligation to create positive visions for coming generations in southern Africa.

Support to the front-line States and to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has for many years been a corner-stone of Swedish development assistance. This year we allocate half of our total bilateral assistance - \$500 million - to the countries in southern Africa. There are also substantial contributions from Swedish non-governmental organizations.

There can be no coexistence with apartheid. There can be no neutrality over apartheid. There is no acceptable half-way. The logic of necessity and the force of justice are this: apartheid must - and will - go. South Africa must be freed from the scourge of apartheid and all its inhabitants liberated from the violence, suffering, fear and human degradation that the racist policies impose on the

(Mr. Andersson, Sweden)

oppressed and on their oppressors. The quest for a non-racial and democratic South Africa is a shared responsibility. We must all lend our support to the people of South Africa in this endeavour.

There is now a chance for a peaceful settlement. Let us use this special session to send a realistic, constructive and unanimous message to all South Africans, a message that we stand ready to assist in that process.

Mr. MOCUMBI (Mozambique) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): It is a great pleasure for me to congratulate Mr. Garba of Nigeria on his unanimous election to preside over the deliberations at this important session. We have known him as an experienced, able and dynamic diplomat. These outstanding qualities are a guarantee of the successful outcome of the session. I assure him of my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities.

The People's Republic of Mozambique welcomes the present special session of the General Assembly, whose agenda calls for a review of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. For obvious reasons, we are a directly interested party in the issue under consideration. Mozambique and South Africa share a common border of more than 470 kilometres. Owing to geographical contiguity and historical dictates, we are necessarily linked to South Africa by economic, social and cultural ties. Unfortunately, circumstances of domination and hegemony have turned this heritage into a serious obstacle to a sound and harmonious relationship between South Africa and other countries of the region, and this seriously curtails the economic and social development of southern Africa.

We are, however, aware of the fact that if a normal and balanced relationship had been established these factors would have facilitated the pursuance of reciprocal and mutually advantageous interests, which would have enhanced progress and prosperity for all in an environment of regional peace and security.

South Africa has a long history of opposition to the independence process in the African continent. In the 1960s, with the unleashing of the armed struggle for national liberation by the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, South Africa tightened its ties, including its military ties, with the Portuguese colonialists, with the aim of preserving the hegemony of the white minority in the southern part of the African continent. Its position was similar during the

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

Ian Smith régime, when Ian Smith unilaterally declared the independence of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. After the independence of Mozambique and Angola and in view of the imminence of the débacle in Southern Rhodesia of the Ian Smith régime, the South African leadership conceived and set in motion its "total strategy" policy. This policy, carried out through acts of invasion, aggression and economic repression against neighbouring countries and internal repression against black South Africans, was aimed at subordinating the peoples of the region to the hegemonic interests of the apartheid régime.

With the new balance of forces that emerged after the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule, Angola and Mozambique, because they were examples of the viable alternative of independent African States in southern Africa, were pinpointed as preferential targets for destabilization by the South African régime.*

In 1980, soon after the signing of the Lancaster House Agreements, the Southern Rhodesian military and security authorities sent to South Africa the forces made up of Portuguese and Mozambican individuals who had compromised with Portuguese colonialism and had been used in the Rhodesian war against the Zimbabwe liberation movement and against the territorial integrity of Mozambique. These forces were placed under the command of the military intelligence of the South African Defence Forces. Along with this, direct acts of aggression were carried out by the South African Defence Forces and economic sanctions were imposed against the People's Republic of Mozambique. In South Africa, in the context of the "total strategy" policy, this terrorist group was reorganized and turned into an instrument for the purpose of disrupting and making impossible the functioning of an organized society in Mozambique.

* The President took the Chair.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The civilian population of Mozambique and the economic and social infrastructures were defined as the main targets for the terrorist action that ensued. In this context more than 1 million peasant homes were ransacked and burned down, leaving 5 million citizens without shelter. Forty-five per cent of the school network in the rural areas was destroyed, leaving more than 1 million children without schooling. About 1,000 health centres were destroyed, which drastically curtailed our capacity to provide health care to most rural citizens, particularly mother and child care, which by then already covered more than 49 per cent of the population. The result was the loss of more than 700,000 lives. The infant mortality rate for children up to five years of age rose from 150 per 1,000 in 1980 to 325 per 1,000 in 1988. The material losses were estimated at nearly \$15 billion. This kind of devastation does not fall within the context of any national project, its aim is not any kind of political alternative to the Government in the country, nor does it express the ideas of any internal opposition.

Documents, such as the Gersony and Minter reports, as well as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report entitled "Children on the front line", are a clear illustration of this reality and show the totally foreign, terrorist character of these destabilizing undertakings.

Despite countless attempts by the creators and leaders of the armed banditry to recycle this terrorist group in Mozambique and give it a political dimension, its origin, history, methods and activities reveal its terrorist and bandit-like nature. Our people reject and oppose this group and permanently denounce its anti-national character and its role as an instrument for aggression and the destruction of the country. The lack of peace and stability in Mozambique, which is a direct consequence of the systematic acts of terrorism, aggression and destabilization, has not succeeded in destroying the social cohesion of our society.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The Mozambican people, led by the FRELIMO party, are today more united and firm in the defence of their sovereignty and independence. Faithful to its quest for peace, the FRELIMO party and the Government have taken a number of initiatives aimed at ending destabilization and war in Mozambique and normalizing life for all citizens in the country.

These initiatives, together with the signing of the Nkomati agreement in 1984, give substance to our conviction of the need to give priority to the search for peaceful solutions to the problems we face in the country and in southern Africa and of our readiness to do so.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

In this context the Mozambican Government maintains regular contacts with the South African authorities. It is in the interest of the People's Republic of Mozambique to see the dismantling of all mechanisms for the concession of non-governmental support and facilities to the armed bandits by individuals and certain structures in the South African Government.

In recent contacts the South African Government has undertaken to co-operate with the Mozambican Government in preventing the channelling of any kind of support to terrorists of the so-called RENAMO from South African territory. It is in our interest to see this commitment being implemented as quickly as possible.

Internally we have approved a set of principles which we deem vital for the attainment of a genuine and lasting peace in our country.

On the basis of these principles, my Government has subsequently requested President Moi of Kenya and President Mugabe of Zimbabwe to mediate in a process that could lead to direct dialogue between the Government and the individuals belonging to the so-called RENAMO.

The principles call for the observance of democratic methods in seeking solutions to political, socio-economic and cultural problems in the country. They clearly state that sovereignty resides in the people and that only through a national debate and consensus can any major changes be effected in the Constitution and principal laws of the country. They forbid any person or group of persons to impose their will on the people through violence. These are the principles that have been rejected by the so-called RENAMO, which insists on continuing indiscriminately to kill innocent civilians and to destroy property.

Our armed forces have so far scored important victories in containing and neutralizing these barbaric acts by RENAMO and are ready to defend the country against all odds.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

In order to create an environment conducive to peace and the normalization of life in the country, the Government has enacted and renewed an amnesty law that pardons all individuals who, in one way or another, have committed crimes against the people and the State, provided that they renounce violence and present themselves to the Government. On the other hand, efforts are under way to implement an action programme approved by the Fifth Congress of the FRELIMO Party which aims at organizing the people to respond better to the present political, economic and social challenges confronting them.

Mozambique is not the sole target of South African "total strategy" and destabilization policies. Any observer can realize that, regardless of one's political system, economic and social, as well as diplomatic and strategic options, all States in southern Africa have, in different degrees, suffered from the effects of the policy of war and economic sanctions carried out by South Africa against the countries of the region.

In a recent United Nations publication on South Africa's destabilization of countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), it was stated that the period between 1980 and 1988 more than 1.5 million people in the region lost their lives as a consequence of Pretoria's policy of aggression and destabilization. In the same period, material losses were calculated at \$60 billion, which is the equivalent of 210 per cent of the total gross national product of the SADCC countries all together.

The facts demonstrate that SADCC countries have systematically made every effort to promote a policy of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness with Pretoria. However, these efforts have been frustrated by South Africa's refusal to give up its hegemonistic ambitions and adhere to the norms of international law. It is true that changes in the balance of forces within South Africa itself, in the region and throughout the world have forced the régime to take some positive steps.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

The international community as a whole is happy with the fact that implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is under way.

We take this opportunity to reiterate our congratulations to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and to the people of Namibia on the electoral victory they achieved in difficult conditions.

Likewise we extend special greetings to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and through him to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and to the United Nations in general, as well as to all those who directly or indirectly have spared no effort to ensure the successful conclusion of this important phase in the history of the Namibian people, a phase leading to the independence of the country

We express our admiration for the generosity and moderation of the Namibian people and their leadership in their effort to consolidate national unity and overcome the resentments of the past.

The same generosity and moderation can be found within the African National Congress of South Africa and the South African Democratic Movement. Their proposals are today crystallized in the Declaration on Southern Africa of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was adopted in August 1989 in Harare and subsequently endorsed by the summit meeting of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in September this year. In our view, this realistic and pragmatic document constitutes an excellent contribution to the overall efforts to eliminate apartheid through negotiations.

It is our understanding that, in the context of our common effort to bring apartheid to an end, the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session should unanimously adopt the fundamental principles and guidelines of this document.

For the international community the end of apartheid is synonymous with the democratization of South African society. The constitution of a united and

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

democratic South African State made up of citizens who enjoy equality, without any discrimination based on race, ethnic origin, sex or religious affiliation. The end of apartheid equally means the cessation of aggression and destabilization of neighbouring countries, for apartheid is the root cause of conflict in southern Africa.

Mozambique, and indeed all the front-line States, Africa and the international community as a whole would understand and lend their support to the South African forces, including the Government, provided that they are willing to attain that goal.

Steps so far taken by the South African authorities, namely, the announced intention of the Government to abandon the ideology of apartheid and the releasing of a number of political prisoners, are encouraging. However, it is important to state that these steps are not enough, for they are not addressed to the core of the problem, that is, they do not tackle the question of the establishment of a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

The recent declarations by the South African authorities on the end of destabilization and on the independence of Namibia are followed with keen interest by the international community and seem to contain positive elements. However, it is important that we remain cautious as long as such statements are not translated into concrete and substantial deeds.

Trends towards putting an end to the cold war seem to have helped to eliminate the naïveté of placing apartheid in the context of East-West conflict. The international situation as it obtains today allows me to state that all peoples and States in the world consider the elimination of apartheid and its bellicose policy as a priority for the international community. This underlies the reason why the international community, through concerted action at the diplomatic, economic and

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

financial levels, is exerting pressure on the régime to put an end to the apartheid régime.

Despite South Africa's aggression, the front-line States have borne enormous sacrifices in order to preserve their independence and national sovereignty and have been able to maintain their unity and internal cohesion, as well as their solidarity with democratic forces in South Africa.

The broad democratic mass movement, the growing identification of the popular feeling with the ideals of a just society in South Africa based on the equality of all social strata, including those in the white and Afrikaner communities, is a sign that the beginning of the end for apartheid is much closer.

(Mr. Mocumbi, Mozambique)

We should therefore define our priorities on the understanding that all steps that have so far been taken in South Africa and in the region are essentially the result of a combination of internal struggle and regional and international pressure, which must be consolidated and intensified until we achieve the fundamental goals we have set ourselves. Those goals are the complete independence of Namibia, the end of aggression and destabilization in the region, and the dismantling of apartheid.

Facts, not mere statements, are the criteria by which to assess the sincerity of the régime and its commitment to effecting changes. The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties and the democratic movement, the ending of the state of emergency, the lifting of restrictions on the press and the actual beginning of negotiations and dialogue among all South Africans would be a clear demonstration of the régime's willingness to change.

As we mentioned in our statement during the debate at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, we are convinced that the adoption of such measures is a sine qua non of broad peaceful political participation by all South Africans in the decision-making process in their country and in the building of a just and democratic society in South Africa. Only by meeting those demands and stopping the destabilization can the South African authorities demonstrate to the South African people and the international community their sincerity in taking decisive steps to dismantle the apartheid system and establish a society in which all South Africans can live in harmony.

It is our hope that in the decade that is about to start and in the forthcoming new century South Africa, with the support of the international

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community, will tread the path of democracy, thus contributing actively to the peace, stability, co-operation and prosperity of the African continent and all mankind.

The struggle continues.

The PRESIDENT: I remind members of the decision taken this morning by the Assembly to limit statements in this debate to a maximum of 15 minutes. A flashing white light will be activated on the rostrum to let the speaker know that 15 minutes have elapsed, and we shall observe this limitation strictly.

Mr. FALL (Senegal) (interpretation from French): A few weeks ago, Sir, I stood at this rostrum and congratulated you on behalf of the delegation of Senegal. At that time I spoke of the intellectual, human and professional qualities which as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid you have unceasingly, and with talent and commitment, demonstrated in the service of the struggle for freedom and equality for all in South Africa. My country is no less pleased to see you presiding over this special session on the crucial question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Adventitious though they may seem, it is in fact a logical extension of your role in the preparatory work for the session, and it augurs well for the success of our work.

Another happy coincidence is that this session has begun shortly after the Namibian elections and at the time of the peace process being undertaken by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), under the authority of the Secretary-General. This gives my delegation a special opportunity to renew the tribute and congratulations of President Abdou Diouf to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and all members of UNTAG on their paramount role in the preparation and carrying out of the elections, together with his encouragement for the remainder of the process that will soon lead Namibia to full international sovereignty.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

The debate at the forty-fourth session on item 28 of its agenda ended with the adoption of many resolutions denouncing the policy of apartheid of the South African Government. It demonstrated once again that Pretoria has not abandoned its racist policy, which has become a system of Government in South Africa, its acts of destabilization throughout the southern part of the African continent and its illegal occupation of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, which are an integral part of Namibian territory.

Namibia is, of course, on the verge of independence following the elections, which were won by a large margin by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), despite the intimidation and provocation of which its leaders, militants and sympathizers were the victim before and during the electoral campaign. It gives us pleasure to pay a warm tribute, through our brother Sam Nujoma, to SWAPO and the brother people of Namibia for their exemplary political commitment and their courageous democratic stand.

Despite all this, there can be no doubt that without constant and growing vigilance by the international community the Pretoria régime will use every subterfuge to thwart the process.

In South Africa itself the recent freeing of political prisoners, the holding of the first public meeting of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), which was banned for more than 20 years, and the meeting between Church representatives and the South African President should be viewed as mere political acts of internal relaxation and external propaganda designed essentially to hide the grim day-to-day reality in South Africa, that is, the persistence and consolidation of a system none of whose ideological, political or legislative foundations has ever before been questioned.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

Almost everything possible has been said and written about the South African régime and its practices, so that there is no need to describe them again. Also, the most recent report of the Special Committee against Apartheid provides a most thorough and careful account. My purpose is therefore only to call on the General Assembly to use this session as an opportunity to evaluate the actions of the international community and its principal constituent, the United Nations, with regard to apartheid with a view to adopting concrete measures to bring about by peaceful means the ending of these criminal policies and practices.

There have been innumerable governmental and non-governmental meetings, declarations, resolutions, decisions and international legal instruments by which the international community in all its diversity has condemned the policy of apartheid, called on the racist minority practising that policy to cease, without pre-conditions, to do so, and prescribed a strict code of conduct to be observed by Governments, institutions and other bodies to observe, as well as specific actions for them to take.

We must acknowledge, however, that, although these efforts by the international community have been indispensable to the heroic struggle being waged by the overwhelming majority of the valiant South African people, they have not been commensurate with our objectives or, above all, with the dimensions and seriousness of the scourge we are trying to eliminate. It must be stated clearly that the main reason for this is the unfortunate discrepancy between our avowed determination to expedite the eradication of apartheid and our collective action - I was going to say inaction. The imprecations and condemnations of some have been matched by the acquiescence and complicity of others. This has caused a proliferation of the evil consequences of apartheid and encouraged its practitioners to persist in their defiant and contemptuous attitude with regard to the international community.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

If today there seems to be some evolution in the words and deeds of the leaders in Pretoria, it is partly because of sanctions effectively applied by certain countries, individually or collectively.

What we are seeing now is a clever attempt by the South African Government to promote a spurious debate in the international community about the timeliness and effectiveness of international sanctions. That move comes precisely at a time when sanctions should be better co-ordinated, strengthened and broadened so that with the launching by the South African people of its programme of mass action inside the country, apartheid will be completely eradicated.

Another diversionary tactic lies in the excessively optimistic interpretation placed by certain circles and political forces on the recent initiatives of the Pretoria régime. Make no mistake: the current superficial measures taken by the South African régime, which are supposedly reforms, aim at glossing over the grosser iniquities of the apartheid system while leaving its quintessence intact. They are in fact nothing but an attempt to allow Pretoria to win a little more time to remodel apartheid and not to eradicate it. The risk is all the greater that there will be a consolidation of racist and minority domination, a growth of the exasperation of the oppressed majority of South Africa, and an increase in the instability and constant insecurity of southern Africa.

In that respect, investigations, studies and other reports on southern Africa have all shown that the policies and practices of apartheid are the determining cause and the aggravating factor of the political, security and development problems afflicting that part of the world.

We are all aware of the important evaluation study published by the Economic Commission for Africa on the devastating consequences of the destabilizing actions of Pretoria against the Governments and peoples of southern Africa. The study demonstrates that the ultimate objective of the policy of destabilization is to

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force the front-line States to devote such vast sums of money to defence purposes that their social and economic development will be seriously hurt, keeping them dependent on Pretoria. Thus, the gross domestic product of the front-line States would have risen by 40 per cent had it not been for South Africa's policy of aggression, which cost the subregion \$60 billion in the period from 1980 to 1988.

Similarly, it has been established that in eight years of destabilizing action, the number of children who have died in the neighbouring countries to South Africa exceeds the number of victims of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those grim statistics are particularly unpalatable when we realize the importance attached by the international community to the child, whose rights have recently been enshrined in an international convention and whose fate will be the subject of a forthcoming world summit on children.

It is consistently clear that the policy of apartheid of the South African régime is a deliberate violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. At the same time, it flouts the most elementary principles of international morality and peaceful coexistence among peoples. The international community is duty bound to put an end to it.

For its part, Senegal wishes once again to reaffirm its firm commitment to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, as well as its determined support for the efforts of the international community to eradicate that crime against humanity in its three manifestations - institutionalized racial segregation, colonialism and the policy of destabilization.

My country's commitment to the struggle against apartheid is not just one more ritual condemnation of that régime. It expresses, particularly through a national political consensus on the rejection of any dialogue with the racist Pretoria

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

régime, support of and participation in the anti-apartheid struggle, both within Senegal and outside it.

Thus, on the national level, apart from a widespread education campaign for public opinion in the country on the situation in southern Africa, our Government has established a programme of various forms of assistance to the South African people.

Within the same framework, my country welcomed at an early date the offices of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) with the status of embassies, and granted refugee status to many Namibians. Furthermore, it has implemented a training programme in various fields for the nationals of those countries, and has organized national solidarity with a view to mobilizing various kinds of aid for the freedom fighters, foremost among whom are the members of SWAPO, ANC, and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). Furthermore, an interministerial working group has been supervising and co-ordinating the implementation at the national level of economic sanctions against South Africa.

On the international level, we should recall, among other actions, the memorable tour undertaken in southern Africa in 1985 by the Head of State of Senegal, the first by a sitting President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in that part of the world, as well as his initiative in calling the second world conference in Paris on sanctions against South Africa in June 1986.

Furthermore, the capital of Senegal was the scene of the historic meeting in July 1987 between a delegation of white South African liberals and members of the ANC. That meeting made it possible to explore peaceful ways of establishing a democratic alternative in South Africa, and has opened the way to other contacts, the most recent of which took place in London and Paris in September and November 1989.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

The racist régime of Pretoria could not maintain its existence without outside assistance. According to the most recent report of the Centre against Apartheid, South Africa's foreign trade in the 1980s represented on average more than 50 per cent of its gross national product, while the import of foreign capital in the form of investments or loans played a primary role in that country's growth. It is therefore more than ever necessary to step up all forms of international pressure to call a halt to those co-operative relations that benefit the South African régime and to strengthen isolating measure of all kinds against it.

In that regard, I would like to stress once again the educational value of global and binding international sanctions, which, in concert with the internal struggle waged by the South African people itself, constitutes the second element of the only alternative that can deliver that people from the crushing mortgage on its stability and harmonious development that is apartheid.

The General Assembly has already invited the Security Council several times to adopt global and binding sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria. Because of the attitude of some of its permanent members, who persist in their refusal to consider that the situation in southern Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security, the Security Council, despite the wishes of the great majority of its members, is paralysed and unable to exercise one of its principle responsibilities.

At our present session we should draw all the necessary consequences and contemplate the possibility of the General Assembly replacing the Council in order to implement provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and take all the necessary measures required by the situation in southern Africa, including above all the global and binding economic sanctions that I mentioned.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

To use the words of President Abdou Diouf, it is a question of:

"defining practical arrangements for organizing, structuring, intensifying and broadening those sanctions in order to make them effective and to deal a death-blow to the system of apartheid".

Such sanctions should be followed up attentively at the United Nations and should only be raised when there is true and fruitful dialogue between the South African Government and the anti-apartheid movements on the basis of the declaration made on behalf of the OAU by its Special Committee on Southern Africa, which won the total support of the ninth summit Conference of the non-aligned countries.

(Mr. Fall, Senegal)

As our special session opens, the eyes of the world and the eyes of the peoples of southern Africa are turned towards us. They live every day with the grim reality of the racist policies and practices of the Pretoria régime. The Johannesburg Declaration, adopted just two days ago by South African anti-apartheid groups meeting at a conference for a democratic future, clearly indicated the direction to be followed: strengthening sanctions and calling for real negotiations to bring about a democratic South Africa.

No longer will these worthy sons and daughters of South Africa who have suffered enough from the will of an unscrupulous minority be willing to continue to trust the delaying tactics of the Pretoria authorities. Nor will they be content to go along with mere declarations of intention on our part. From us - and from all the freedom-loving peoples of the world - they expect concrete and effective action.

At a time when people are striving for freedom, as walls are coming down and dialogues are beginning in Latin America and the Middle East and new perspectives are being glimpsed in Asia and in the eastern and southern parts of Africa, may we be able to give a positive response to the legitimate expectations of the freedom fighters, so that the twilight of 1989 may also be the twilight of apartheid and that the dawn of 1990 may be the advent in South Africa of a truly non-racial, egalitarian and democratic society.

Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): Today we are witnessing a relaxation of international tensions and major advances towards fuller enjoyment of human rights in many parts of the world. In this period of rapid change we are more than ever convinced that apartheid cannot and must not survive. The holding of this special session is particularly well timed to demonstrate the unequivocal condemnation of apartheid by the international community and to translate this attitude into

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

action. This special session should also remind us of the deplorable fact that the eradication of racial discrimination in South Africa still remains an unaccomplished task. For as long as apartheid persists, we are confronted with the most salient example of our failure in promoting universal respect for human rights.

Indeed, this institutionalized system of racial discrimination negates the most basic value common to all cultures - respect for the dignity of man - and deprives the majority of the South African people of their fundamental freedoms. It constitutes a continuous and flagrant violation of human rights in order to ensure the continued domination by a minority, imposing an intolerable situation on the majority of the population.

A social system that is based on defying the basic principles of justice can maintain itself only by repression and the use of force. Violence is inherent in such a system and is bound to lead to more violence unless speedy remedies can be found.

The plight of the people in a number of countries in southern Africa is of great concern to Austria. The actions which South Africa has taken outside its borders to shore up the apartheid system have had grave consequences for the region. It is more than ever a moral obligation for the international community to strive for an end to the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique and in general terms to ensure that the countries of the region are assisted in a meaningful and effective way. We must vigorously support the endeavours of the front-line States to reduce their dependence on South Africa. Austria gives priority to development co-operation with the member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and is engaged, for example, in the rehabilitation of the Beira corridor railway. Moreover, my country is ready to contribute to the development of independent Namibia.

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

Indeed, the independence of Namibia, once fully implemented, will rank as one of the major success stories of the United Nations. Let me congratulate the people of Namibia on the democratic spirit they have demonstrated at the first free elections in their country. I wish to express the sincere appreciation of Austria to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative on the achievements reached so far in spite of all the difficulties encountered. Furthermore, I would like to commend the work of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group with which 50 Austrian police monitors are serving.

After almost a century of foreign domination, the independence of Namibia will at last bring self-determination to the Namibian people. It will have a significant bearing on the situation in southern Africa and on those white South Africans who still cling to apartheid and domination, for Namibia might serve as a further example that black and white communities can live together peacefully in a democratic society. The very existence of an independent and democratic Namibia will defy the concept of apartheid.

Another aspect seems relevant in this context: it was international pressure, maintained over the years despite the long-standing refusal of South Africa, that brought the various parties to the negotiating table and in consequence led to the abandonment of the occupation of Namibia by the South African government. It is a good example of a case in which international pressure was effective in overcoming intransigence and in contributing to a negotiated settlement.

For many years we have appealed to the South African government to enter into negotiations with the leaders of the majority population. We are firmly convinced that the system of apartheid can be peacefully eliminated only through negotiations. We have noted the recent decision to open four residential areas to all races. But there is as yet no indication that this measure will lead to the

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

eventual repeal of the Group Areas Act. We can accept nothing less than the total eradication of apartheid, not merely a reform upholding the essence of racial segregation and discrimination in a more subtle way. Therefore, the legal pillars of the system, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, will have to be completely abolished.

The South African government has acknowledged the need for internal change. We have taken note of its intention to abolish the so-called Separate Amenities Act of 1953 as well as the planned submission to Parliament of a detailed catalogue of reform measures. Those steps certainly represent positive moves, but they must lead to genuine negotiations with representatives of all population groups and ultimately to the equal participation of all South Africans in the shaping of their common future.

At this critical stage, we are encouraged by the increasing number of members of the white community who join in the demand to abolish apartheid. We witnessed the march of white South Africans into black townships in a demonstration for peace and their welcome by black inhabitants. A growing segment of the white population is definitely ready to negotiate fundamental constitutional change, because they know that all South Africans would ultimately be winners.

We are encouraged by the efforts of the anti-apartheid groups to conduct their manifestations in a disciplined way and we express respect for their sense of responsibility in the light of the longstanding repression and all its emotional consequences. We have also taken note of the conference for a democratic future for South Africa, which can be considered as a first step in forming a unified and therefore powerful front for all anti-apartheid forces.

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

But, much to our regret, the grim realities of apartheid are still with us, as some grave and distressing recent incidents demonstrate, incidents that are a tragic setback after the large, welcome rally for seven recently released political prisoners, which was not disrupted by the authorities.

The release of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners was welcomed by the international community. But we must not forget that hundreds of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, are still waiting to regain their freedom. We firmly renew our demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners. There must be an end to the terror of political trials and politically related executions. Furthermore, we demand the immediate termination of the state of emergency. All bans and restrictions on anti-apartheid organizations and individuals pursuing this legitimate aim must be lifted. The legalization of the African National Congress and other banned organizations, as well as the implementation of the demands I have just mentioned, will be needed to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

We should also recall that negotiations can be fruitful only when the parties agree on some basic features of their objective. In our view, an unequivocal commitment by the South African Government to abandon apartheid and to hold truly democratic elections would decisively enhance the prospects for an early, negotiated solution to the problem.

The news from South Africa over the past weeks has conveyed the impression that the chances for a peaceful resolution of the situation have increased. Some cautious steps, which I have mentioned, have already been taken by the South African Government, but more vigorous ones will have to follow. Matching commitments from the other side will then be required in order to alleviate distrust and develop mutual confidence. A fundamentally new Constitution for South

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

Africa will have to be negotiated in order to create a just, equitable and truly democratic society. Apartheid, racial discrimination and domination by a minority at the expense of the majority must not have any place in it.

We have taken note with interest of expressions of intent by the South African Government to set out on a new course. These signals relate to the situation in South Africa as well as to the relationship with the neighbouring countries in southern Africa. The coming months will show whether the policies of South Africa will give way definitively to a more co-operative approach.

At this critical juncture in developments in South Africa, the international community bears a particular responsibility. More than ever before, we are called upon to use all peaceful means in order to advance the prospects for negotiations. But a relaxation of the international pressure on the South African Government can be considered only if there is irrefutable evidence of significant and irreversible change.

Austria will continue to implement the measures it has adopted on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions. It will also contribute regularly to the various programmes and funds that help alleviate the suffering of the victims of apartheid. In addition, we shall make a special contribution to economic self-help schemes for the underprivileged black population in South Africa.

The future of South Africa is in the hands of its own people. But the international community can undoubtedly help South Africans in their struggle against apartheid and for a better future in a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. We have to do our best, individually and collectively, to support the process of peaceful change. Let us map out a common strategy and seek an international consensus on the steps to be taken to end apartheid quickly and peacefully.

(Mr. Klestil, Austria)

Progress towards that objective will have to be measured in deeds rather than in words. The Czech playwright and leader of Civic Forum, Vaclav Havel, in his recent speech in Frankfurt, reminded us of the power but also of the deceptive nature of words. Therefore, let us be wary of words and look for the real world behind them. We owe that to all South Africans and to ourselves.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): The noble ideal of peace, justice, mutual understanding and solidarity which is the motive force of the United Nations requires that all States, large and small, should contribute sincerely to the attainment of the fundamental purposes set forth in the Charter. In this respect, my delegation welcomes the holding of this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Our participation is directed not only towards expressing our solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa, but also towards working together with all justice- and peace-loving peoples in order to hasten the day when apartheid will be eradicated, and to contribute to the advent in South Africa of a democratic, multi-racial and united society in which all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour and creed, will enjoy the same fundamental freedoms and inalienable human rights.

This session, which is taking place just after the elections in Namibia, is a crowning moment in our common struggle against apartheid and strengthens our determination to eradicate this hateful system.

For more than 40 years South Africa has been defying the international community, trampling the Charter of our Organization underfoot by refusing to comply with the sensible and moderate terms of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The hateful practices of apartheid, this crime against humanity, have transformed South Africa into a veritable concentration camp, where the denial of the most basic human rights and bloody acts of repression

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

have become the daily lot of nearly 28 million blacks. Allow me to recall, in this respect, a few facts and figures. Out of a population of 33 million, only the white minority - 4.5 million - enjoys full citizenship, while 28 million blacks have no rights. Moreover, under a most iniquitous system of land tenure and allocation, 87 per cent of the land is reserved for whites, who account for only 13.6 per cent of the total population, while the 13 per cent of land in the most desolate areas falls to the 28 million blacks, intentionally split up amongst the banstustans.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

The policy of apartheid, which affects every aspect of daily life in South Africa, is based on a legal arsenal of 317 segregationist laws enacted by the racist Pretoria régime to protect the white minority against the black majority. Those laws, which relegate four fifths of South Africa's population to sub-human status, deprive them of the enjoyment of the most basic rights, such as the right to own property, particularly land, and subjects them to systematic discrimination in every aspect of human activity.

South Africa is pursuing its hateful and destructive policy beyond its borders. The front-line States have fallen victim to murderous aggression by the Pretoria régime and its agents, resulting in serious political, economic and social turmoil in those countries.

According to a study by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA/637), published on 12 October this year, the cost of the damage caused by South African aggression in 1988 alone was \$10 billion for the region as a whole. During the period 1980-1988 the total was \$60 billion. The toll in human lives in that period was equally heavy: 1.5 million people and 750,000 children under the age of five. The repeated acts of aggression have created 1.5 million refugees and 6 million displaced persons.

Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, all member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), are suffering military aggression and acts of sabotage perpetrated by Pretoria. The favourite targets of the strategy of destabilization are the transport, energy, industry and agricultural infrastructures, but they include rural and urban areas.

Those activities by the racist régime are not just unforeseeable consequences of military action; they reveal a deliberate strategy aimed at economically and

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

politically subjugating the front-line States. It is precisely to accomplish those sinister designs that Pretoria is daily strengthening its military potential and enhancing its nuclear capacity. As a result of that policy South Africa is not only a grave threat to all of Africa, but is becoming a permanent danger to international peace and security.

We know from experience that no legal or military arsenal, however powerful, has ever overcome the resistance of a people resolved to free itself from oppression and injustice.

I am happy to be able to pay tribute in the Assembly to the valiant South African people, who, despite the Sharpeville and Soweto repressions, despite summary executions and the restrictions imposed by the state of emergency, and despite bannings of every kind, are courageously pursuing their struggle, under the banner of the liberation movements and trade union organizations.

This is also the place to pay tribute to the political courage and spirit of solidarity of the front-line peoples and States, which have spared no sacrifice and no effort to check Pretoria's hegemonistic policy and to break the chains in which the minority régime wishes to enclose the black majority.

The international community and the whole African continent have not stood idly by when faced with the gravity of the situation and the horror of the acts committed by the apartheid régime in southern Africa.

Since its creation the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in accordance with the relevant provisions of its Charter, has provided political, material and moral assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa.

As for the United Nations, it has remained constantly faithful to the ideals of freedom, equality and universal brotherhood, peace, good-neighbourliness and

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

co-operation which are the foundations of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has made the elimination of apartheid one of its main objectives, and has taken appropriate steps to that end.

The political and economic isolation of the supporters of apartheid has been increased by the joint efforts of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and many anti-apartheid and humanitarian organizations. The growing pressures from all quarters have forced the racist leaders to make minor concessions, which should not divert us from the main objective - the complete dismantling of the racist system.

Let us not deceive ourselves. Apartheid cannot be reformed. It must simply be abolished.

The lack of political will on the part of the South African Government truly to commit itself to meaningful change is increasingly clear. It is evident from the fact that the state of emergency is still in force and that the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and many other organizations are still banned and that Nelson Mandela is still in prison, as are other political prisoners, held without trial. It thus appears that no significant step has been taken to show that the new South African Government is prepared to begin the rapid, total elimination of apartheid. Nothing has been done to repeal the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, and nothing has been done to abandon the policy of bantustans and the system of separate education.

The Government of Mali therefore reaffirms its firm conviction that apartheid must be totally eradicated. However, that can be accomplished only by the adoption of unanimous, joint measures. Mali is convinced that comprehensive, mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter are the most effective way to bring about change in South Africa.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

The international community will have to do everything possible to encourage such action aimed at the total elimination of apartheid. But, as you have indicated, Mr. President, it must also

"elaborate a common strategy and forge an international consensus on the directions that must be followed both by the South African Government and by itself in order rapidly and peacefully to bring an end to apartheid".

Aware of the dangers presented by apartheid, and convinced of the need for a united struggle by all anti-apartheid forces, President Moussa Traore when Chairman of the OAU did everything possible, with the agreement of his peers, to revitalize the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which met in Harare in March this year. The Committee met again, with a concrete programme, in Harare in August this year, under the chairmanship of President Hosni Mubarak, current Chairman of the OAU. The Declaration it adopted sets forth the basic principles and guidelines for action to build a new South Africa, in which the dignity of each person will be restored, respected and guaranteed.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

That Declaration, which provides a clear and realistic basis for the rapid and peaceful elimination of apartheid, was adopted by the last summit meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September. Its adoption by this special session of the General Assembly would be very desirable because it would give the Declaration international support.

Forty-five years ago the founders of the United Nations established the bases for a world instrument that would

"save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

They still had fresh in their minds the scenes of devastation, cruelty and suffering which the whole international community had witnessed and which were the result of the concept of racial superiority. In a spirit of solidarity that has rarely been matched, the free and democratic forces of five continents rallied and shed their blood to save mankind from that folly.

The threat represented by the doctrine of apartheid today affects Africa, but Africa hopes that mankind has not already forgotten the incalculable harm that can result from the fires lit by ideologies of hatred. We appeal to all peace- and justice-loving nations to demonstrate their wisdom and solidarity by pursuing and sustaining the resolute struggle to eliminate apartheid and to create in South Africa a multiracial, egalitarian, democratic and prosperous society.

Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the policies of apartheid of the racist régime of South Africa. Your presidency of this session and your chairmanship of the Special Committee against Apartheid bespeak Africa's special position at this historic session and give the session an important political dimension.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

United Nations and international-media reports continue to highlight the fact that the racist régime in South Africa refuses any political settlement of the crisis afflicting the people of South Africa owing to that régime's persistent Practice of the policy of apartheid.

The régime tried to mislead world public opinion with a so-called plan of reform. Its aim was to break the isolation imposed upon it. However, its ploy did not work. It fell short of meeting even the basic demands of the people of South Africa. This was amply demonstrated in the rejection by the people of South Africa of the sham elections in September 1989, which were held in order to return yet another apartheid parliament. The local council elections, which took place in October 1988 were also rejected.

The resolution on the situation in South Africa adopted at the Belgrade summit conference strongly condemned those elections, rejected them as null and void and expressed support for the struggling people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

The only way out of the plight of the people of South Africa under the yoke of the racist régime is the establishment of a free, democratic system that would recognize the sovereignty of the majority and treat people as equals regardless of race or colour.

The continued repression of the black population, the political trials, the death sentences and executions of opponents, the detentions without trial, the murderous rampages of the death squads and vigilantes, the imposition of one state of emergency after another, the bannings and restrictions, the removal by force of entire populations and the imposition of media censorship will all be to no avail. These Draconian measures will not deter the national liberation and resistance movements from waging their struggle for freedom and democracy.

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

All these practices call to mind the counterpart of that racist régime in our Arab region. That counterpart was established on a racist, religious basis and from the very outset had the objective of expelling the indigenous population from their homes and creating a base from which acts of aggression could be launched against neighbouring Arab States.

It comes as no surprise to us to see from time to time reports in the Western and especially the American media that bring to light secret and detailed information, later confirmed by official sources, on the escalating military and nuclear collaboration between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. The latest such report was published last October on the supply by Israel to South Africa of intercontinental missile technology and the construction of a factory for that purpose in South Africa. In return for this Israel is supplied with uranium for the manufacture of atomic bombs.

This collaboration has existed for years and has continued to increase and to assume dangerous dimensions, which pose serious threats to international security, in defiance of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Consequently, this collaboration must be given the highest priority on the list of international concerns and an end put to it in order to avert its potential grave effects.

The success of the international community and, in particular, that of the United Nations in bringing about the independence of Namibia and putting an end to its occupation by the South African régime is a source of encouragement for us all.

We have noted with satisfaction the positive results that have accrued from the elections in Namibia through the supervision of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It is our hope that Palestine will be the next independent State to assume its rightful place in this Hall, immediately after

(Mr. Aziz, Iraq)

Namibia. We also very strongly support the call of the legitimate Palestinian leadership to follow the example of Namibia in regard to the exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of its right to self-determination.

I should like to reaffirm Iraq's support for all international measures and arrangements for the imposition of economic sanctions on the South African régime as well as of an embargo on the supply of arms to that régime, and on any and every transaction with it in whatever shape or form. We also reaffirm our full support for the struggle of the national liberation movements of South Africa for the elimination of the apartheid régime and the exercise by the people of South Africa of the right to self-determination under democratic rule.

Our solidarity with the African States and, especially those in the front line, stems from our position of principle in support of just causes and in defence of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law.

Arab-African co-operation will continue. Its aim is to create more favourable conditions at the regional and international levels for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The United Nations General Assembly is holding its special session on apartheid at a turning-point. The cold war is passing, and mankind is starting to move to a new and peaceful period of its history. A new world, of an entirely new type, is emerging - a new world characterized not only by non-violence but, increasingly, by more positive features: emphasis on law, morality and justice and on the leading role of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of the world community. The ascent to such a world has already started in all spheres of international relations and in all parts of the globe. In this context the initiative by the Non-Aligned Movement to have a special session of the General Assembly on apartheid convened seems very pertinent and reaffirms the constructive role played by the Non-Aligned Movement in the renewal of international relations.

Building a positive world involves a search for solutions through joint, creative work of nations and the wide use of consensus. This is based on the supremacy of universal human values, democracy and humanism, on recognition of every nation's freedom to choose options for its own development that permit many alternatives. Commitment to these principles and an end to confrontation are in the interests of all States and peoples, without exception. The new thinking provides an opportunity to develop constructive co-operation along all axes of the system of politico-geographical co-ordinates - East-West, North-South, South-South - and has made it possible to tackle social and economic problems, including indebtedness, underdevelopment and preservation of the environment.

The new thinking does not tolerate a selective approach to any region, and it rejects moral double standards. It is characterized by political tolerance; yet it categorically rejects any form of domination, whether terrorism, colonialism, racism or apartheid.

It should be emphasized that, just as apartheid was not acceptable yesterday, when the clouds of mistrust and confrontation were hovering over the world, this

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

odious manifestation of racist oppression cannot be tolerated today, at a time of an improving international climate. There can be no coexistence with apartheid, which is incompatible with universal moral values, with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The system of apartheid in South Africa is the root cause of the conflict situation in the south of the African continent, and there can be no comprehensive solution in southern Africa without its removal. Unless apartheid is eradicated the conflict in the region will persist. This relationship, however, works two ways. The profound changes in the world, the ever-increasing recognition of mankind's common destiny, and the awareness of the need for real stability in the process of dynamic evolution in today's world have generated a powerful thrust towards the political settlement of conflicts in the south of Africa and particularly in Namibia on the basis of a balance of the interests of all sides. In southern Africa today developments are under way that it would be no exaggeration to call historic and crucial, not only to the peoples of that region but to the world at large.

There, as in other regions of the world, the new political thinking is now putting down roots, making obvious the benefits of settling conflicts by political means. World politics today prove beyond doubt that when realities are taken into account, as well as the will and desire to seek the balance of interests, then there is forward movement. This is clearly evidenced by several facts, which I shall outline. Speaking more broadly I would like to highlight the following points:

First, a climate of moral rejection of apartheid and of world-wide condemnation of Pretoria's racist policies has been established.

Secondly, in the last year the deadlock in respect of several components of the conflict in the south of the African continent has been broken. The settlement

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

in Namibia is new and conclusive evidence of the effectiveness and universality of the United Nations machinery, as well as of the possibility of its effective utilization. We are sure that the emergence of a sovereign, democratic Namibia and the establishment of peace and stability in that country will do a great deal to improve the situation in southern Africa and will promote a review by States of their national priorities and approaches with regard to regional security. The conditions are being created for a move towards political settlement and normalization of the situation in Angola and Mozambique.

Thirdly, under international pressure, Pretoria has been forced to revise its policy in the region, and, eventually, it will have to sit down at the conference table. Talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa represented a real breakthrough and culminated in the signing of the New York agreements on South-West Africa.

Fourthly, in South African ruling circles some elements are beginning to understand the futility of preserving the system of racial discrimination. This is primarily a result of a broad anti-apartheid democratic movement, led by the African National Congress of South Africa, and of the international community's pressure on the South African Government.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the significance of the steps taken by Pretoria. We cannot yet talk of building a solid bridge of mutual understanding in South Africa. We can now see just the outline of a realistic evaluation of the current situation by all political forces in the country.

We believe that today the efforts of all countries of the world should be directed to tackling the task of eliminating apartheid. With this in mind, one should naturally take into account the positive experience gained in the sphere of settling complicated conflict situations, as well as the growing determination of people to do away with the manifestations of racial hatred and the violent suppression of the rights and freedoms of people because of the colour of their

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

skin. As is the case in solving other conflicts, the Soviet Union favours, in this regard, multi-option approaches and multilateral and bilateral contacts.

We are firmly convinced that the potential of the United Nations provides great opportunities in this regard. In the resolutions on apartheid recently adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session, the international community has once again unequivocally called for the early dismantling of apartheid by political means.

The forty-fourth session of the Assembly has demonstrated that the best way of searching for the balance of interests and of finding generally acceptable political solutions is constructive dialogue, and not confrontation or verbal battles or - in the words of the President of Zambia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda - endless discussions. I take this opportunity to commend most warmly the Special Committee against Apartheid, whose work was such an important contribution to the preparations for this special session.

For us there is special significance in the fact that the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Garba, is President of the General Assembly at this special session. The constructive, peace-making energy of the United Nations should be aimed at combining the possibilities that arise from the new political thinking and from the natural desire of the people of South Africa for freedom and peace with ways of launching the negotiation process concerning the future of the country. In this connection, the ideas expressed today by Mr. Garba and by the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, are very attractive to us.

We believe that the Harare Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which lays down some guidelines for the early elimination of apartheid and the peaceful settlement of the South African problem, could become a good basis for productive dialogue.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

We also welcome the innovative approach taken by the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement at the Belgrade Conference and the decisions of that forum with regard to a non-confrontational search for political solutions in southern Africa.

Of course, it is for the South Africans themselves to decide what kind of country they should have after apartheid is dismantled. At the same time, we share the view, expressed in the Harare Declaration, that the result of these negotiations should be the establishment in South Africa of a united, democratic and non-racial State with a Constitution providing for a bill of rights, an independent judiciary and a multi-party system based on universal suffrage - the principle of one man, one vote.

Before such talks can take place the Government of South Africa must take effective measures towards the creation of a political climate conducive to such developments.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

We believe that States are correct in considering that such measures should include primarily the following: the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, as well as those detained on political grounds; lifting all bans and restrictions on all banned organizations and giving all South Africans the freedom to express their political views; ending the state of emergency; and repealing discriminatory laws.

There is a growing conviction - and good reason for it - in the international community that while the system of apartheid continues to be a cruel reality and Pretoria's policy has not rid itself of its old dogmas, there can be no slackening of the struggle against that unjust system and no easing of international pressure on the South African Government, including economic and other sanctions.

Taking into account the progress reached in the settlement of a series of difficult problems in southern Africa and the existing proposals - particularly from the democratic forces within South Africa, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement - we should consider how to reduce these efforts to a common denominator and to develop a mutual understanding of the priorities involved in promoting the emergence of a non-apartheid South Africa. The present special session provides a unique opportunity to find such a way.

A significant role in furthering a settlement of this conflict situation could be played by the Security Council and its permanent members, including the Soviet Union and the United States. To that end, all efforts should be united by a common goal: to promote a political settlement.

In southern Africa, like in other troubled areas of the world, only one way leads to a better future: the way from confrontation to co-operation through mutual understanding. Only this can lead us to a secure, stable and positive world where, as Martin Luther King put it, justice and respect for human dignity will become a great and cleansing law.

Dame Nita BARROW (Barbados): We welcome the convening of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. I shall take this opportunity to express our pleasure, Mr. President, at seeing you once more guiding our deliberations. This session offers us a special opportunity to review the policies of apartheid in South Africa and the measures that Member States have employed to date to secure the elimination of apartheid and to examine some strategies now required to ensure the speedy and definitive ending of apartheid.

The air is full of mouthings of reform, but at the outset allow me to restate categorically the position of the Government of Barbados: that apartheid cannot be reformed, only eliminated. That has been said by almost every speaker. In this regard, we endorse fully the recent statement by Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he compared apartheid to the Frankenstein monster: "A Frankenstein cannot be reformed; it can only be destroyed".

Apartheid, simply put, is the institutionalized system of racism and racial discrimination. It is totally repugnant in its cruelty. It is sustained only through brute force and creates human misery and suffering for millions of South Africans. As if this were not abhorrent enough, the destabilization that apartheid has wrought on the neighbouring front-line States in southern Africa has multiplied many times the numbers of the world's population actually affected by that heinous crime against humanity. An eminent speaker this morning reminded us of that.

Two of the conclusions of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa, of which I had the privilege of being a member, made in 1986, spring readily to mind and provide a proper basis for an analysis of the current status of apartheid in southern Africa today. The Group stated:

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

"we have examined the Government's 'Programme of reform' and have been forced to conclude that at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African Government to dismantle apartheid".

Secondly, it stated:

"there is no present prospect of a process of dialogue leading to the establishment of a non-racial and representative government".

The Group's conclusions had been based on the racist régime's reactions and responses to the repeated calls of the Commonwealth and the wider international community to the South African authorities to take the following action: first, declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent; secondly, terminate the existing state of emergency; thirdly, release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid; fourthly, establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties; and, fifthly, initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

Today, as we are about to say farewell to the decade of the 1980s and step uncertainly into the 1990s, it is fair to say that there has been some tampering done with the system of apartheid. Some cosmetics have been applied in an effort to soften the face of apartheid; a less threatening face has also appeared in the guise of Mr. De Klerk; the rhetoric has been moderated; glimmers of hope have been seen. But do we yet "have evidence of clear and irreversible change" from Pretoria as requested by the Commonwealth Heads of Government? Have we yet witnessed the "specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent" as demanded by the international community?

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Barbados is yet to be convinced of that, but we note instead that in September of this year elections were held in South Africa and the vast majority of the people of Azania were excluded from the process. We note as well that, though some political prisoners have been released, Nelson Mandela and the vast majority of political prisoners still remain incarcerated in South African gaols. Those facts have been stated time and again. Barbados notes with concern that, even though a few peaceful marches and rallies have been allowed in South Africa, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, among others, remain banned political organizations.

The reports of the Special Committee against apartheid continue to be replete with documented cases of escalated internal repression against anti-apartheid organizations; detail the continued imprisonment of political opponents of apartheid; testify to the continued exclusion of the majority of South Africans from participation in the government of their own country solely on the basis of race; and attest to the continuation and renewal of the state of emergency.

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

Barbados is horrified by the reports which abound of police hit squads, arrests, detentions, tortures, assassinations, chemical poisonings, harassment of anti-apartheid political activists and sabotage of institutions supporting anti-apartheid activities. In short, Barbados still sees the legislative pillars of apartheid standing unbroken and undisturbed, still finds the fundamentals unchanged, still looks in vain for signs of clear and irreversible change.

However, we are not daunted, for we are convinced of the truth that such change will come. Recent events in Namibia have demonstrated that this is not only possible but inevitable. Indeed, as a member of one of the groups charged with monitoring the elections in Namibia, I could not help but be struck by the courage, commitment and pride of the eight people who had a dream and had never let it go and for whom the dream had finally come true as they went to choose for themselves their own Government. This must and shall be equally true for the valiant people of South Africa.

In South Africa the positive developments, the concessions, the reforms that we have witnessed to date are a direct response to internal pressure and to external sanctions. The South African people have assured us that they will continue and intensify the internal pressure. We owe it to them and to posterity to assure them of our sustained international effort on their behalf.

That is why Barbados is so alarmed by the mounting evidence that as soon as the international financial and economic sanctions started to bite and put real pressure on the South African economy there seemed to be a renewed effort on the part of some to ease the pressure. It is nothing short of scandalous that South Africa's external trade figures for the first six months of 1988 show increases over the first six months of 1987 with regard to some countries of the magnitude of 110 per cent, 98 per cent, 54 per cent, 50 per cent, 47 per cent, 46 per cent,

(Dame Nita Barrow, Barbados)

39 per cent, 38 per cent and 35 per cent, with a total overall increase of 34 per cent.

All this is in response to the call for concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid. The recent rescheduling of Pretoria's debt showed at one and the same time the extent of crisis in the South African economy brought about by sanctions and the desire to provide South Africa with a breathing space to enable it to continue with its apartheid policies.

The record is clear. Sanctions against South Africa have worked and continue to work. What we need to do is also clear. The time to relax sanctions is not now; rather, increased concerted measures are called for to hasten the process of change in South Africa. Now is the time not to give pause but to push on and consolidate and seize the opportunity for a negotiated, peaceful settlement of this intractable problem. Sanctions and a negotiated and peaceful settlement in South Africa are inseparable. Let us not waste this opportunity of helping to bring it about.

Mr. PERERA (Sri Lanka): The United Nations has been seized of the question of apartheid and its injustice, oppression and the denial of human rights of the black majority of South Africa for over four decades.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in Nicosia in September 1988 called for the convening in 1989 of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Our meeting today is the outcome of this initiative.

Apartheid is a vestige of colonialism and imperialism. Although we have witnessed the gradual end of those twin evils, the South African Government has held on to that abhorrent policy, defying numerous resolutions of the United Nations and not heeding the demands of the international community. The

(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

continuance of the policy of apartheid in contravention of all civilized norms and values is a crime against the conscience and incompatible with the dignity of man.*

Year after year we meet and condemn the most barbaric and primitive political system that exists in the world today. Yet almost universal condemnation has done nothing to alleviate the plight of millions of South Africans living - no, existing - in their own country as chattels belonging to an alien white majority.

In the late 1930s the whole civilized world took to arms and vanquished a tyrant, and with it destroyed the myth of a superior race. Yet at the end of the 1980s some States are hesitant to take the simple step of imposing sanctions against South Africa, on the basis that it would harm the indigenous Africans. It behoves us to examine this statement and its bona fides.

The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa was set up in Vancouver in 1987 under the Okanagan Statement and Programme of Action on South Africa, inter alia, to provide high-level guidance for intensification of economic sanctions against South Africa. In February 1988 at Lusaka that Committee, chaired by Canada, mandated the Commonwealth Secretary-General to commission an independent evaluation of the application and mechanism of sanctions.

The sanctions report prepared for the Committee and published by Penguin Books was the outcome of that. One of the issues considered in the report relates to the reason advanced by certain States opposing the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, namely, that it would hurt the black people. They drew our attention to the fact that in certain spheres, for example in the gold mines, which are not subject to sanctions, the work force had declined by 40,000, the reason being the

* Mr. Kadrat (Iraq), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

need to reduce production costs and maintain profits. In agriculture, where State policy encouraged rapid mechanization, over 1 million jobs were lost in the 1970s and another 170,000 in the first half of 1980.

(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

Meeting in Toronto in August 1988 the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa recognized that Pretoria's fear of sanctions was leading to a concerted campaign, supported by massive financial resources, to convince Western countries that black South Africans were opposed to sanctions. The Committee recognized that this itself was an admission by Pretoria of the effectiveness of sanctions. Its deliberations also confirmed the Committee's view that black South Africans continue to look principally to sanctions as the international community's most necessary form of pressure on Pretoria for peaceful change.

The sanctions report and the expert study group have clearly indicated that the sanctions imposed by the Nordic countries, the United States and other nations, and by the Commonwealth, except Britain, have had some impact, but an insufficient one. The recent token gestures by the present Administration of South Africa in opening white beaches to blacks is used by those who oppose imposing sanctions to indicate that Pretoria is softening its attitude towards the black majority. In the face of secret State murder squads, mass arrests and detention without trial, the opening of white beaches to blacks would hardly be considered a step towards the dismantling of apartheid.

Over the years the situation in South Africa has deteriorated, with the continuation of mass arrests and detention without trial and the killing of innocent people who oppose this inhuman system, which is enforced so that the white minority can enjoy a high standard of living. The irony of the situation is that much of the wealth of the country has been, and continues to be, produced by a labour force of black people who benefit little from this accumulation of wealth.

Further, in order to protect and maintain its apartheid policy, South Africa continues its acts of aggression against the front-line and other neighbouring

(Mr. Perera, Sri Lanka)

independent countries. We unequivocally condemn these acts of aggression aimed at destabilizing the region and weakening those countries economically, socially, politically and militarily, causing enormous human and material damage.

The brutality of apartheid and its effects on the majority of the population in South Africa, the destruction of lives and property in the region, and the escalating threat which that poses to international peace and security and regional stability demanded the convening of this special session. Today we have an opportunity to establish the basis for an effective solution to rid the world of this abhorrent system of government.

In this context, we support the Declaration on the Question of South Africa of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989.

Further, the General Assembly at its current session adopted by consensus resolution 44/27 B on 22 November 1989. In that resolution the General Assembly outlined the demands whose implementation by South Africa would create the necessary climate for genuine negotiations.

Today South Africa has an unparalleled opportunity to respond positively to these universally acclaimed demands and demonstrate its determination to create the necessary conditions for negotiations which would facilitate an internationally acceptable solution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I call on the representative of Egypt, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Arab States.

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The international community has been unanimous in its rejection of racial segregation. It has branded the policies of apartheid, which have tried to impart to racial segregation the semblance of legality, as a crime against humanity that must be resisted and an affront to humanity that must be eradicated.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Successive Governments in South Africa have been driven by an egotistical desire to monopolize power and hog all the wealth of the country to design racist policies that were aimed at depriving the majority of the populace of human dignity, the right to be treated as equals and the right to participate in the decision-making process. Those Governments have vied with each other in inventing ways and means of deepening and entrenching segregation between members of the same society on every level. Consequently, laws and decrees have proliferated. Every law or decree has obliterated yet another natural right of the downtrodden majority.

The arrogance and intransigence of those successive Governments deafened them to the cries of warning by an international community that tried to avert those policies and the resultant destructive repercussions it foresaw - not only for South Africa but also for the region as a whole - and for the peace and security of the world.

It was only logical and natural for the oppressed majority to reject this unjust situation. It was also natural for the disenfranchised majority to turn from the unavailing peaceful resistance it had pursued and the unheeded call for change by democratic means to violent means in their bid to bring about change in their country. By opting for this approach, the majority signalled its determination not to be driven to despair by the ruling minority's insistence on turning a deaf ear to the voice of reason and counsels of wisdom and its refusal to respond favourably to the majority's legitimate calls for reform and change.

The inevitable outcome was bloody conflict in a South Africa that was sucked into a vortex of vicious and escalating cycles of violence. The more brutal and barbaric the military and security forces became, the more determinedly the popular patriotic organizations showed their willingness to make any sacrifice. They faced up with patience and courage to every form of persecution and repression regardless

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

of the glaringly unequal capabilities of the two sides. Indeed, those organizations have given one of the most outstanding examples in the history of humanity of steadfastness and faith in the justice of their cause.

Faced with the brutal and virulent methods of repression used by the ruling minority, patriotic and mass organizations sought asylum and refuge in neighbouring countries in order for them to be able to carry on their struggle for freedom and equality. Just exactly as the international community had foreseen, the long arm of aggression reached the neighbouring countries which had joined all the countries of the world in condemning racial segregation and supporting those who struggle for its eradication.

It was at that juncture that the racial conflict in South Africa acquired a new more explosive nature: its consequences had spilled over the borders of the country, engulfed the whole of southern Africa and immersed it in destruction and suffering. Successive Governments of Pretoria, in their drive to defend and entrench apartheid, were not content to pursue policies and strategies of aggression vis-à-vis their neighbours, but saw fit to fan the flames of civil war in the whole region. They extended every material and military support to the warring factions. It was thus that destabilization of its neighbours became the outstanding feature of South Africa's regional policy.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The countries of the region are all newly independent. They have been and continue to be in dire need of focusing their efforts on facing up to the challenges of economic and social development. They have to build their infrastructure in order for them to be able to satisfy their people's aspirations to prosperity and a better life. However, the policies of aggression pursued by South Africa vis-à-vis those countries have upset all their plans. They have had to channel their limited disposable resources, both natural and human, to the business of self-defence against the wanton raids and fierce attacks by South Africa. Thus the countries of the region have been deprived of the stability that is indispensable for their rehabilitation and the narrowing of the inherited gap of backwardness.

The whole region has fallen victim to the designs of aggression and racial hegemony. In the light of its conviction that continuation of this grave situation poses a real threat to international peace and security, the international community started to exert pressure and strengthened and diversified sanctions against the Pretoria Government, whose isolation became almost complete. At the same time, the international community has been active in consolidating the capability of the African front-line States to face up to the challenge by the South African régime, in the hope of delaying an imminent explosion in the region.

Contemporary history demonstrates that the policies of apartheid are the root cause of all problems in southern Africa. That is why the Arab nation rightly believes that the real starting-point in dealing with challenges in that important region of the world should be the complete and final eradication of racist practices and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the disenfranchised majority of the population of South Africa.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The Arab nation has several links with the African continent. By such links each side strengthens and supports the other. Consequently, it was inevitable that the Arab and African peoples should share sentiments of sympathy, support and solidarity, and that each group should look upon the other's important causes as its own. This bespeaks a sound awareness of the oneness of a common history and a common future.

The racial discrimination practised by South Africa elicits strong feelings of Arab solidarity with our African brethren. It also alerts the Arab mind to the strong similarity that exists between the plight of the majority in South Africa and the tragedy of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. That the sufferings in South Africa echo those in the occupied Palestinian territories has a deep significance indeed.

The tragedy of the two peoples in South Africa and Palestine has commanded the attention and sympathy of the international community not only because of the increasing number of victims but also because of the aggravation of the destructive consequences for both regions. Hence, the repeated United Nations resolutions and calls for an end to the terrible human suffering of those two peoples. That suffering has been discussed in this Organization since its very first session. It is regrettable indeed that international circumstances should have allowed that suffering to continue unabated regardless of the unanimity and determination of the international community to combat its roots and causes.

The uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and its struggle for the restoration of its legitimate rights have been dealt with by the most brutal forms of repression and intimidation exactly as the struggle of our brethren in South Africa is being dealt with.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Another aspect of the similiarity of the tragedies of the two peoples, in South Africa and in Palestine, is highlighted by the experience of the past years, which demonstrates that ignoring the will of the international community and United Nations resolutions has led to the eruption of a bloody conflict, the escalation of violence against both peoples and the extension of acts of aggression to neighbouring countries.

The terroristic practices witnessed in southern Africa and the Arab region are proof positive of the pursuance of a systematic policy of State terrorism by countries which do not heed the will of the international community and have no respect for principles of right and justice.

Former Governments in South Africa had deluded themselves - as is the case in Palestine - into believing that they were going to be able to force those who struggle for their legitimate rights to accept the status quo. They also thought that they were going to be able to resolve the crisis by resorting to measures of repression such as the banning and criminalization of political rallies and meetings, the turning of deaf ears to the appeals of the oppressed people and the gaoling of political leaders.

The long and bitter struggle of the masses in South Africa and occupied Palestine is indeed a very significant epic of man's struggle for his freedom and dignity.

The similarities between the sufferings of the two peoples, of South Africa and of occupied Palestine, are numerous indeed. They reflect the striking similiarity in, nay the identical nature of, the views of those who rule in both countries. The similarity also explains the close collaboration between the two régimes in violation of mandatory Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

International pressures of all sorts and the various sanctions imposed against South Africa have led to what appears to be some sort of awakening of conscience in South Africa. Those sanctions also account for the encouraging signs we have witnessed recently that there may be movement towards change and reform by the new leadership in that country. That new leadership seems to be trying to shed the remnants of the old dogmatic thinking of the Middle Ages, a thinking that has been harmful to the interests of those who espoused it, to the extent of endangering their very survival.

Many countries have welcomed those encouraging signs as indications of Pretoria's readiness to abandon for good its racial policies. However, there has been a certain degree of caution in welcoming those reforms. Though we welcome the release of some of the patriotic leaders and the unbanning of political rallies even under the ongoing state of emergency, the lack of trust in South Africa's good intentions has been entrenched by the experience of decades in dealing with that régime. That experience tells us to remain cautious and vigilant.

Even if those changes and reforms are genuine and carry with them a ray of hope for our militant brethren in South Africa that the crisis will soon be resolved and that they are now closer to regaining their rights, the leaders of Pretoria are still required to substantiate their protestations of good will and prove their earnestness in moving towards peace. They have some really serious work to do if they wish to gain trust and confidence in their actions.

In light of the continuing success in Namibia, we believe that given good will the current international climate could prove to be most favourable for the achievement of peace and security in the whole region. The Pretoria Government should seize this opportunity and use it to reach a peaceful and just settlement that guarantees the rights of all sides.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

We therefore call on Pretoria to show courage and adopt the measures necessary for the creation of a climate conducive to a constructive dialogue between all parties, on an equal footing. Last August's Harare Declaration contained the elements that can lead to that desired goal.

Such a dialogue is the only way to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa. The desire of all South Africans is peace and security. Experience has shown that it will not be possible to make peace and security the prerogative of certain sectors of society. Peace and security are an indivisible whole. There is no way to peace and security other than by involving the entire society in the process of decision-making and building the future.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): This special session which has been devoted to the struggle against apartheid is held at a time when the international situation is witnessing a swift and intensive thrust of events in favour of democracy and the liberation of peoples.

As already pointed out in the address of the Chairman of the Arab Group, which my delegation commends, the international community attaches great importance to the outcome of the special session with regard to the definition of basic principles and the adoption of concrete measures that would put an end to the abhorrent apartheid régime in the south of our African continent and enable the black majority to exercise its democratic rights.

That majority should enjoy justice and respect for human rights. It should be allowed to live in peace and safety in order for the region to enjoy stability and progress. The policy of apartheid has been a constant source of provocation and a continuous threat to the security, stability and economic development of neighbouring States as well as to the safety of their peoples.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Like many other peace-loving States my country is encouraged by the climate of détente that has recently emerged in international relations. This has given us hope that tensions will be reduced and disputes resolved in many parts of the world. We have seen with renewed satisfaction developments leading to the resolution of many a thorny international issue and have noted signs of fruitful and constructive co-operation between nations. Unfortunately, however, that climate of détente has not embraced one of the major problems of our time, the policy of apartheid pursued by the Pretoria régime in the south of our African continent.

The international community's conviction that this is unjust led the General Assembly to adopt resolution 43/50 G of 5 December 1988, which called for the convening of a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. That initiative is of extreme importance, as it profoundly and clearly reflects the international community's growing concern at the constant deterioration of the situation in southern Africa.

In his report on the work of the Organization for 1989, the Secretary-General called upon the Government of South Africa:

"to frame a positive and credible response to the unequivocal call for the dismantlement of apartheid. The opportunity has arrived for it to chart a courageous new course that will allay all fears about its intent and put an end, once and for all, to the oppression and violence that the system of institutionalized racial discrimination and minority rule inevitably entails".

(A/44/1, p. 7)

Recently, we have heard of the alleged intention of the Pretoria régime to introduce political reforms aimed at cushioning the impact of the unjust laws imposed on the black majority. However, the reforms declared by that régime are

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minimal and far from radical or thorough. They do not indicate any serious intent to solve the problem or radically change the situation. To the contrary, they appear to be more of the nature of a manoeuvre intended to fend off the pressure arising from the determined struggle of the black South African people and the international campaign against the apartheid régime and its odious practices. They have been occasioned by the deterioration of the economic situation in South Africa.

In effect the apartheid régime remains in place with all its structures and institutions. It persists in violating every international legal instrument and norm of morality. We have not yet seen anything to indicate that the régime is embarking on a new course or intends to abandon its practices. To the contrary, the state of emergency has been renewed, for the fourth time, for a further year, and the acts of repression by the apartheid police and the gangs of armed civilians are being escalated.

While some freedom-fighters and political prisoners have been released, Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the struggle of the South African people, and other political leaders remain in detention. Other freedom-fighters have been gaoled anew without trial, and others have been condemned to death. Political parties are still banned. All in all, there is nothing in the so-called plan of reform the régime has been touting that responds in any way to the legitimate aspirations of the black majority in South Africa.

There is thus every reason to suspect the real intentions of the Pretoria régime. Repression and torture of African activists markedly increased in the run-up to the September 1989 elections. Media censorship has been tightened in an attempt to conceal the outrages and abuses of human rights. None of this is conducive to a climate of negotiations.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/44/22) denounces the situation in South Africa, which is deteriorating daily because of the Pretoria régime's tyranny and its persistence in pursuing its policy of apartheid.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

It confirms that the new political leadership is facing domestic and international opposition on an unprecedented scale. The report also indicates that, despite the recent developments in Namibia with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and notwithstanding official pronouncements and declared positions, the new leadership continues savagely to repress any peaceful opposition to its policies. The report concludes that the sanctions imposed on South Africa, which reflect international rejection of that régime, remain the only appropriate and effective means of ensuring the dismantling of apartheid, even without overall international co-ordination, the absence of which hampers their implementation.

The Special Committee calls attention in its report to the fact that, to be fully effective, sanctions must be binding, international and comprehensive. Suffice it to say in this context that the leaders of the black majority in South Africa and those of the front-line States have called for continued implementation of the sanctions in order to exert pressure on the Pretoria régime to end its racist policies.

In calling for mandatory international sanctions we should denounce and condemn the ominous and dangerous co-operation effort being mounted by some States and the racist Pretoria régime. I refer specifically to military and nuclear collaboration with the South African régime, a subject which the Special Committee deals with in details in its report as a source of extreme concern. Indeed, the growing military and nuclear collaboration between Pretoria and Tel Aviv remains a source of danger and a cause of alarm. In this connection the report states:

"While, in the 1970s, Israel was the major supplier of arms and ammunition to South Africa, during the present decade, the relationship turned to

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partnership and joint production of armaments. Israel has provided South Africa with military technology needed for its growing armaments industry."

(A/44/22, part two, para. 3)

The report went on to say:

"The most disturbing aspect of the collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the military field is the reported development and preparation for testing of an intermediate-range ballistic missile ... It should be noted that an intermediate-range ballistic missile usually carries an atomic warhead and South Africa has admitted possessing nuclear-weapons capability."

(ibid., para. 4)

The Special Committee calls on the General Assembly to urge Israel to put an end immediately to its collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the military field. Today more than ever the international community is called upon to demonstrate unmistakably its determination by adopting bold and definitive measures to put an end to an odious system that violates all human and cultural values.

The Declaration adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Harare on 21 August 1989 provides a suitable framework for dealing with the problem. While calling for the establishment of a truly democratic non-racist society in South Africa, it highlights the stages by which to create a climate conducive to negotiations. Moreover, the Declaration is of special importance because of its clear-sightedness and sound recommendations. The Non-Aligned Movement confirmed that view at its ninth Conference, held in Belgrade last September, and many other States have supported it.

Tunisia, which itself had to struggle for independence, has always loyally supported countries fighting the forces of hegemony, occupation and racial discrimination. It is determined to demonstrate its belief in the right of peoples

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and individuals to lead a life of freedom, justice and dignity. Tunisia takes this opportunity to reaffirm its solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle to achieve emancipation and democracy.

Just as we express our joy that the brother people of Namibia are gradually achieving their independence through the recent elections - which demonstrated their political awareness, despite the manoeuvring and scepticism - so we feel extreme bitterness at the policies being pursued against the interests of the South African people, who are currently facing all forms of repression and oppression in their legitimate struggle to establish a society based on justice, democracy and respect for the rights and dignity of man.

In a letter of support and solidarity addressed to the South African freedom fighters last June, the President of Tunisia, Mr. Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, stated that Tunisia, in standing up for all peace-loving peoples, considers the policy of the South African régime to be an outrage and a constant threat to the integrity of the black majority, which are being denied their most basic civil rights. That denial constitutes a direct violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. He called, therefore, on all States Members of the Organization to combine their efforts to end the hegemony of man over man, wherever it may occur.

In keeping with this, the Tunisian democratic constitutional grouping organized on 11 December, in celebration of the forty-first anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a symposium under the slogan "Solidarity with the South African peoples against apartheid". On that occasion, Tunisia called for further international efforts to end the odious apartheid system so that the people of South Africa may exercise its legitimate right to democracy and freedom.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to thank the Secretary-General for his valuable efforts and significant services to the cause of eliminating apartheid. On behalf of my country, I offer sincere congratulations to the President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session. In my personal capacity, I thank him for his work as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in its prominent role in exposing the heinous nature of apartheid and keeping international public opinion informed of the need for that system to be replaced by one that would ensure respect for freedom, democracy and the lofty human values we all cherish.

Mr. MORTENSEN (Denmark): Denmark welcomes the convening of this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We view it as an important opportunity for the international community to take stock of the situation and to express itself clearly and in unity about the issue at hand.

Unity is decisive. Only through collective action based on consensus can the United Nations hope to influence the South African Government effectively in the direction we desire. That direction is clear: apartheid must be eradicated without further delay. Apartheid cannot be reformed, and its destructive consequences must not be allowed to fester.*

The abhorrent system of apartheid is an affront to the international community and to every individual. Through ruthless domination, it deprives the majority of South Africans of the enjoyment of the most fundamental political and civil rights. Its economic and military dominance has been projected far beyond the border of South Africa itself, leading to destabilization in the entire region of southern Africa.

* Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

Apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security. As the Secretary-General said this morning, the General Assembly has been seized of the question of apartheid almost since the inception of the United Nations. Since 1946 the General Assembly and the Security Council have devoted much of their time and attention to addressing the issue. This special session of the General Assembly is a unique opportunity for the United Nations to reaffirm the consistent call for the immediate and total eradication of apartheid and to impress upon the South African Government the urgency of the matter.

The special session is taking place against the backdrop of significant developments that have taken place in southern Africa during the last year. These developments warrant some hope that violence, destabilization and aggression may slowly be giving way to the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the region. Just four weeks ago free and fair elections were for the first time successfully concluded in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations, thus paving the way for the independence of Namibia after decades of illegal occupation by South Africa.

Denmark congratulates the people of Namibia on the successful exercise of their democratic rights. We pay a tribute to the steadfast efforts of the Secretary-General in this endeavour and to his Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, and his dedicated staff in Namibia. It is our hope that Namibia will soon accede to the ranks of independent States. Positive developments have also taken place in Angola and Mozambique. We hope that the processes of reconciliation will lead rapidly to the peaceful settlement of the problems in these countries.

So far, the winds of change in the region have unfortunately touched South Africa only as a mere draught. The situation there continues to be grim and

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

serious. The nation-wide state of emergency has been extended for a third consecutive year, trials and executions of political opponents continue, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and other anti-apartheid organizations are still banned. Strict censorship is imposed upon the press and Nelson Mandela and many other political prisoners and detainees remain incarcerated. In short, the South African authorities are continuing to rule by oppression.

Despite the state of emergency the Government has, however, over the past four years failed to contain or crush the legitimate aspirations of the majority of people in South Africa. In fact, there is today a resurgence of the anti-apartheid movement.

The campaign of defiance, which has also taken root in certain segments of the young, white, middle-class population, is aimed not only at making the apartheid laws ineffective, but also at regaining political momentum that would make it possible for all anti-apartheid forces to join hands to realize the goal of a united, non-racial and democratic society, with equal rights and opportunities for all people.

In recent months a new Government in South Africa has raised hopes that a new course may finally be plotted. The release of eight political prisoners, including Walter Sisulu, the holding of political rallies which have not been disrupted by the Government and the decision to repeal certain forms of petty apartheid legislation are encouraging developments.

Although the new South African Government may have signalled its acknowledgement of the need for change there have unfortunately been no real indications as yet that it is ready to end the apartheid system. The very pillars of apartheid - the infamous Group Areas Act, the racially segregated educational system and the Population Registration Act - all remain intact.

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

It thus remains to be seen whether the recent moves by the authorities signify a real commitment to change and dialogue or whether they are mere cosmetic measures designed to weaken international pressure. To demonstrate intentions of real change the South African Government must initiate a dialogue with the genuine representative of the majority population. Dialogue in turn requires mutual acceptance of non-violence as the sole means of change.

In this context the negotiating position of ANC as reflected in the Harare Declaration contains important elements for the creation of a climate suitable for such negotiations. We are thus encouraged by its emphasis on the need for a negotiated settlement and by its call for negotiations in the context of a mutual suspension of violence. The main responsibility for making a negotiated political settlement a viable option rests, however, first and foremost with the South African Government.

Dialogue and national reconciliation are impossible as long as the state of emergency remains in force, black leaders are imprisoned or detained, and anti-apartheid organizations are banned.

To create the necessary climate for negotiations we once again urge the South African Government to release unconditionally all political prisoners and detainees, lift all bans and restrictions on proscribed and restricted organizations and persons, withdraw all troops from the black townships, end the state of emergency and repeal all legislation restricting legitimate political activity and cease all political trials and executions. Without these steps, free and meaningful negotiations on the peaceful eradication of the apartheid system and the establishment of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa cannot take place.

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

The Harare Declaration of the OAU states that

"a conjunction of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria régime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations". (A/44/697, annex, para. 14)

Denmark shares this view.

We sincerely hope that the new South African Government will show courage and not miss this historic opportunity. We do not underestimate the problems that lie ahead or the intransigence of some of those who currently hold power in South Africa. The future of South Africa is in the hands of its own people. But the community of nations has a collective responsibility to ensure that those who struggle for peaceful change in South Africa receive all the support we are capable of giving. Unless the international community continues to press for change at this critical juncture, we shall lose the momentum and prolong the life of apartheid.

The most effective way to move the South African Government to bring about peaceful change is through joint and unanimous pressure by the international community. It is the firm belief of Denmark that existing measures, including economic sanctions, must be maintained and strengthened to bring the South African Government to the negotiating table.

It is well known that Denmark has assumed its responsibility in this regard. In 1986 we established a trade boycott and, together with the other Nordic countries, we have implemented one of the most comprehensive packages of economic sanctions against South Africa, which also includes measures in the fields of new investments, oil, transport and so forth.

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

In addition to these restrictive measures the Government of Denmark long ago realized the need for positive support for those who suffer the effects of apartheid. South Africa's neighbours find themselves in a particularly precarious situation, both because of their economic dependence on South Africa and as a result of South Africa's policy of destabilization in the region.

To ensure sustained development independent of South Africa's economic might, Denmark has for several years offered considerable assistance to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and SADCC countries. This assistance, which in 1988 amounted to well over \$100 million, will continue.

(Mr. Mortensen, Denmark)

In addition, my country will, in 1989, grant around \$10 million in humanitarian aid to victims of the policies of apartheid.

As a member of the European Community, Denmark also contributes to the European Community development assistance programme, in which co-operation with the front-line States plays an important role.

The system of apartheid is a relic from the darkest pages of human history. Inevitably, apartheid's days are numbered. Inevitably, justice will prevail. With undiminished and more effective pressure, the institutionalized system of racism in South Africa will not survive. South Africa must be given the clear message that apartheid is intolerable to the international community. We hope that through the adoption of a declaration by consensus at this session the international community will provide a constructive and unanimous contribution towards that end.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly. The topic under discussion makes you a most suitable choice to preside over this session.

Not long ago the General Assembly considered the agenda item entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", and adopted a number of relevant resolutions expressing the international community's condemnation of the apartheid system and its support for the just struggle of the South African people. This special session of the General Assembly will focus on seeking a common understanding of the apartheid system in South Africa and taking further concerted efforts to eradicate it; this is of crucial importance in the present situation. We have noted that the front-line States, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid have all made full Preparations for the convening of this special session. For this we wish to

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express our appreciation. The Chinese delegation is ready to join the delegations of other countries in a common effort to make this special session a success.

In the past year, with the changes in the entire world situation, there has been significant and spectacular progress in the struggle of the southern African people to combat South African racism and strive for regional peace and stability. Thanks to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the struggle of the Namibian people to rid itself of colonial and racist domination and win independence and freedom has made, and is still making, decisive headway. The efforts by Angola and Mozambique to repel foreign interference while ending domestic conflict through various endeavours, including peaceful negotiations, have also achieved positive results.

The encouraging scene in southern Africa is the outcome of the protracted struggle of the people in the region, the front-line States and the international community as a whole, including the other African countries. The continued unfolding of this positive trend not only is conducive to the rehabilitation of the front-line States and the maintenance of regional peace and stability, but will also have a profound political impact on the elimination of the root cause of the region's turbulence: the apartheid system of South Africa.

The issue of South African apartheid stands out in sharper relief as other questions in southern Africa are moving towards solution. It has been noted that in recent years the struggle of the South African black people to win racial equality, with the support of right-minded world public opinion, has grown from strength to strength. The African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other anti-racist organizations have been very active in their political struggle. The democratic movement, with mass participation, is spreading like wildfire. Dialogue and contact between people of different races have increased

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gradually, and progressive organizations and important figures in the white community have been increasingly vocal in their demands for faster change. A new situation, characterized by greater racial unity and common opposition to apartheid, is taking shape.

Under the tremendous pressure of both the determined struggle of the South African people and the international community, the South African authorities have made certain changes in their domestic and foreign policies and practices, but on the fundamental issue of abolishing apartheid they have adopted no substantive policies or measures so far. To this very day they still cling to the policy of separate development of races and continue to deprive black people of their political rights while subjecting other races to continued discrimination and oppression in economic and social life.

The facts show that the potential factors for tension and turbulence in South Africa itself and in the region as a whole have yet to be eliminated. The task of abolishing apartheid and bringing about lasting peace and stability in southern Africa remains a formidable one, requiring our persistent efforts over the long term.

What is exhilarating is that the struggle of the South African people against racial discrimination and apartheid not only is developing both in scope and in depth, but has also enjoyed profound sympathy and vigorous support from the people of the world, particularly from the front-line African States. Not long ago the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity adopted the Harare Declaration on the Question of South Africa, in which it set forth explicitly the principled position of the liberation organizations in South Africa and the front-line States on the political settlement of the South African question.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The conference of Foreign Ministers and the ninth summit of the non-aligned countries made an in-depth study of the question of strengthening support for the struggle of the people of South Africa and expressed their strong aspiration to the early eradication of apartheid.

The front-line States and other African countries have prepared a draft declaration for this special session. In the light of the current situation, this draft declaration sets forth in a comprehensive way the goals, conditions and modalities for a political settlement of the South African question; it demonstrates the sincere desire of the African countries and the liberation organizations in South Africa for such a settlement. The Chinese delegation believes that this draft is a very important document and supports its being used as the basis for reaching a common understanding on the settlement of the South African question and for subsequent joint efforts.

The root cause of the South African question lies in the policies of apartheid, which are persisted in by the South African Government, whereas a genuine solution to the question lies in the abolition of this criminal system and the establishment of a unified, democratic, free and racially equal society. We call upon the South African authorities to hold serious negotiations with the country's liberation organizations, on an equal footing, with a view to achieving a comprehensive solution to the South African question. To create favourable conditions for these negotiations, it is necessary that the South African authorities immediately and unconditionally release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, end the state of emergency and lift all the bans on anti-apartheid organizations and on people in South Africa, stop political trials and political executions, and withdraw all their troops from the black townships. Only by doing that will the South African authorities give credence to their claims that they are willing to abandon their apartheid policies.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the just struggle of the South African people. We strongly call upon the South African authorities to secure a clear understanding of the situation, go along with the tide of history, adopt an enlightened policy, immediately declare the abolition of the apartheid system and all kinds of racially discriminatory laws and decrees, recognize the ANC and the PAC and other national liberation organizations and engage in earnest and democratic dialogue with them.

We firmly support the reasonable proposals and propositions of the South African people, their liberation organizations and other African countries aimed at a political settlement of the South African question. We call upon the international community to continue bringing powerful pressures to bear on the South African authorities and rendering active support and sufficient assistance to the struggle of the South African people. We are convinced that the South African people, closing ranks and persisting in the struggle, with the close co-operation and vigorous support of the international community, will win the final victory in their struggle to abolish apartheid.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): We are participating in this debate because of our faith in the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and security, the only true refuge for plunging hopes, hopes that a universal conscience will prevail over politics employed merely to manipulate our fears and marginalize dreams of a prosperous and just world.

The General Assembly has through the years devoted many speaking hours to the subject-matter of apartheid. Tremendous energies have gone into research for the best definitions of what it is, what cause it is supposed to serve, its evils and what the political consequences of its sustenance or eradication would be.

In that endeavour Pretoria was given ample opportunity to pontificate on the virtues of apartheid to defend the measures taken in its pursuit.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Allies with special interests in South Africa, including both economic and strategic interests, undertook to provide armour to shield Pretoria from anything calculated to constitute a serious threat.

While Pretoria entertained a curious, blissful reverie, the atrocities perpetrated under the system raised the curtain on greater awareness. Thereafter Africans were no longer alone in the open outcry against apartheid.

The substance of this has been documented at least since 1945, by decades of discourse, hundreds of adopted or rejected draft resolutions, here and elsewhere, publications and scholastic renditions.

We do not believe, therefore, that this special session should be devoted purely to routine elaboration of a document. It would be undesirable to lose sight of the path trodden so far and record yet another major meeting at which our labours, directly or indirectly, provided comfort to Pretoria. That is what we would be doing if we substantially said nothing new or revealed an absence of novelty in the actions we proposed.

We all know - we must by now - that the issue of apartheid at this period in time is not one of a simple conflict of ideas, fit for casual or idle conversation.

Time and events have transformed the nature and implications of the apartheid system, originally conceived by the Boers in a struggle for identification, in a mood of defiance against colonial Britain and in a drive for suppression of all non-Boers within the realm, in a false sense of self-preservation.

We live in a different world now. Policy decisions of States regarding their domestic scene have external consequences, because technology and interdependence so dictate.

It is imperative that our review and resolution at this special session should address apartheid in its multi-disciplinary dimensions. It has become part of the

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

central topic of many global problems: problems of human rights, of poverty and survival, of peace and security, as well as the hindrances to development and the welfare of man, the fundamental stake that peoples everywhere have in benefiting from the replacement of confrontation by co-operation.

This calls for a new approach to the situation. Instead of over-stretching unproductive rhetoric on what is wrong with apartheid, perhaps we ought to be examining what is wrong with our ability or inability to defuse apartheid as a menace to the United Nations Charter prescriptions for the maintenance of international peace and security.

We must begin with the premise that apartheid as an institution continues to thrive in South Africa. It has often been said by those who know the system best that apartheid cannot be reformed, that it must be eradicated. No action so far taken by Pretoria has dented the system. We should not be debauched by tokenism or steps taken with a purported change of heart by Pretoria.

Although so much information and comment exist, ignorance of truths has at times followed both misinformation and calculated disinformation to oblivion in critical cases. Rather than dissipate energies in a diatribe concerning this aspect, this delegation would prefer to deal with the real issues to which information must have relevance to assume any importance.

The first of two dimensions is apartheid as a human rights issue. The purpose of legislating human rights is to attempt to guarantee certain minimum standards of human life on this planet.

South Africa as a nation is a Member of the United Nations and consequently subscribes to the Charter. The reaffirmation of

"faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small"

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

binds that country. So also do Articles 1, 13, 62 and 76, which specifically deal with the norm of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It is our contention that there could be no justification for failing to treat the continuing application of the apartheid system as a flagrant violation of the Charter commitments and obligations under international law. The issue is not a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of South Africa's juridical institutions. The regrettable truth is that the rest of mankind shies away from taking adequate measures to bring an end to the obvious curse of the dilemma and malaise experienced by the majority in that nation.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Is it political will that is short or are we ourselves imprisoned in the stalemate of conflict or the short-term interests of non-South Africans? There are those who claim to know the best interests of black Africans more than those sur place who face life and death issues in their daily lives. They refuse to listen to African perceptions. Standards of conduct and norms of law held dear at home - in their homes - are not exportable to an African setting.

International relations have abundant jurisprudential evidence to draw from. Nearly 40 years after the Second World War, in the pursuit of some moral rectitude punishment has been sought for individuals involved in crimes against humanity - after nearly half a century, during which reconciliation has rehabilitated the vanquished nations whose leadership was indicted.

How do we explain to the deprived, the dying, the persecuted, those whose only crime is the quest for the salvation of the imprisoned of South Africa, how do we justify the apparent complacency, even friendship and romanticism, accorded to the archdeacons of Pretoria? What conclusions do we want historians and future generations to draw? What future attitudes can we reasonably expect the oppressed of today to adopt towards Members of this Organization when true liberation and freedom come - as they inevitably will?

Those are questions which friends and indirect supporters of Pretoria must also help the minority rulers to address. Not even the mighty and the powerful of today can withstand the current of freedom. South Africa will bow to change, sooner rather than later. It would be in their very best interest and in the higher interests of global peace and security to do so. The decisions and actions we take here today will have a direct impact on the future process of national reconstruction, a necessary feature after apartheid, modified or undiluted, has been eliminated.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The new nation of South Africa will need inspired leaders to meet the grave challenges. How could that process be advanced by a type of human resource that constitutes the youth of today - a youth which knows nothing but groomed acrimony between the races, bloodshed and a spirit moulded in education for revenge, across racial lines and within?

While the rest of the world, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in particular, are addressing serious problems concerning the oppressive effects on African children of the burden of debt and recession in the 1980s, apartheid adds to those problems. The International Year of the Child was declared to ensure a reversal of the economic and social climate, which has darkened quite dramatically in the last decade.

The Executive Director of UNICEF, Mr. James Grant, points out that

"The economic crisis of the South has already become a social crisis. If that social crisis is allowed to deepen, then there can be little doubt that the next stage will be its translation into political dimensions with a capacity to wipe away recent political gains and introduce new instabilities in a world which, for the first time in decades, is entertaining hopes of fundamental political progress".

In dealing with the issue of children, we are addressing our own future and those of generations unborn. For it is the child of today that will be the leader of tomorrow. For leaders formative years commence at birth. What is the input of the southern Africa and for mankind as a whole?

The recently established Children's Fund for Southern Africa (CHISA) is an attempt to address the urgent material and practical aspects of the needed reaction to the distressing situation. A recent CHISA document states that children show symptoms of severe anxiety, premature aging and depression as a result of their war experiences.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

There are moral questions that those conditions pose for all of us here. What will happen to the future of southern Africa if the present situation persists? Are we as a generation not preparing a new venue for wasteful and uncontrollable conflict in a world increasingly given to reckless living, in a region where a nuclear and chemical weapons capability is already established?

Do we need to dwell at length on the inhibiting predicament of the African woman in that atmosphere? With her critical role suspended or erased, the general good of society drags steadily to a standstill in the economic and educational spheres. In southern Africa she must leave her home base to join in the cruel battle against the rudiments of an oppressive apartheid system.

The neglect or refusal on our part to address serious measures against, or to arrest, apartheid in all its manifestations may well make us liable as a generation to the charge of having contributed to creating conditions of instability and open conflict in South Africa.

The other important topic relates to the peace and security aspects of the crisis of conscience and system in the South Africa situation.

Southern Africa, historically, has been important strategically for the major Powers of the world. Both East and West have during this century been watchful of developments in that sub-region. Because of rapid advancements in modern technology and the consequential introduction of new weapons and surveillance systems, South Africa's geo-strategic value may have diminished, but only somewhat. These and many other factors tend to mislead and to influence judgement on the prospects for peace and security in the sub-region. The super-Powers and other military giants of the North seem to be engaged in a new-found reconciliation with each other, removing barriers between the East and the West, preoccupied with chances of expanding trade and economic possibilities. Africa may well be considered irrelevant in the process.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Fundamentally, two things must be remembered. The first is the increasing economic decline of the continent of Africa as a whole. With the injustices of international trade, which adversely affect foreign-currency earnings and consequently the capacity to meet debt commitments, the hardest times for the region may well come with the twenty-first century. A Europe to which Africa has provided sustenance for economic growth and military strength in the past may become too involved with other priorities within its own continent to bother about that continent. The issue of importance for policy-makers and strategists in the industrialized world is the reality that with regard to many of our so-called third world nations no sustainable peace and security can realistically be contemplated unless there is development in the economic and social sectors.

The second thought relates to the launching of South Africa as a nuclear-weapon State. We do not need to reiterate the frequent warnings about the implications for the sub-region and the world. Proliferation has been opposed by African Governments because of a commitment to peace and security. That capacity in the possession of a defiant adversary like Pretoria could lead to rethinking. Those who will be left out of European unification or integration could find ready allies. South Africa has chemical weapons. We must remove apartheid and with it the incentives for the proliferation of chemical and other forms of weapons.

In closing, we must say that the purpose of reviewing those thoughts was to demonstrate the multi-disciplinary dimension of the issue of apartheid in our time. If international co-operation can appease an embittered African populace to build confidence between all factions of the South African nation, the rest of the world may expect a productive and constructive role for Africa in the realization of our collective visions in the millenium ahead. If that co-operation is not

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

forthcoming, or if it comes with reservations that respond to mischief and subjectivity, then the history of the immediate future may be recorded with the blood and sweat of peoples. If the régime in Pretoria feels trapped in the rhetoric of its past follies, let us help them out of that trap. Africans are not yet given to racial hatred. They want their freedom and the opportunities that freedom brings for participation in shaping their destinies. Look at what is happening in Namibia. See the statesmanship of the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). See also how the sister nation Zimbabwe has handled a delicate racial problem.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

Nelson Mandela and his compatriots, who languish in gaols, must be released, for it is the leaders, the true leaders of the people's choice, who can negotiate peace and transformation. Prisons did not blur the people's choice of Nkhrumah, Gandhi, Nehru, Kenyatta, Ben Bella and others. Harassment did not deter the Azikiwes, the Augustino Netos of Africa, or, for that matter, the heroism that inspired the 13 American colonies or the French Revolution. If change must come because the will of a people cannot be surpressed indefinitely, why not convince the politically blind of today that there is greater benefit in not waiting to be thrown out?

We can only hope that southern Africa will soon become a veritable war-free and stress-dehydrated zone. Apartheid remains a stumbling-block.

During this festive season of Christmas, messages of love and friendship are exchanged: peace on earth, good will to men. The racists of Pretoria join in the celebration of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, the personification of peace:

"For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son."

(The Holy Bible, St. John 3:16)

The humility of the Three Wise Men kneeling before a child brought joy to them. Pretoria must learn that.

In South Africa there are children and mothers who will weep this Christmas. Father cannot sing the famous song "I'll be home for Christmas, you can count on me". There will be no turkey on the table, though the land abounds in that bird. There will be no partying, for there is nothing to rejoice about. The child says to the mother, "Why is life this way?" "I don't know," says the mother.

We who are here know. Our capitals know. We must resolve to wipe out apartheid; we must give that mother and child the opportunity to join in singing the Alleluia Chorus of liberation from conditions that God did not design.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): At the outset, I should like to congratulate Mr. Garba of Nigeria on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session and extend to him our best wishes for its success. His tireless efforts as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid have earned the respect of all those that have dedicated themselves to the total elimination of racial discrimination and injustice in South Africa.

I take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, who has always struggled to give effect to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We expect this special session to produce practical results and to bring about tangible benefits to the oppressed people of southern Africa. The success of our work will be measured by our contribution to bringing about a lasting solution to the problems created by apartheid.

Over the years the impact of apartheid in and around South Africa has been so devastating that it has given rise to the justified feeling that the only acceptable solution is not the softening of this despotic system but its complete elimination. Despite the fact that the new Government appears to have adopted a policy of change in South Africa, free of domination or repression, the situation has not improved appreciably during the past few months.

We have noted that, since taking office, Mr. De Klerk has tolerated mass marches and conferences organized by anti-apartheid groups, desegregated the beaches and announced his decision to dismantle the national security management system. So far, however, Pretoria has failed to produce any specific change that could lead to the termination of white minority rule.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Regrettably, violence continues to cause widespread human suffering in South Africa. Massive repression for the purpose of suppressing opposition compels the black majority to protest at local and national levels and this in turn, provokes further repression.

Recently, internal and international pressure exerted against South Africa's policies has had some modest but tangible effects. The freeing of eight black nationalists in October was a welcome move that could be a significant development if it was a step towards the immediate and unconditional freeing of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners and detainees.

The Government of South Africa refuses to recognize that the main reason for the tragic situation prevailing in that country is the system of racial segregation and discrimination, which contains within itself the seeds of violence. The authorities must realize that, for so long as they do not totally dismantle their policy of apartheid and take the necessary steps towards the creation of an appropriate climate for peaceful transition to a system of democracy and racial equality, that unfortunate country will continue on its course towards increasing violence. The lifting of the state of emergency, which has been renewed for the fourth consecutive year, the lifting of restrictions on political activity, and the release of all political prisoners and detainees are some of the measures that have to be taken with urgency by the Government of South Africa to bring about the conditions necessary for a genuine process of change leading to majority rule.

Disturbing as the domestic scene in South Africa is, it is far from being the whole story. The picture will remain incomplete if we overlook the impact of apartheid policies on South Africa's neighbours. The international community has rightly condemned the racist régime's continued aggression against the front-line

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

States. The influx of refugees caused by the repression and discrimination faced in South Africa is a heavy economic burden for the neighbouring countries. The States of southern Africa have felt it to be their humanitarian duty to share their modest economic resources with those South Africans who have sought refuge in their territory owing to the unbearable economic and social pressures of the Pretoria régime. The plight of these people should be kept in mind constantly when evaluating the overall situation.

An analysis of the southern African region leads to the conclusion that South Africa's policy of destabilizing the region is yet another reason why the countries located in that part of the continent are faced with almost insurmountable economic problems.

A study entitled "South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Front-line Resistance to Apartheid", published in October by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, reveals that the total cost of South African destabilization, in terms of destruction and lost output, was about \$60 billion over the period 1980-1988. According to the study, during this period the gross-domestic-product loss was approximately \$30 billion in Angola, \$15 billion in Mozambique, and \$17 billion in the other States of the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC) - namely, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The study shows also that the war-related loss of life in the SADCC region during the first nine years of this decade reached the figure of 1.5 million. Half the populations of Mozambique and Angola have become refugees.

Some recent developments, including the announcement by the Government of South Africa that the South African armed forces would no longer engage in operations against the members of the African National Congress of South Africa

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

across the border, may help to decrease tension in the region. There is no doubt, however, that for as long as the Government of South Africa refuses to make a radical change in its policies of oppression of the black population, lasting peace and stability will not be achieved in South Africa.

As a result of the long struggle carried out by the Namibian people, free and democratic elections have finally been held in Namibia, and a Constituent Assembly has been convened. We are witnessing with deep satisfaction the creation of a new State, which will soon take its place among the family of nations. We welcome this auspicious development, which, as is stated in an article in The Washington Post, "marks a historic rollback of apartheid in southern Africa".

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

Internal opposition to the racist régime must be complemented by applying international pressure. We are convinced that resolute and concerted action on the part of the international community can help eliminate apartheid. The dismantling of this anachronistic system requires the exertion of firm pressure against the Pretoria régime and the adoption of consistent and credible policies by those who can exert such pressure.

Recent developments have demonstrated that the only language the South African authorities are prepared to listen to is the language of sanctions. We are convinced that sanctions must be tightened until the South African Government agrees to take steps towards radical and irreversible change.

We hope that as we proceed further with our discussions many creative ideas will be expressed which will pave the way for political dialogue that could persuade the apartheid régime to make a sincere effort to abandon its degrading policies. We believe that the declaration to be adopted at the end of this session will constitute not only an expression of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa but also a concrete contribution to the efforts to end apartheid through negotiations.

Mr. LUNA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a special privilege for me, speaking on behalf of my country, to address this special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, a subject to which my country attaches tremendous importance.

I am also particularly pleased to offer Mr. Garba my delegation's congratulations on his election as President of the special session. We are pleased to see a distinguished representative of Nigeria, a country distinguished by its clear policy of condemning the shameful apartheid régime, guiding our deliberations. We know he is particularly committed to the struggle because of his efficient and active leadership of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

Speaking in this Hall a few weeks ago my country's Foreign Minister said:

"The fall of the last stronghold of colonialism in Africa and the speedy entry of Namibia into the society of free nations heralds the end of the infamous crime of apartheid. Only the Pretoria régime remains. The international community must continue to exert pressure to bring it to end its international rebelliousness." (A/44/PV.4, p. 86)

All of us who celebrate as if it were our own the Namibian people's forthcoming victory in the struggle for independence know that it will take on a global dimension only when the destabilizing factor in southern Africa, the apartheid régime of South Africa, has disappeared.*

At this time we wish to hail the people of Namibia and its representatives, particularly the South West Africa People's Organization, for the democratic process leading to the establishment of the Constituent Assembly as a first step towards the independence of that fraternal country. We also pay a sincere tribute to the Organization for its tireless work, particularly that of the Secretary-General, as well as that of the General Assembly and the Security Council, on the long and hopeful path on which Namibia has embarked.

Peru has always been supportive of those efforts. Participation by a Peruvian contingent in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) is only the most recent stage of a permanent commitment to peace, justice, independence and development in a region to which we are fraternally linked.

The international system existing at the end of this century should come closer and closer to a more homogeneous concept of moral values. In this context, violations of the dignity of the human person are growing more and more intolerable.

* Mr. Sallah (Gambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

Therefore on this occasion the international community has gathered to reaffirm the inadmissibility of the existence of apartheid in the new system appearing on the horizon, in which freedom and equality are basic elements. In accordance with that position of principle, we should take clear aim at the achievement of that desired objective.

The establishment of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa in which the whole of the people enjoy one citizenship shared equally without regard to race, colour, sex or creed, in which all the inhabitants may participate in the government and the administration of the country on the basis of universal suffrage and equality, must remain our common goal. In that state, unlimited respect for human rights and universally recognized basic freedoms should prevail so as to make it possible for all citizens freely to enjoy their civil and political rights in a society that promotes the well-being and development of the people as well as stability and co-operation with all the countries of the region.

On the day when a South Africa free of apartheid occupies its proper place in the concert of peace-loving nations, we shall celebrate the culmination of a long process. When that day arrives the people of South Africa and its liberation movement, together with the front-line States and the rest of the international community, will celebrate the success of the many efforts they have made. On that day too, the Movement of Non-aligned Countries and the world Organization will have succeeded in the achievement of one of their most noble goals.

Then many of our countries will rightly recall with just pride our modest contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle. The Peruvian people will recall, for example, their rejection of any kind of link with the Pretoria régime, whether diplomatic, commercial or cultural. Our participation in the Special Committee against Apartheid, representing the Latin American region, as well as our

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

chairmanship of the Working Group on Political Prisoners and that of the International Conference held in Paris on the subject of sanctions against racist South Africa, will constitute an example of our work as participants in the United Nations campaign to eradicate the scourge of apartheid. Our children will learn that, although we were poor, we stood in full solidarity with the front-line countries through our active participation in contributions to the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA).

We must not rest until we achieve our objective. On the contrary, we must remain constantly alert and continue and increase our efforts. As the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity noted at its August meeting in Harare:

"We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria régime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement." (A/44/551, annex, p. 72)

That declaration, which the non-aligned countries endorsed at the Belgrade summit meeting, constitutes a great challenge for our Organization and for all those who are active on the international scene - the challenge of peaceful change.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

At this special session the General Assembly should try to accelerate that process. We note with satisfaction that substantial parts of the Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity - which was adopted by the Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, a fact that should inspire the final position we establish - are devoted to developing what is felt should be the climate and the guidelines for the process of negotiation. It is clear to all that the Pretoria régime should take a series of minor steps to make possible an appropriate climate for those negotiations and that a proper procedure for developing them should be established.

For its part, the international community should give ongoing support to those negotiations, through an action plan which should be brought forward by this session. The ultimate objective of the plan should be to continue the efforts to place effective pressure on the South African Government to move it to end the apartheid régime.

Now more than ever now international society should unite in the common cause of abolishing apartheid. That is the commitment we undertook many years ago, and we continue to adhere to it. Peru reaffirms here its firm devotion to that goal, which is inspired by a clear mandate in our national Constitution, and to that end we shall spare no effort.

Mr. CALLEARY (Ireland): My delegation fully associates itself with the views expressed in this Assembly by the representative of France on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community in condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa.

This special session is more than an occasion for a powerful condemnation of apartheid, such as we have at the annual sessions of the General Assembly. It is an opportunity to reassert, in a solemn declaration, the fundamental principles

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

against which apartheid so grievously offends and to chart the way to ensure the implementation of those principles in South Africa, so that apartheid may become in the near future a bad memory rather than, as it is now, a current reality of nightmare proportions. It seems to us, happily, that our declaration could sound a note of hope also, inasmuch as there are recent indications that the Government and the ruling minority in South Africa are at last beginning to respond to the universal clamour that apartheid must go.

What are those principles that we reassert? They are of course the principles enshrined in our Charter, which in its first Article speaks of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and also in the Declaration of Human Rights.

What is the basis of this essentially evil system of apartheid? Its basis is the false premise - denied already in the Charter and in greater detail in the Declaration and the other instruments comprising the International Bill of Human Rights - that colour of skin is a determinant of the place of a human being on a scale of entitlement to human rights. Apartheid and this false premise on which it is based must be, always has been and must continue to be, unequivocally denounced by the international community.

As a system which outrages conscience and reason apartheid generates subsidiary evils. It can be enforced only through coercion and violence. Thus it creates a cycle of suspicion, violence, fear and hatred which degrades its proponents as it degrades its victims while it renders impossible that sense of community which is at the heart of a normal nation or State.

Implementation of the system by the South African Government of course involves a deliberate policy of entrenching racism as a differentiating factor in every aspect of the State and society. Of the many facets of this policy I mention one which we regard as particularly sinister. It is the policy of homelands as a

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

form of institutionalized separate development which is a deprivation of black South Africans of their most basic rights in their own country. I therefore reiterate specifically our denial - in which we join the rest of the international community - of any legitimacy or recognition for bantustans.

We believe that the peaceful building of a truly democratic, non-racial State in South Africa is possible. However, only real negotiations involving the participation of the genuine representatives of all the people of South Africa can lead to a just and durable settlement.

Since the accession of President De Klerk and his declared intention to proceed with reforms there have been some positive gestures from the South African Government. For instance, the release of some political prisoners, the less repressive reactions in some instances to demonstrations and other political activities of opposition groups, the lifting of some restrictions on freedom of movement, access to facilities and social activities and the announcement of the intention to repeal the Separate Amenities Act are welcome developments. However, much deeper change than is represented by these gestures is required to dismantle the fundamentals of the apartheid system. Such change must also be irreversible.

The South African Government must embark without delay on meaningful and fundamental reform aimed at the early and total abolition of the apartheid system. To initiate the process leading to this objective there are several steps that could and should be taken immediately. The state of emergency, which inevitably has increased violence and deepened divisions, should be ended. Political parties should be recognized and permitted to pursue normal political activities. All restrictions on freedom of the press and on trade unions should be removed. It should be announced at once that there will be no more executions for political offences. Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners should be released without delay.

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

As I mention prisoners I must express special regret and concern at the conditions under which many detainees are held. There is no doubt that in many cases those conditions are grossly inhuman. There have also been instances of brutal ill-treatment and torture. Moreover, children are among those detained, a measure which in itself is totally unacceptable. These are matters on which immediate action is also necessary.

Implementation of the measures which I have mentioned can, however, only be a prelude to the initiation of a dialogue with all the parties, aimed at achieving an early, peaceful and orderly transition to a free, democratic, united South Africa. Such a South Africa would be enriched by diversity; at peace rather than torn by the violence which results from abuse of that diversity; more prosperous and contented as a result of the harmony between all its people; enjoying good and fruitful relations with its neighbours; and honoured by the international community. The potential rewards are indeed great and worthy of the efforts, strenuous efforts, which will be required, and not only on the part of the Government, to bring about the free, democratic, united South Africa of which I speak. In this context, Ireland welcomes the Declaration in August 1989 by the Organization of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa as an important contribution towards our shared desire for the total abolition, by peaceful means, of apartheid and the creation in South Africa of a united, democratic and non-racial State. The Declaration contains many of the essential principles on which the construction of a new South Africa should be based.

The initiative for setting the process in motion lies of course with the Government. In the view of my Government, the maintenance of maximum international pressure on the South African Government - including pressure through the use of sanctions - remains an important part of a policy aimed at bringing about the abolition of apartheid by peaceful means.

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

The Irish Government seeks in all possible ways within the limits of its resources to make clear to the South African Government its attitude to the system of apartheid and its expectation of fundamental change. There is no Irish public investment and there are no Irish companies with subsidiaries in South Africa. Trade and other economic relations are not encouraged and imports of fruits and vegetables from South Africa are not permitted. We have no cultural, scientific or sports arrangements with them. Irish sports organizations which engage in contacts with South Africa are denied any share in Government financial assistance available for sports promotion. Representative South African teams have been prevented from taking part in competitions in Ireland.

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

At the international level Ireland has consistently supported the adoption by the European Community and its member States of common measures to put pressure on the South African Government. In common with our partners we operate a range of restrictive sanctions. These include bans on new investments and on imports of iron and steel and gold coins from, and exports of oil to, South Africa. We shall continue to co-operate with our partners in strengthening these measures.

Ireland has for long urged the imposition by the Security Council of a range of mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We believe that mandatory sanctions, carefully selected and applied gradually, will expedite the abandonment of apartheid. Such sanctions would need to be universally and rigorously implemented. Once again, at this year's session of the General Assembly, we joined in sponsoring the draft resolution on concerted international action against apartheid.

We believe it is also of primary importance to provide humanitarian and legal assistance to the innocent victims of apartheid. Ireland supports the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme. We support too the valuable efforts of a number of non-governmental organizations in their work for those who have suffered from apartheid. We participate in the work of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. We view as a challenge of particular importance the need for the international community to assist these countries in southern Africa that have suffered from South African aggression and are subject to economic dependence and deprivation.

The entire international community has a moral responsibility to promote actively the ending of apartheid and the building of a non-racial South Africa. The particular injustice that the system of apartheid represents, and the

(Mr. Calleary, Ireland)

oppression which is an essential element in its implementation, cannot for long endure in the face of the international community's abhorrence, and, even more important, its determined rejection, of it. This special session must send a clear and - we hope - unanimous message to the people of South Africa that the early abolition of apartheid by peaceful means can be achieved, and that we, the international community, are united in our efforts to ensure that it will be achieved. In that way this special session can be a significant step in that direction. It will be even more significant, and our task will be much more easily accomplished, if the Government of South Africa heeds the appeal to turn from self-destructive policies, and joins us actively in the search for the true and lasting peace which would accrue to a really democratic South Africa and for which so many have struggled and suffered and hoped for decades.

Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Jose Marti, the hero of our independence, said:

"A man does not have any special right because he belongs to one particular race or another; when one says 'man' one implies all the rights. ...

Everything that divides men, everything that makes them specific or separate or different is a sin against mankind ... Man is more than a white man, a mulatto or a black man".

We have come to the Assembly, almost 100 years after Marti fell in Dos Rios fighting for the independence of Cuba, to express our unwavering solidarity with the heroic South African people and their national liberation movement, the African National Congress, in their historic battle for a united, democratic and non-racist land of their own, because we have the firm and irrevocable conviction that when we say "man", we imply all of his rights.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

Just a few days ago, on 7 December, the date on which we pay tribute to the memory of our national heroes who died in our struggle for freedom and independence - heroes such as General Antonio Maceoe y Grajales and his adjutant, Francisco (Panchito) Gomez Toro, we are burying with full honours in our beloved land the heroes of today, the internationalist freedom fighters and civilians who gave their lives in the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and other lands. They, like the glorious heroes of the last century, are a symbol for everyone of the struggle against oppression, racism and exploitation, and thus illuminate for ever the path of freedom and full human dignity.

The fact that a distinguished son of Africa, General Joseph Garba, is presiding over our deliberations, which will have very important consequences for the South African cause, is more than a happy coincidence: it is a promising sign.

The struggle of the progressive forces of mankind against the outrages committed by racist South Africa has taken place in many different fields and in many different ways. It is a struggle against the widespread violations perpetrated by that régime, which have added new pages to the already weighty tome of accusations against it that we are now considering in the Assembly.

The effort has not been in vain. The Namibian people, deprived for decades of their fundamental rights, are now about to join the concert of independent countries, by virtue of the implementation of the plan established in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This would have been impossible without the tireless struggle of the Namibian people themselves, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the military defeat inflicted on South Africa at Cuito Cuanavale, which forced the racist régime to withdraw from Angolan territory and abide by the United Nations plan for the independence of

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

Namibia - a plan that up to that moment had appeared to be condemned to the waste-basket of useless papers. In this respect, my delegation expresses its appreciation to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), under the leadership of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for carrying out the plan,

On the other hand, the tenacious struggle of the black South African people, encouraged by the solidarity of the international community, has brought about a new situation in racist South Africa itself. Its present leaders find themselves forced to talk of changes in the apartheid system - although they still refuse to change its essence, acting as if another disguise can silence the indignation and cover up this crime of lese-humanity against the oppressed black majority.

Cuba has absolutely no doubt that if there is to be a climate of genuine international détente, it must bring equal benefits to all. Thus, it must bring solutions to long-standing conflicts that not only persist but are getting worse because their causes have not been eliminated - that is, domination, outside interference and the collusion of imperialistic interests, which make peaceful and constructive relations between States impossible and hamper the international community's efforts to solve the serious economic and social problems facing third-world peoples today.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

The situation in South Africa today is, as it was yesterday, simply dreadful: towns and villages still have notices prohibiting the presence of "non-whites"; the bantustans and the policy of bantustanization are still in force; the laws institutionalizing apartheid are also still in force; and Nelson Mandela is still languishing in one of the régime's dungeons, as are hundreds of political prisoners and detainees, some of whom have not even been properly brought to trial.

In September this year the Pretoria régime held elections from which the vast majority of the people were excluded despite the demands of the non-aligned countries and the United Nations for a parliament that would be representative of all the people of South Africa and based on a direct, secret ballot of all citizens in a unitary State.

On 29 November violent armed action by the racist police against a peaceful demonstration in the centre of Johannesburg by 2,000 workers expressing their solidarity with workers in transport and breweries left several people seriously wounded, and dozens of people were detained.

Then, just a few days ago, a former black policeman condemned to death for a crime committed in 1986 accused a "death squad" organized by the police of being responsible for the recent disappearance and assassination of four militants of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and probably dozens of other crimes against patriots opposed to apartheid.

In addition to such atrocities, Pretoria persists in its arrogance and simply disregards international demands. There are still prohibitions and restrictions on organizations and persons that have been banned or whose rights have been limited. Troops and police have not been withdrawn from the working-class areas in the cities and the state of emergency has not been ended. The laws limiting political activities, including the Internal Security Law, have not been repealed, as they

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would have to be to establish a proper atmosphere for significant negotiations with the majority opposition.

Certain Western Powers are still opposing the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime using the specious and false argument that they would be counterproductive and a problem rather than a benefit to the black people. But the experience of Zimbabwe in that respect is quite enlightening, and that is the lesson that our Organization should invoke today.

Racist South Africa also still enjoys support from the international financial institutions, which have agreed to renegotiate a major part of Pretoria's external debt - up to \$8,000 million, covered by the so-called Interim Agreement II, for the period from July 1987 to June 1990 - which has now been extended until 31 December 1993, even though the anti-apartheid movement asked that the renegotiation be for one year at most so as not to give the régime an excessive respite. The new agreement will enable the racists to get over the highest point of the debt in the next two years, after which payments will be substantially reduced.

The United States, Israel, Pinochet's Chilean Fascists and certain Western countries are continuing to support concessions to the South African régime.

On 22 November, less than a month ago, the Assembly considered 12 draft resolutions on various aspects of apartheid, on which there were 15 votes. In all those votes the countries I have mentioned systematically favoured the interests of the racist régime against the overwhelming majority, which advocated proper, legal strengthening of pressure against Pretoria.

How, then, can we believe the siren songs of the South African leaders and their allies? What guarantee do we have that they are really going to dismantle apartheid when neither the proper atmosphere nor the conditions have been

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established to permit real, effective negotiations - a situation that has been denounced by the patriotic movement, headed by ANC? One does not have to be a prophet to know the answer to this. The facts I have mentioned by way of example are irrefutable proof that apartheid not only is not about to disappear but is getting full support from its Western friends and colleagues.

The present international political situation, in which dialogue seems to be prevailing over confrontation - at least in East-West relations - should be more conducive to the solution of the South African problem. Pressure by the international community, exerted through the Assembly and with the support of the entire membership, could make the Pretoria leaders less intransigent. In the light of what is happening today, we cannot say that we have already fulfilled our commitment to the rights of the non-white majority population in South Africa, peace, and the right to development of the peoples of southern Africa, who are now being crushed by the apartheid régime, the existence of which still represents the most serious danger to the security of neighbouring countries and to peace in Africa as a whole.

Nothing, absolutely nothing, has changed in South Africa that indicates that it is about to carry out a profound transformation of the system of Government based on racial discrimination.

The régime claims to be advancing towards democratic positions, but it is still in essence retrograde and racist.

In the view of my delegation, the intransigence of the South African ruling class offers no choice: either Pretoria responds immediately and positively to the universal demand and agrees to create the necessary climate for negotiations, without pre-conditions, with the South African patriots with a view to building a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa and restoring stability and peace in

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the region, or the international community will have to apply against the South African régime the comprehensive, mandatory measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, in particular a mandatory embargo on oil supplies and deliveries, as well as sanctions against States whose companies violate that embargo. In this respect Cuba fully supports the Harare Declaration.

It is now essential that we combine our efforts to increase international pressure on the Pretoria racists, declare once again that apartheid is a crime against humanity and condemn the régime that brought it into being, as well as any kind of collaboration with it. Furthermore, we appeal to Member States which have not yet done so to cease all co-operation with Pretoria in the cultural, sports, scientific and technological, economic and military fields.

If we work together we can more speedily bring about the victory of the South African people and their national liberation movement. Every minute of survival of the South African régime is an insult to the dignity of all men, which this Organization simply cannot condone.

Let us, then, do our duty. Let us tear down the walls of apartheid. As the founders of the United Nations wished, let us help to ensure that reason and law prevail. Sooner rather than later the bells of freedom will ring for South Africa too.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): I should like at the outset to offer my congratulations to the representative of Nigeria on his election to the presidency of the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid. His country's front-line position in the struggle against apartheid and his demonstrated commitment to the cause are known to one and all. Indeed, it is fitting that he should be at the helm of a special session focusing on apartheid. Let me therefore assure him of the co-operation of my delegation in all his efforts to make the session the success that it ought to be.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

The fact that a special session of the General Assembly had to be convened to consider the issue of apartheid in its entirety at what is considered to be a truly remarkable moment in the history of mankind demonstrates not only the persistence of that affront to the best values of humanity but also its ability to survive even in an inclement climate. For those with colour-free vision, the handwriting is on the wall, and the handwriting says apartheid must go. It says the various restrictive acts that have compartmentalized the people of South Africa along racial lines must go. It says the balkanization of the Republic must come to an end. It says all the structural pillars of the edifice of apartheid must go. It also says a democratic and multi-coloured South Africa must emerge. Indeed, the handwriting on the wall is so clear that even "colour-blinded" white South Africans in the ranks of the ruling party have been compelled to take due note of it and pronounce themselves on the issue of reforming South Africa.

As we continue to monitor the situation in southern Africa, we are encouraged by the process that will inevitably lead to the independence of Namibia and by the forced winds of change prevailing in South Africa. As was amply enunciated in the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, the circumstances within South Africa itself and the promising international political climate clearly indicate that South Africa is ripe for negotiations likely to bring about the removal of apartheid.

In fact, as the panel of eminent persons which held public hearings last September in Geneva on the activities of transnational corporations concluded, South Africa - or more appropriately, the Pretoria régime - continues to feel the pain associated with sanctions. It is apparent that it has succumbed, albeit to a modest extent, to that pressure. We therefore view the recent pronouncements about apartheid by Mr. De Klerk and his political entourage as a grudging admission that apartheid cannot be sustained in the prevailing climate. That is why we remain

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puzzled by those who continue to collaborate with that condemnable régime by creating ideal conditions for its systematic evasion of the sanctions imposed on it by the international community. That is why we are disturbed by the refusal of some international banks to attach political terms to any of their transactions with that régime when those same financial entities have never hesitated to use such measures as weapons of political pressure and/or intimidation against many African States.

As members are well aware, the argument used by those who have been reluctant to impose such measures against South Africa has been that they would have disastrous consequences for the black majority. Undeservedly patronizing and contemptuous as those arguments are, they obviously do not take account of the actual sentiments of the majority in South Africa. The majority in South Africa is making enormous sacrifices at the hands of a cold-hearted régime, and it has never resisted the application of sanctions against apartheid.

A system universally declared as an affront to humanity must be punished by law. As we often say in my country, you cannot refuse to go to sleep just because you fear nightmares. A sentence legally imposed on a drug lord cannot be waived for fear of the attendant consequences for members of his extended family. We do not agree with the sociological approach to the administration of justice; after all, the administration of justice may entail some strains. That is why we demand that all possible sanctions be imposed against the Pretoria régime, even though we are keenly aware of their consequences for the economy of South Africa and especially for those who have been condemned to sustain themselves on the periphery of that exploitative economy.

If we have emphasized the importance of sanctions, it is simply because, as a result of our assessment of the situation, we have been compelled to conclude that

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they are a language to which the Pretoria régime seems to be responsive.

Similarly, as we have indicated on several occasions, it was not the choice of the majority in South Africa to resort to armed struggle. It was the coercive régime in Pretoria which put them in the defensive predicament in which they find themselves. The preference of the majority has been to arrive at a political settlement.

Thus, while we welcome all changes that will lead to the abolition of apartheid we do not view favourably any attempt by the traditional supporters of the racist régime to lessen or altogether evade sanctions imposed on that unruly régime in some last-ditch effort to salvage the essential structure of the apartheid order.

Regrettably, apartheid is a system which not only brings misery to the majority in South Africa but also inflicts emotional pain on the enlightened members of the white community. It is a régime capable of and bent on waging war on its neighbours. Indeed, as the "blow-pipe" case and other similar instances of evasion of the embargo on South Africa clearly indicate, that régime has moved from the realm of conventional armament to that of nuclear armament. Its mere existence poses a serious threat to the maintenance of peace and security. Consequently, the thought of giving apartheid a moment of respite or a chance to reform itself is not one that we can entertain. It is the people of South Africa who deserve a moment of respite, not the racist régime. We are convinced that the diagnosis is and will remain that apartheid must be removed. Until it is removed, there does not seem to be any alternative to intensifying the struggle inside the country and ensuring the success of all sanctions by further tightening them and closing any potential loopholes - particularly those pertaining to the acquisition of arms and related material, above all that falling within the terms of Security Council resolution 591 (1986).

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It goes without saying that until the apartheid system is liquidated we shall defend the right of the people of South Africa to defend their birthright with all means at their disposal.

It is therefore our ardent hope that at this special session the General Assembly will adopt a declaration that will take those realities into account, and that the Security Council will then assume its responsibilities by adopting measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

In reiterating Ethiopia's unswerving support for and solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and their legitimate representatives, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PNC), and with the front-line States, let me express the hope that our collective effort will culminate in a set of concrete proposals commensurate with the ardent aspirations of the people of that unhappy land.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): Old dogmas and stereotyped beliefs are crumbling faster than we ever imagined or anticipated. We are witnessing the dawn of a new era on the international scene - upheavals and major conceptual and demonstrated openness are transforming the political, social and economic landscape of an entire continent. Governments are giving in to popular pressures. Processes of democratization are taking a firmer grip. What we see is a revolution with a serious humanitarian dimension longing for truth and moral integrity. We are also witnessing the relaxation of tension and movement towards the full enjoyment of human rights at a global level.

Relevant questions that arise within the context of South Africa are: Is South Africa ripe for change? Will the National Party that presided over the institutionalization of apartheid be willing now to preside over the dissolution of apartheid? Some faint, positive signals have been received, but there are no indications of any dramatic or demonstrable policy shift towards a tangible reform programme.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, reacting to the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other prisoners, said:

"We are pleased our leaders are out, but not satisfied, as many others remain behind locked doors. What is the use of releasing them when we still have a state of emergency and when our organizations are still banned"? F.W. De Klerk often talks of an "equitable" reform plan for South Africa. He has stated that his goal was to reach a stage, as soon as possible, where:

"All South Africans will, in a just and equitable manner, become part of the decision-making process in the country".

As someone bluntly put it:

"Such rhetoric is the easy part. The hard part is to put flesh on the bones of reform".

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Pretoria's glasnost must deliver the long-awaited reforms or else perish.

That racially divided nation remains torn, mired in deep mistrust. It is at an impasse in its search for national consensus. Mr. De Klerk's pledge towards power sharing remains patchy and too far in the future. He is simply flirtatious. What is needed is not lip-service but fundamental and irreversible changes that will go a long way towards uniting the society and healing its wounds. In the words of Olaf Palme, the late Swedish Prime Minister:

"A system like apartheid cannot be reformed - it can only be abolished. If the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear".

We are hopeful that South Africa will seriously consider embracing the current international trends towards reform.

The state of emergency first declared on a regional basis in 1985 has taken a heavy toll on the lives of the black population. It is disturbing that the emergency was extended in June for the fifth year. Two of its most vicious covenants are that the police and other authorities will remain immune from prosecution and that government opponents can be detained indefinitely. The plight of children is perhaps one of the most gruesome reflections of apartheid.

As long ago as 1953, the then Minister for Home Affairs, H.F. Verwoerd, declared that:

"Natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them".

That same year, control over black education passed from the hands of missionaries to the Government.

In 1987, an international conference investigating mistreatment of child detainees in South Africa heard of children in detention being subjected to: "unspeakable conditions and treatment - routine but pervasive practices".

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Such practices include electric shocks; beatings with fists, leather whips, and rifle butts; severe deprivation of food and sleep; sexual abuse; and attempted strangulation and suffocation. The psychological consequences of child detention, according to that conference, include a general loss of interest in life, shattered self-esteem, suicide, psychic numbing, anxiety and fear. As one reporter put it:

"A black child who reaches adulthood in South Africa can expect a lifespan 9 years shorter than a white person's".

We all know only too well that Pretoria pursues an aggressive and deliberate policy of destabilization aimed at its neighbours. That interventionist, multi-pronged campaign to weaken and dominate its neighbours through harsh economic pressures, military incursions, and assistance to anti-Government guerillas and South African-backed civil wars has caused nearly 1.5 million deaths and over \$60 billion in losses in those countries, according to a report issued by the United Nations in October this year. The study confirms that South Africa's support for rebels operating in those countries is part of a

"calculated strategy designed to entrench the front-line States' economic dependence [and] keep those States politically submissive".

The report says that:

"the ultimate goal of destabilization is to create costs so exhausting the front-line States have no choice but to accept apartheid".

The region's economic output would have been 40 per cent higher in 1988 were it not for the civil wars and South African raids, the report concluded.

The core objectives of apartheid - the perpetuation of white power, influence and affluence - seem seriously threatened and insecure against the dual threats of internal strife and external pressures. Mr. De Klerk's indecision - indeed, refusal - to negotiate with his formidable opposition does pose a serious obstacle

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

to the process of negotiation towards a settlement. He arrogates to himself the right to choose the blacks with whom he will negotiate, declaring that he will not talk to radicals who espouse violence.

Will the silent majority come forward? That would be wishful thinking. Expressions of intent are not enough. What is needed are bold, convincing initiatives that could create a climate amenable to negotiations. It will not be too long before promises of full political rights run out of steam. The euphoria generated by the proposed changes has only a limited shelf-life. Words must be backed by deeds. Unless concrete steps are taken, therefore, in the direction of a real and substantial reform plan, South Africa is bound to contend with an uncertain and precarious future.

The once robust South African economy has hit a rock. It is now feeling the effects of international sanctions, which surely must be further intensified until South Africa accepts rational behaviour and moral responsibility. A sagging economy, a mounting debt burden, a shaky currency and fast-depleting reserves, coupled with a defiant labour force and the resilience of the anti-apartheid groups, are all early symptoms of the slow disintegration of an abhorrent system and the punctured pride of a disillusioned minority.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

We urge South Africa to scrap forthwith from its books the ominous regulatory framework of apartheid: the infamous Group Areas Act, the segregated educational system and the institutionalized injustices, which give cover to repression, torture and murder, jailings, detentions, exile and the denial of basic human and political rights to the majority blacks.

The international community should act in unison to hasten the dismantling of a ruinous system based on race and colour. International pressure must continue to be applied, and this should include: starving South Africa of new financial-resource flows; denying it, or tightening the conditions of debt-rescheduling arrangements; imposing a total ban on long-term borrowing, and imposing restrictions on trade finance.

Djibouti has consistently condemned the repressive and racist policies of South Africa. It has consistently added its voice to that of the international community in highlighting the repugnance and the devastating consequences of apartheid. We strongly believe that the widespread disorder that the South African Government fears can be averted only when the following measures are implemented: the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the lifting of the state of emergency in its entirety; legalization of liberation movements; an amnesty for all political exiles; an immediate start to negotiations towards a political settlement.

The onus now lies on Mr. De Klerk, who must move rapidly and sensibly towards a comprehensive political-reform programme, thereby perhaps avoiding the further plunge of his country into the quagmire created by four decades of destructive apartheid policies.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

As one writer put it, this amounts to a serious appraisal of the future of South Africa, and, no doubt, requires

"a delicate balance between the needs and fears of a Government under heavy international pressure to demonstrate a willingness to end its apartheid system of white-minority control, and the enormous opportunities that a sound political agenda opens up for racial reconciliation and reconstruction".

Mr. ESSY (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): I am happy to speak on behalf of the Côte d'Ivoire and to extend to Mr. Garba of Nigeria my warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. Having for so many years, as Chairman, competently, dynamically and effectively conducted the work of the Committee against Apartheid, he is better placed than anyone else to preside at this special session of the General Assembly. His election is an honour to Africa as a whole, and it is also an eloquent expression of the international community's solidarity with that continent, which, for decades now, has been mobilized to combat apartheid.

Apartheid - a real aberration in the civilized world - is a serious outrage to our conscience and to human dignity. We believe that Mr. Garba will once again conduct our work successfully, just as he has been conducting the work of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth regular session.

The tripartite agreement concluded on 22 December 1988 in New York between Cuba, Angola and South Africa, with the mediation of the United States of America and the benevolent acceptance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, undeniably started the process of decolonization in Namibia and opened up the path to a negotiated settlement in Angola. That agreement must be seen as a prelude to peace in southern Africa. One fact is evident: peace in southern Africa cannot be solid, true and lasting so long as the South African Government's inhuman policy of

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

apartheid continues. The effects of that policy are devastating and destabilizing for the economies and the peace and security of the countries in the region.

The conclusions of a study published on 13 October 1989 by the Economic Commission for Africa, entitled "South African Destabilization", stated that military aggression by South Africa and its policy of destabilization against its neighbours cost the southern African region \$10 billion in 1988. The aggression cost over \$60 billion and caused the death of more than 1.5 million people during the period 1980 to 1988. This study shows that the final goal of South Africa's policy of destabilization is to force the front-line States to enter into expenditures so great and ruinous that, to avoid imperilling their economies further, they will be forced to ask for aid and assistance from South Africa and, thus, become economically dependent on their powerful neighbour.

It is clear that over the years, thanks to unprecedented mobilization of the international community against apartheid - and here, in the forefront, were the countries of Africa - South Africa's support has been dropping away, and its international isolation has increased. Subjected to all kinds of pressure and outlawed by the international community, South Africa has hardened its sectarian policy, particularly in domestic affairs, it has stepped up its repression, depriving the black majority people of their freedoms, and it has adopted an aggressive policy - one of continuous harassment and systematic destabilization - against its neighbours.

But nothing can ever justify apartheid - this wretched political system based on the separate development of races and on the denial of the fundamental rights of the great majority of the population, who see their power being taken from them in favour of a tiny minority, who then exercise that power arrogantly and refuse to share it at all.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

My country has always denounced and condemned the sectarian exercise of power in South Africa, which is a corollary of the hateful system of apartheid, which, according to our President, is an outrage to human dignity and to black people.

I take the solemn opportunity of this special session to reaffirm that we in Côte d'Ivoire fully, resolutely and unreservedly condemn this most reprehensible system of government. We have always expressed, and will always express, our greatest revulsion against and hatred of the policy of apartheid so long as it exists. As the United Nations Secretary-General emphasized in his report to the General Assembly, at its forty-fourth session, on the work of the Organization:

"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 struggle against apartheid must become part of an overall approach to the search for peace within every African State, between the African States, and between Africa and the rest of the world. The fight against apartheid has involved too much struggle to be reduced to simple personal reactions. We fully agree with this comment in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid:

"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)

That Committee, in its recommendations to the General Assembly, called explicitly on the South African régime to establish the necessary conditions for the holding of negotiations by taking a number of measures for which the Côte d'Ivoire, in the text adopted by our party, the PDCI-RDA, at its eighth congress, had already called - namely, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees and an end to the state of emergency.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

The text of the Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa on the question of South Africa, adopted in Harare on 21 August 1989 and endorsed at Belgrade by the Non-Aligned Movement, also emphasizes that the African peoples prefer change by peaceful means, and it takes account of the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since it was adopted. The draft Declaration on apartheid prepared by Africa, which is currently being negotiated, includes a paragraph on the climate that would be favourable for negotiations. I quote from it:

"we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid régime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate". (A/44/697, p. 5)

Believing profoundly in the peaceful settlement of disputes, we are glad that these texts advocate dialogue and negotiation to resolve the problem of apartheid.

We in Côte d'Ivoire believe that there are only two ways, not three ways, to settle disputes: the use of force or the use of negotiation or dialogue. This is the basis for the policy that President Houphouët-Boigny has advocated ever since his press conference of 28 April 1971, when he defined his policy of dialogue as being the way to settle all disputes and conflicts, however serious or complex, including the problem of apartheid, which has pitted South Africa against other Africans and against the world as a whole.

Côte d'Ivoire has always done its utmost to support our brothers who are facing the reality of apartheid, which we too, in the days of colonialism, knew. Thus we maintain close contacts with the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), particularly President Tambo, whose recent visit to Côte d'Ivoire was cancelled as a result of his illness, which has kept him in London.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

The foreign policy of Côte d'Ivoire is consistent and open. We have never tried to conceal our contacts with whites at the highest levels in South Africa, which today has some 20 trade missions in various African countries. Hence we are happy to note that the proposals put before us for adoption are in keeping with the policy of peace and dialogue that we have advocated since 28 April 1971, the creation of an atmosphere favourable to negotiations between the white minority, which is now cowering in sickly fear of a so-called black dictatorship, and a humiliated black majority, whose thirst for freedom and democracy will, sooner or later, overcome the barriers of apartheid.

So we must work, through dialogue, to create conditions that will make it possible to bring down step by step the still-thick wall of distrust and hatred that was built up during years of violence and brutal repression and injustice between blacks and whites, who are nevertheless all citizens of one country and Africans on an equal footing. It is as part of the search for conditions favourable to negotiations between South Africans themselves that we have to see the visit of the new President of South Africa on 1 and 2 December 1989, to Yamoussoukro, the political capital of Côte d'Ivoire.

Apartheid in South Africa must be dismantled completely. At a time when the most solid symbols of antagonism, such as the Berlin wall, are crumbling and when iron curtains across borders are being opened one after another, enabling wave after wave of human beings thirsting for freedom to move freely throughout Europe, it is clear that the power and value of freedom and democracy and the hopes to which they give rise will, sooner or later, bring down the barriers behind which the entire legal arsenal of apartheid is sheltered.

While the reforms that South Africa has been introducing, drop by drop since Botha, and now under De Klerk, indicate a new state of mind, they are not enough,

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

in that the fundamental pillars of apartheid - racial classification, housing segregation, and the exclusion of blacks from national political life - remain intact. President De Klerk, who has said that the security of whites in South Africa can never be built on injustice, has promised to go further in the measures that he intends to take to resolve the problem of South Africa so that his country may join the concert of nations. We would encourage him to go further and faster if he wishes to go down in history as the man who ended apartheid and permitted the establishment, in South Africa, of a non-racial and democratic society in which all, without distinction as to race, colour or belief, enjoy the same fundamental rights and freedoms.

Mr. THIAM (Guinea) (interpretation from French): On 2 October last, at the forty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea, in the context of the apartheid question, stressed two essential elements - namely, the scorn that the people of Guinea feel for the apartheid system, and the threat that this anachronistic system poses to international peace and security. Today's world is undergoing deep transformations - transformations of both its political concepts and its social and economic structures. Mankind has reached a decisive turning-point, and regional conflicts are now being resolved peacefully. A new thinking grounded in realism has made consensus in international relations triumph. This new dynamism, based on the quest for peace, gives us hope for the establishment of democracy and the primacy of law.

Pretoria intentionally ignores these positive trends in international life because the spectre of desolation is still very much around in the land of apartheid, sustained by death and terror as the means of government. Is it not significant that the first resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its

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forty-fourth session was on the question of apartheid? Because it is discriminatory and bellicose, apartheid has justly been condemned as a crime against mankind. This condemnation is not a matter of chance; it is the result of a combination of several political and economic factors that have moved the international community to adopt the only practical and peaceful means available to it. Essentially, these are the imposition of binding sanctions and the political and material support for and active solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against racial segregation.

In this connection, my delegation is pleased with the work of the Group of Three, which was established during the forty-first session of the Human Rights Commission in the context of the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination and Suppression of the Crime of Apartheid. The consideration of the policy of apartheid by the International Law Commission in the draft code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind reflects the General Assembly's dedication to the cardinal principles of the United Nations. The persistence with which apartheid ideology has developed in South Africa, with contempt for the clearly expressed will of all mankind, depends on the facilities for access to investment and to loans from foreign sources, which ensure the success of its trade programmes and its increased military and nuclear expenditures.

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It is true that, as a result of international pressure, a considerable number of countries and transnational corporations have ended these activities. None the less, others have maintained their ties with South Africa through production agreements under licence and other agreements that do not involve direct participation.

The future for peace in southern Africa continues to depend on the disappearance of apartheid. My delegation therefore invites all States, particularly those with powerful means of exerting pressure, to use their influence to force Pretoria to create conditions conducive to democracy and peace. At a time when humanity is moving towards peace and towards true interdependence and co-operation the international community should purge itself of the barbarism of which South Africa gives us a sad spectacle every day. Let us not be fooled: despite the changes at the top of the South African Government, apartheid maintains its segregationist essence.

It is high time for South Africa to join in the quest for peace, democracy and co-responsibility of all our peoples and nations. It is high time to act because the Pretoria Government is now confronting an explosive situation. Undermined domestically by growing resistance, and harassed outside as a result of international action and anti-apartheid movements, the apartheid régime is confronted with a painful choice, a choice dictated by history: Should it cling to the sacrosanct principles of a system founded on the supremacy of a racist minority, or should it assume responsibility for a basic change that would culminate in a multiracial, democratic, egalitarian society?

The Declaration adopted in Harare on 21 August 1989 by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) clearly specified the climate for a negotiated solution of the political crisis in South Africa: the

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releasing of all political prisoners unconditionally, including Nelson Mandela; the ending of the state of emergency that was reinstated on 9 June 1989 and the repeal of all the discriminatory and repressive legislation designed to circumscribe political activity; the removal of all troops from the townships; and an appeal to the international community to facilitate the transition to democracy.

The Commonwealth Ministers, at their meeting in Canberra, Australia, in August 1989, also recognized that the sanctions had had a definite impact on the South African economy and were therefore an effective tool of pressure. On the same lines, very recently the heads of State and Government, at the ninth summit, in Belgrade, of the non-aligned countries, endorsed the decision of OAU to work towards the convening, in Africa, of a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to examine the reprehensible policies and acts of State terrorism carried out by Pretoria - a meeting at which relevant and appropriate measures, including comprehensive, binding sanctions, would be adopted. Even if, as a result of poor co-ordination and lack of precision, there have been some shortcomings in sanctions implementation, monitoring and follow-up, it is undeniable that the measures that I have referred to have had a tangible effect on the South African economy as they have contributed to a slowing-down of its growth rate and the exacerbation of some crises in macro-economic structures.

Among the measures that could make the South African leaders more flexible, the following should be mentioned: refusal to reschedule debt-service payments; prohibition of the granting of new financial loans, from whatever source; a ban on the import of all agricultural products from South Africa; a ban on the import of all minerals, particularly iron, gold, uranium, coal and common metals; restriction of commercial credits to both purchasers and suppliers; and a ban on transfers of technology, particularly technology related to weapons, petroleum and computer

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science. Hence the urgent need for the international community to act promptly to prevent South Africa from evading the effects of sanctions.

The States parties to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, which was adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1985 and entered into force on 3 April 1989, should also abstain from any contact with South Africa and thereby isolate it in the field of international sporting activities. The importance of this Convention should be upheld more strongly. It is undeniable that this isolation in sports could have a psychological impact, as has happened in the economic, scientific and cultural areas.

The Security Council, under paragraph 63 (c) of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, should compel Pretoria to submit its nuclear installations to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency and ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted by OAU in July 1962, in Cairo. We reaffirm also the legitimacy of the struggle carried on by the black South African majority and we encourage it to continue to pursue its noble ideals.

Although the international community has witnessed a significant development in southern Africa over the last two years, its responsibility with respect to the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a lasting peace in the region remains total because the populations of these countries have been tried and have suffered tremendously in their legitimate struggle to preserve their identity.

From a study, issued by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, of the resistance of the front-line countries to apartheid it is clear that between 1980 and 1989 the policy of destabilization and the acts of military aggression that have repeatedly been perpetrated by South Africa against its neighbours have had the following consequences: a financial cost of nearly \$60 billion; the loss of more than 1.5 million human lives; a vast migratory movement, as a result of

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which the number of refugees and displaced persons in the continent represents more than 50 per cent of the entire world population of refugees and displaced persons.

Faced with this grave situation, the international community adopted the Oslo Declaration of August 1988, whose implementation is urgently needed. Of course, the aim of this destabilizing strategy by Pretoria is to keep the neighbouring countries in a state of economic dependence and also to divide them on the question of their relationships with the apartheid country. Thus, this policy is the deep, underlying cause of the economic regression of the countries of the region. It seems that the full cost of the steps that are necessary to offset the impact of destabilization is more than \$4 billion - only \$1 billion is available. Experience shows that the tremendous force of public opinion, if brought to bear, can have remarkable results. This has been shown to be the case in respect of human rights as well as in respect of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The elimination of racial discrimination and the eradication of apartheid are another such hope.

Permit me, in conclusion, to say how much value my country attaches to concerted action by the international community to force the racist Pretoria Government to answer for its crimes against humanity. It is up to that Government to decide whether to be satisfied with mere survival or whether to heed the popular clamour for the emergence of a society freed from injustice and from insecurity and racial hatred.

Mr. RUKASHAZA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Rwanda I should like, first and foremost, to echo the comments that have been made concerning the competence, diligence and wisdom with which Mr. Garba of Nigeria has been directing the work of the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session and, indeed, at this special session on apartheid and its

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destructive consequences in southern Africa. In this connection I should like to repeat the whole-hearted congratulations that were conveyed to Mr. Garba by Mr. Casimir Bizimungu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of the Republic of Rwanda when he addressed the Assembly on 10 October 1989 during the general debate at the forty-fourth session.

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This special session is taking place at a time when there are profound changes in the world, especially in southern Africa, with the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia and of the process of national reconciliation in Angola. The apartheid leaders of South Africa must join in this process by yielding to international pressure to eradicate that loathsome system, which has been rightly defined as a crime against humanity.

Since its very first session the General Assembly has been examining the question of the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa; year after year it has adopted resolutions unequivocally condemning the persistence of that policy and the anachronistic practices to which it gives rise and calling upon the South African Government to put an end to it. Four decades have passed without changes towards the eradication of that system, which is doing very well and even growing stronger; that is a challenge to the international community and the universal conscience.

Since its very first session the General Assembly has been efficiently recording the infractions committed by the racist South African Government under the sorry banner of apartheid, and the human, economic and political sacrifices made by the black majority of South Africa and by other peoples of southern Africa.

Nothing is more revolting than the fact that in spite of universal condemnation that record has lengthened over the years to unprecedented size. One example, drawn from the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) study published on 14 October last on South African destabilization and the economic costs of the front-line resistance to apartheid, will indicate the scope of the problem. In that study the ECA notes that

"South Africa's military aggression and its policy of destabilization against its neighbours cost the region \$10 billion in 1988 and more than \$60 billion and 1.5 million human lives during the period 1980-1988".

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The psychological and socio-political cost of these enormous human and economic sacrifices are even more moving for we who know the financial and human needs of our southern African brethren and all other developing countries in their efforts to achieve social and economic development.

Many previous speakers described forcefully the weighty consequences for the many southern African victims of the policy of apartheid, so I shall not dwell on them now. I wish rather to take this opportunity to recall the position of the Republic of Rwanda on the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

Like all other countries that cherish peace and justice and that respect human values and human dignity, Rwanda utterly condemns the policy of apartheid and all underlying practices. In our statement during the general debate at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, on 10 October 1989, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of the Republic of Rwanda, speaking on behalf of the people and the Government of Rwanda, unreservedly condemned "Pretoria's terrorist, abject policy" (A/44/PV.27, p. 23) and expressed

"our disgust and grave concern at the unspeakable crimes committed by the racist minority in South Africa". (pp. 23-24)

He also appealed to the free world

"to strengthen pressure of all kinds on the criminal Pretoria régime to make it normalize political and economic life in conformity with the universal principles of democracy and human dignity." (p. 23)

In the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and other international, regional and subregional bodies, Rwanda has constantly denounced the misdeeds of apartheid, whose continued existence is a true affront to international morality and ethics.

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To give expression to its condemnation of that reactionary system, Rwanda, since it acceded to independence on 1 July 1962, has been firmly committed to supporting in all possible ways the peoples and countries of southern Africa in their heroic struggle to eradicate apartheid in South Africa. In that context, the Republic of Rwanda unilaterally broke all ties with South Africa in 1964 and has always encouraged all initiatives to deepen Pretoria's isolation on the international scene, for we are convinced that were that isolation to become effective and comprehensive South Africa would be forced to abolish its system of apartheid and racial discrimination. Like the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations, my country reaffirms its strong support for the speedy adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

My country is a party to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and a signatory of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports; guided by the failure of all efforts to date, we remain convinced that only political pressure by the international community, backed up by sweeping, concrete measures, can bring about the results we all expect, that is the abolition of apartheid, the establishment of democracy and social justice in South Africa and the beginning of an era of peace, security and progress in southern Africa.

Rwanda welcomes the emerging unanimity on the principle that the South African Government's policy of apartheid must be abolished. None the less, we remain deeply concerned at the political differences that persist on the measures needed to that end. Those differences are all the more regrettable as they are based on differing interests. In that connection, we must wonder about the validity of those interests which are pursued at the price of perpetuating in South Africa an anachronistic political system with incalculable consequences. Under what

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conditions can we permit acts of repression, aggression, racial discrimination and economic and political destabilization to continue unpunished?

This special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa gives us all a chance to search our hearts to weigh our respective responsibility for the perpetuation of the apartheid system, and to act accordingly. At any cost, we must find common ground for a better international strategy for action against apartheid on the principle that apartheid must be abolished, not reformed. The adoption of such a strategy would ensure the success of this session.

In recent months, some have thought they saw signs of movement towards the abolition of apartheid in the events in South Africa: the freeing of some black political leaders, the toleration of massive anti-apartheid demonstrations and statements by various spokesmen of the Pretoria régime to the effect that the De Klerk team was ready to make changes.

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Can we harbour the illusion that those events signify good will on the part of the Pretoria régime? My delegation feels the answer is no, because the pillars of apartheid have not even been grazed. The minority régime in Pretoria is called upon to restore their fundamental rights to the black majority in South Africa and to agree to genuine negotiations with its authentic representatives as partners with equal rights. As a first step, before making any declarations, the Pretoria régime should repeal the laws that form the foundation of the legal edifice of apartheid, lift the state of emergency, free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners unconditionally and unban individuals and political organizations fighting to do away with the apartheid system. Those measures are non-negotiable pre-conditions that would create confidence in the future situation in South Africa.

My delegation appeals to all other delegations to show much greater mutual understanding within the framework of constructive dialogue to formulate a common approach in our struggle against apartheid. We must convert our shared moral indignation at apartheid into the political will to adopt and implement a range of effective pressures capable of inducing the Pretoria régime to abolish apartheid completely.

The United Nations has recently achieved a number of successes, the most recent of which is the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on independence for Namibia. But the longest in coming is the liberation of the black people of South Africa and of the countries of southern Africa caught for more than 40 years in the maelstrom of violence, discrimination, destabilization and aggression. Once apartheid is abolished and democracy established in South Africa, all the countries of southern Africa will be able to enjoy a true climate of peace, security, co-operation and prosperity for the benefit of all Africa and the entire world.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Apartheid has been rightly condemned by the world community as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. The record of more than 40 years of deliberations on this problem at the United Nations and the apparent lack of fundamental change in the situation in South Africa strengthen our conviction that apartheid cannot be reformed and must be dismantled. That universally shared conviction was echoed by the Secretary-General in his 1989 report on the work of the Organization, where he stressed that

"It is clear that a mere dilution or softening of apartheid will not answer the expectations of the majority of the people of South Africa nor of the world as a whole." (A/44/1, p. 7)

There is hardly any other issue on which the positions of Member States are more consistent and concurrent than the question of putting an end to this darkest stigma on human history. This is so because apartheid, as a system of institutionalized racial discrimination and hatred, runs counter to the moral values shared by peoples all over the world and constitutes a gross violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and of all international human rights instruments, including the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights.

The grave consequences of the policy of apartheid have been felt far beyond the national boundaries of South Africa, seriously threatening peace, stability and development endeavours in the subregion and in the whole of the African continent. Suffice it to note that in the past few years South Africa's policy of destabilization in the region has inflicted serious economic damage totalling more than \$60 billion, not to mention the enormous loss of life and the suffering caused to the peoples of the countries subjected to Pretoria's subversion and aggression.

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On the other hand, as rapprochement and the spirit of co-operation are gaining ground in the world, we are pleased to discern that the winds of hope and change have lately been blowing over southern Africa too. The people of Namibia has confidently expressed its sovereign will through free elections, thereby taking the first and most decisive step towards the freedom and independence for which it has fought so long and hard. The successful completion of that historic process is bound finally to wipe colonialism from the face of Africa and deal a serious blow to the system of apartheid. Mongolia extends its heartfelt greetings to the people of Namibia and wishes it every success in building an independent and democratic Namibia. We likewise convey our sincere congratulations to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) on its convincing victory in the recent elections. My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the United Nations, the Secretary-General and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) for the central role played by them in the implementation of the independence plan for Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We are further encouraged to see signs of improved prospects for the normalization of the situation in and around Angola and Mozambique. My Government expresses its full support for the efforts of those two countries and other front-line States to bring about peace and stability in the region and to create the conditions for the progress and prosperity of their peoples.

We believe that the reasonable approach and timely steps taken by the Government of the Republic of Cuba contributed significantly to the unfolding of those positive developments in the region.

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In South Africa itself there have occurred certain developments that have attracted the attention of the international community. The successes of the forces of peace, freedom and democracy in southern Africa and the growing political campaign by the liberation and democratic movements in South Africa, coupled with mounting external pressure, have compelled the apartheid régime to make certain concessions to the universally supported peaceful political activity by the black majority which, inter alia, have led to the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other prominent political prisoners.

However, those are just first signs, and they fall far short of what is required to get the apartheid system dismantled. The international community should remain vigilant and should persevere, given the repeated manoeuvres of the racist régime. The declaration adopted last week at Johannesburg by prominent anti-apartheid groups clearly states that South Africa is not interested in democratic changes and genuine negotiations.

We cannot to fail to emphasize yet again that in order to restore confidence and create an atmosphere conducive to dialogue the South African authorities must, as a minimum step, release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid and democratic organizations, and terminate the state of emergency.

The entrenched resistance by the South African régime to the growing demands of its own people and that of the world community to eradicate apartheid bears clear witness to the need for mounting pressure to bring Pretoria to the negotiating table.

Mongolia, like many other Member States, continues to believe that comprehensive mandatory sanctions and an arms embargo remain the most effective

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means of responding to apartheid. In that connection we note with regret that the Governments of some developed and developing countries have failed to honour their commitments in this regard. The reported collaboration between South Africa and Israel in military and nuclear fields cannot but evoke the increasing concern of the international community.

The convening of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is certain to send the Pretoria régime yet another clear message from the international community that anything less than total abolition of the abhorrent system of apartheid will fall short of meeting the demands of the South African people and of the entire world.

The recent new initiative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has created conditions conducive to eliminating apartheid through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all. That was explicitly articulated in the Declaration of the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989 and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The Mongolian delegation fully supports that Declaration, which has further expounded the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa.

The international community clearly expressed its preference for a peaceful solution of this anachronistic problem when the General Assembly a few weeks ago adopted a draft resolution entitled "International support for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa through genuine negotiations". South Africa should respond positively and responsibly to this new constructive opening. My delegation believes that in making its decisions the special session should build on the Principles and essential elements of the aforementioned Harare Declaration. It should define balanced and comprehensive measures to be taken to create the

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necessary climate for negotiations as well as action-oriented guidelines aimed at eliminating the apartheid system, this would open up prospects for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

This special session is a fitting occasion to express our appreciation of the work done by the Security Council and many other organs and organizations of the United Nations system, and in particular by the Special Committee against Apartheid, to mobilize the efforts of the international community in combating the evil of the inhuman system of apartheid. We believe that under your able and wise guidance, Mr. President, the Special Committee will make a valuable contribution to fulfilling the recommendations of this special session of the Assembly on measures to achieve the speedy elimination of apartheid. Your opening statement at the special session is clear testimony of your resolve to work towards that end.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate my Government's firm commitment to the lofty ideals of freedom, justice and the equality of all races and to express the hope that the special session will become the first and the last to be held on this problem, whose solution is long overdue.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Zaire wishes to congratulate you once again, Mr. President, on your enlightened guidance of our work at this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. In convening the special session during your tenure as its President the General Assembly is paying a particular tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, whose work you have guided with courage and determination. It is against the background of your many years' experience as Chairman of the Special Committee, evidenced by the reliable and exhaustive data contained in its various reports, that the General Assembly is embarking on this in-depth analysis of the situation now prevailing in

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South Africa, which remains marked by the persistence of apartheid, notwithstanding the efforts recently undertaken there.

The new wind blowing through the world as a result of the agreement between the socialist and capitalist blocs, which is giving new impetus to the democratic process to which all peoples of the world aspire, cannot help but affect the black majority South African population - more than 23 million persons. At a time when solid political structures that once seemed immutable are crumbling and opening the way to the genuine exercise of power by the people, it is unthinkable that the trend should stop at the borders of Europe and be denied the black majority South African people.

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Since the proclamation of an independent Union of South Africa by a group of Boers on 31 May 1910, following the British Parliament's adoption of a preparatory Act on 20 September 1909, that country's decolonization process, as called for in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) adopted on 14 December 1960, 50 years after that proclamation of independence, has made no provisions for any political structure to give its black majority the power to participate in its democratic processes. That population has been marginalized, and it remains so to this day.

The primary purpose of this special session is not to correct the history of South Africa but, rather, clearly and unequivocally to reaffirm the fundamental rights of the black South African people in their own country, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The greedy hopes centred on South Africa by the British, by the Boers and even, at one point, by Napoleon, which were reflected in such bloody conflicts as the Boer War of 1899-1902 between the British and the Boers, were aimed at exploiting the country's mineral resources while completely ignoring the fate of the indigenous inhabitants who are, for the most part, black. That spirit, which has prevailed throughout South Africa's history, remains intact today and does not seem to be changing in favour of any acknowledgement of the genuine interests of the black South African majority, despite the peaceful messages the international community has been addressing to the minority South African régime.

The South African apartheid régime should have learned from the 1979 misadventure of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe and, through negotiation and dialogue, created conditions favouring a democratic society that would recognize the right of all blacks to vote, to full South African citizenship and to enjoy all political and civil rights in that country. The ever-tighter grip in which South Africa

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finds itself caught - and that will become even tighter with the imminent independence of Namibia and renewed hopes for national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique - as well as the determination of all African countries to fight against apartheid and to achieve its complete eradication in South Africa, represent the difficulties the minority régime might encounter if it does not today agree to engage in a genuine revision of the constitutional underpinnings of its political system. Those are the stakes, and South Africa's survival depends upon this course.

Zaire is determined, through its leaders, to convince the representatives of the South African régime to follow the course of reason and to initiate the passage of political measures in favour of black South Africans by freeing all political prisoners in that country, beginning with Nelson Mandela, and to enter immediately into a constructive dialogue with the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and with all other anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, with a view to the speedy emergence of a democratic society in that country within which the black citizen will take his place side by side with his white, Indian or coloured fellow citizens.

The principle of universal suffrage in general elections, a principle commonly described as "one man, one vote", must be introduced in South Africa without delay. Similarly, the abrogation of all discriminatory laws - including the so-called internal security laws designed to restrict political activities and the state of emergency that has lasted since 1985 and has resulted in countless losses of human life and arbitrary arrests - should take place immediately. The international community cannot stand by and watch that régime continue with impunity to formulate principles of apartheid while continuing to promise that white domination will end at some future date and to deny equality to all citizens

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of South Africa. The special session must decide upon measures to achieve a radical change that, through negotiations, will lead to the eradication of apartheid in all its forms and to the establishment of a democratic South African society no longer based on race distinctions. The reforms now being undertaken by the new South African leaders, although encouraging in certain respects, nevertheless still give rise to protest, demonstrating that the opposition to apartheid is still as strong as ever and that it is re-emerging with new energy, for, notwithstanding the state of emergency and the prohibitive measures and constraints of all kinds aimed against the leaders of black organizations, the disobedience campaign being waged by the mass democratic movements has achieved remarkable success, not only on election day, when more than 3 million workers and students stayed home, but on 29 October of this year in Johannesburg, when Comrade Walter Sisulu, recently freed after more than 25 years in prison, addressed a crowd of black militants at the stadium.

The most recent event to have galvanized South Africa's anti-apartheid energies was the meeting on 10 December of the Conference for Democracy in South Africa organized by the broad anti-apartheid movement in that country, in which 4,500 delegates representing various political ideologies met after 34 years. In that connection, we should note that the 4,500 delegates to the Conference addressed an appeal to all militant anti-apartheid activists to take to the streets in mass demonstrations in their respective cities to protest against the persistence of apartheid and to call for its immediate abolition.

My delegation believes that, given the present situation in South Africa, the international community and, in particular, the United Nations General Assembly, must address a united, unambiguous and unanimous message to the leaders of the South African minority régime in the form of a declaration containing the following

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essential elements: a reaffirmation of the will of the international community to pursue examination of the question of South Africa in order to achieve a peaceful settlement; an intensification of the anti-apartheid campaign and effective measures against the South African régime aimed at inducing it to enter without delay into negotiations with the leaders of liberation movements and anti-apartheid organizations in order to conclude a cease-fire agreement and to adopt constitutional reforms leading to the country's unity and to a non-racial democratic system with legislative and judicial machinery to guarantee the equality before the law of all South African citizens, black, white, Indian and coloured. By achieving those goals the Republic of South Africa will finally join the other peace-loving and justice-loving countries of the world and will contribute to the building of a better world under the aegis of regional and international organizations, help to ensure the triumph of peace and security and promote co-operation among all peoples of the world without distinction as to race or colour.

Mr. MWAKAWAGO (United Republic of Tanzania): For four decades now the United Nations has been preoccupied with the scourge of apartheid. It has devoted countless hours to debating that evil system and has adopted numerous resolutions calling for its speedy eradication. Yet apartheid is still there. In South Africa itself the oppressed majority, who bear the brunt of apartheid at first hand, have intensified their opposition to it, many of them sacrificing their life in the process. The sacrifice has been particularly severe in the past few years. Within the southern African subregion the apartheid régime has been engaged in acts of State terrorism and destabilization, leaving behind a trail of wanton destruction of life and property.

Critics of the Organization's sustained opposition to apartheid point out that 40 years of debate and resolutions have not led to the eradication of the system. That is true. They also point out that the system is not only intact but has been strengthened and refined, thus enabling it constantly to adjust to internal and external pressure. That is also true. What is not true is their contention that the foregoing constitutes an argument for reducing, not intensifying, the pressures against apartheid. The facts argue the contrary. Every move the régime has made, whether positive or negative, can be directly or indirectly linked to internal or external pressure. This explains why every time the United Nations meets to debate apartheid - and this special session is no exception - the régime becomes worried. It knows that the outcome will be further pressure on it and will bring closer the day of the eradication of apartheid.

It is true that after 40 years apartheid is still there and apparently stronger and much more deeply entrenched. But both internally and externally apartheid is facing stronger and better co-ordinated opposition. There is much evidence to suggest that the struggle has entered a critical phase. The last few

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years have confirmed not only the oft-repeated truth that apartheid is doomed, but also that its end could be nearer than anyone dared predict 10 years ago. The question is whether the end is going to come through an escalation of the violence now plaguing the country and the region or through a negotiated agreement between the oppressor and the oppressed.

We thus welcome the holding of this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa because it provides yet another opportunity of galvanizing our efforts and resources in fighting against this most heinous crime of institutionalized racism.

Apartheid has remained largely unaffected by the rapprochement of the super-Powers and the consequent reduction in East-West tension. Only one manifestation of apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia, has been affected; it is being loosened. But there is a long way to go before apartheid is eradicated in Namibia. The outcome of the elections, the first stage in the Territory's independence process, has been satisfactory. All who worked for that outcome, the United Nations in particular, have cause to rejoice. But South Africa's persistent violations of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remain a constant reminder of the need for vigilance at all times during the remaining period of the transition to independence. South Africa could still cause it to abort. Security Council resolution 643 (1989), adopted on the eve of the elections, has still to be implemented. And even after independence Namibia will still be faced with the threat of apartheid that faces all independent countries of the region. Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia, is the best known and most visible threat to independent Namibia, but it is by no means the only or even the most

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serious threat. As the Commonwealth observer group on Namibia observed in its report,

"South Africa has proceeded in a manner calculated to retain the ability to cause the whole process to miscarry or, perhaps more sinister, actively to destabilize the Government which eventually emerges."

Although concerted international pressure, the liberation struggle waged by the national liberation movements and the defiance campaigns organized by the mass democratic movement within South Africa have compelled the Pretoria régime to undertake some cosmetic reforms, the oppression and repression meted out to the majority of South Africans have not diminished; in some respects they have been intensified. The massive violence unleashed by the security forces against peaceful demonstrations on the eve of the elections that confirmed De Klerk's succession to Botha left 29 dead and many more wounded.

According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/44/22 and Corr.2), of 25 October 1989, by January 1989 there were some 800 political prisoners in South Africa, excluding children under 21 who were in prison. Since 1984 there have been at least 51,000 detentions without trial of students, members of political and religious groups and trade unionists, and this figure accounts for over 70 per cent of all detentions since 1960. In order to deceive the international community into thinking that the South African judiciary is independent, the Pretoria régime, in what appears to be a change in the pattern of dealing with popular dissent, has resorted to more selective use of the courts. But the judiciary is founded on the apartheid system and must necessarily dispense apartheid justice. What have become popularly known as judicial murders had resulted by June 1989 in the execution of 37 political prisoners at Pretoria

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central prison, while 88 persons were awaiting execution. All but a handful of the victims of that all-white judiciary have been non-white.

In the past few months, following De Klerk's accession to the South African presidency, the Pretoria régime and its allies have been quick to plead for a relaxation of the international pressure on the régime in order to reward it for undertaking reforms and to encourage further reforms. Particular efforts have been targeted on easing economic sanctions and other pressures. Once again, the respite being sought is another six months, which reminds us of Botha's "Rubicon" speech. The difference is that this time the respite is being sought not by De Klerk but by his allies and friends. Recently, De Klerk won warm accolades from his friends and allies when he announced the desegregation of some public amenities, such as beaches, parks, public transport and selected residential areas. It is little remembered that it was P.W. Botha who started abolishing what he very appropriately described as petty apartheid, such as the Mixed Marriages Act, and introducing cosmetic reforms such as the President's Council, grudgingly accepting the role of trade unions, and so forth.

This is not what the struggle is about. It is not only too little, too late; it is turning the argument on its head. For it is sanctions and pressures from both outside and inside South Africa that have compelled the Pretoria régime to take such cosmetic measures as it has adopted. It was pressure, rather than the magnanimity of the régime, that recently persuaded it to refrain from tear-gassing and beating up black demonstrators. Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners have been released as a result of the same pressure. De Klerk's measures represent no decision to abandon apartheid, any more than Botha's did. Indeed, many people interpret what De Klerk has said about group rights and power sharing as indicating

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a desire to modernize and renovate apartheid. By his pronouncements and actions De Klerk has shown himself to be different from Botha only in the more sophisticated way he has handled his critics at home and abroad. Instead of wagging his finger at them, he reasons with them. In other words, he has adopted a different style of managing the same system.

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It is perhaps even less well remembered that South Africa dithered for 10 years before accepting Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia. Only when its military adventurism was roundly defeated at Cuito Cuanavale and when economic sanctions were imposed by the Scandinavian countries, the European Economic Community, the Commonwealth and, in spite of a presidential veto, the United States of America did South Africa relent and agree to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That is evidence that South Africa will not eradicate apartheid of its own free will. Only unremitting and continued pressure will force South Africa to dismantle apartheid. The most effective international pressure is sanctions. Tanzania strongly believes that to have maximal effectiveness sanctions should be mandatory and comprehensive. The economy has already shown its vulnerability to sanctions. The campaign for disinvestment, the scarcity of new capital investment and the reluctance to grant new long-term credit have gravely impaired the ability of the Pretoria régime to maintain its system. Sanctions work.

Of course, sanctions hurt. They hurt the régime against which they are imposed. They hurt the countries and peoples applying them. They hurt the victims they are intended to emancipate. Every form of struggle has its cost, and the cost of sanctions to the oppressed people of South Africa must be measured against the benefits they bring. The victims of apartheid have made their choice. Despite what their detractors claim, they have made clear their readiness to suffer today so as to intensify their struggle in order to accelerate the dawn of freedom and human dignity.

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of Tanzania)

Over the years the Pretoria régime and its friends have worked tirelessly to mobilize opposition to sanctions while being careful all the time to avoid responding positively to any proposals for a negotiated settlement. They spurned the Lusaka manifesto, which offered the basis for a negotiated settlement. The Harare Declaration is a reaffirmation of the offer to the Pretoria régime to enter into genuine negotiations with the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa. The prerequisites for such a dialogue are clearly set out in the Declaration. These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of the Internal Security Act and all other draconian measures and the unbanning of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and all other mass anti-apartheid organizations. All political prisoners, and particularly Nelson Mandela, should be immediately and unconditionally released, and political exiles and other freedom-fighters should be allowed to return to South Africa. The measures enumerated above are among the confidence-building steps the Pretoria régime can take without any further delay. For Tanzania, movement towards implementing those measures will constitute an important yardstick by which to judge Pretoria's sincerity.

Having taken those measures, South Africa should then proceed to dismantle the pillars on which apartheid stands. These are the Population Registration Act, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, and the acts setting up the tricameral parliament and the bantustans. Tanzania firmly believes that apartheid is intact so long as those acts remain on the statute books. We challenge the Pretoria régime to abolish them without equivocation.

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of Tanzania)

Friends of Pretoria are claiming that by co-operating with the United Nations over the Namibian independence process the régime has in effect abandoned its hegemonic ambitions over the southern African subregion. Tanzania has seen no evidence to support that claim. As the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid points out, the destructive effects of apartheid - aggression and destabilization - are quite evident:

"The costs of the regional conflict to the nine States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have been substantial. Estimates show that between 1980 and 1988 the loss in its gross domestic product attributable to South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization amounted to \$60 billion, in terms of 1988 prices. These sums are absorbed by direct war damage, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, higher spending on defence by all the countries, the loss of economic production, boycotts and embargoes imposed by Pretoria and caring for the growing number of refugees and internally displaced people". (A/44/22, para. 87)

It is also pointed out in the report that, in Mozambique alone, at least 400,000 persons have died as a result of acts of destabilization while millions of others have been displaced. According to a report by the United Nations Children's Fund issued in April 1989, 25 children die every hour from the effects of war in southern Africa, partly because of the breakdown in health services and the disruption of food production.

Tanzania supports both Angola and Mozambique in their struggle to preserve their independence and maintain their territorial integrity. We support their efforts towards peace and reconciliation. We call upon the international community to exert pressure on South Africa to end all acts of destabilization of front-line

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and other neighbouring States, whether waged directly by the régime or indirectly through proxies. We also urge the international community to provide all forms of support to States in the southern African subregion in their efforts to consolidate their economies and overcome the destructive consequences of South Africa's State terrorism. We believe that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference provides the appropriate vehicle for the States in the region to achieve economic self-reliance and reduce and eventually eliminate their dependence on apartheid South Africa.

Many nations have unilaterally and collectively made great sacrifices by imposing sanctions against South Africa. Tanzania wishes to pay a tribute to all of them for their contribution to the struggle. Tanzania wishes also to pay a special tribute to the many individuals and organizations that, official opposition to sanctions notwithstanding, have imposed people's sanctions against South Africa. We urge them to continue that solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

Tanzania calls upon the South African régime to take advantage of the current positive developments on the international political scene to negotiate with the people of South Africa a genuine settlement that will end once and for all the criminal, anachronistic and abhorrent system of apartheid and usher in a democratic system.

It is Tanzania's conviction that if the South African régime is serious about resolving the crisis that it has perpetuated for four decades it has to talk to the genuine representatives of the South African people. It is futile to talk to outsiders who have no mandate from the South African people.

(Mr. Mwakawago, United Republic
of Tanzania)

The General Assembly has declared the last decade of the twentieth century a Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. That Decade begins in two weeks' time. Let us resolve that it will also be a decade for the total eradication of apartheid in all its manifestations, for apartheid is not only an affront to the human conscience but also a crime against humanity.

Mr. VAZQUEZ (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The convening of this special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa demonstrates that the continued existence of apartheid is without a doubt one of the most serious and urgent problems confronting the United Nations. No other issue so uniformly and deeply offends the conscience of all mankind.

(Mr. Vazquez, Argentina)

As we approach the end of a century that has seen unprecedented social, political and technological progress and that is ending in an atmosphere of détente and harmony in international relations, it is simply unacceptable that this anachronistic vestige of intolerance should still survive.

Today more than ever the international community must urgently adopt effective measures against South Africa that can contribute to accelerating the total and definitive eradication of its racist policy. That sense of urgency stems not only from our interest in restoring decency, justice and the dignity of man in South Africa but also from our obligation to respond decisively to a specific and serious challenge to the maintenance of international peace and security. The lack of an appropriate United Nations response to South Africa's challenge would not only serve to prolong the tragedy of a people unlawfully being stripped of their fundamental rights but also dangerously work to undermine the Organization's credibility and political and moral authority.

Although useful and necessary, individual action by States is not enough. We have on many occasions pointed out - and we emphasize it again today - that only through concerted action by all Members of the United Nations, including those with the most meaningful ties with Pretoria, can we forge an effective tool in the struggle against apartheid.

In that connection, along with the other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we are convinced that the way to compel the South African Government to put an end to the loathsome and anachronistic apartheid régime is through new decisions to expand the scope of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). Indeed, the most appropriate, effective and peaceful approach to attaining that end would be through the enactment of additional binding sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Vazquez, Argentina)

Argentina reaffirms its strongest possible condemnation of the policy of apartheid and its solidarity with the victims of that policy. Discrimination for whatever reason is incompatible with the principles upon which the Republic of Argentina was founded. However, aware that words are insufficient, my country has taken major specific steps, including the breaking of diplomatic ties with South Africa. Moreover, the Government of Argentina scrupulously complies with the binding arms embargo against South Africa and has ratified the International Convention on the Elimination and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. All of those measures reflect the firmness of Argentina's support for Africa's struggle against racial discrimination.

The new Pretoria Administration has taken some encouraging steps in the right direction. We welcome that new stance and we hope and expect that it will continue, grow stronger, and pursue as its sole purpose the uprooting of the policy of apartheid. The Government of South Africa must grasp the fact that a partial reformation of its current racist policy is not enough and that the international community will neither cease its demands nor fail to take condemnatory measures until that policy has been dismantled entirely.

There can be no doubt that there will be no peace, no stability and no justice in that region so long as apartheid holds sway in South Africa. That is why we urge the Pretoria Government to put an end to the state of emergency and to repeal all legislation that, like the internal security law, is designed to restrict political activity. We further urge it to free unconditionally all political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela, without imposing any restrictions whatsoever on them. All those steps must be aimed at abolishing apartheid so that the South African people can enjoy the benefits of a free, democratic and non-racist society.

(Mr. Vazquez, Argentina)

We hope and expect that the special session of the General Assembly will bear fruit and contribute in a tangible way to speeding the pace of liberation of the people of South Africa from the vile policy of apartheid.

Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines): The special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa could not have been held at a more propitious time. Nobody can argue that the present era is emerging as a period of positive change, one of finding peaceful solutions to long-time problems and unfavourable situations, one of satisfying the yearning for freedom and peace of many peoples around the world.

In this rapidly changing environment the situation in South Africa should not be left behind. In that part of the world people have suffered no end because of the evil system of apartheid.

The immeasurable destructive consequences of apartheid, not only within South Africa but also beyond its borders, are known to all of us: death, life imprisonment, destruction of homes and crops, separation of families, exploitation and humiliation. But much as loss of dear lives and properties is painful, it hurts more as apartheid tramples upon the hopes, aspirations and dreams of the oppressed people of South Africa. Yes, it pains us to see that more than four decades after the leading statesmen of our countries reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, the more than 25 million people in South Africa are still treated unjustly and inhumanely merely because their skin is black, not white like that of those whose ancestors were welcomed with fresh fruits and vegetables when they landed on South African territory centuries ago.

(Mr. Mendez, Philippines)

The Philippines believes that this special session is the best opportunity yet for us as members of the international community to act as one and to send a strong message to the rulers in Pretoria that apartheid should go and that it should go now.

No amount of success in peace-keeping operations, in the settlement of regional disputes and in other fields of United Nations operations can compensate for the failure of the Organization to effect change in South Africa.

As we have said before, the United Nations stands for people, for peace, freedom, dignity and the brotherhood of man, while apartheid is the antithesis of everything the United Nations stands for.

(Mr. Mendez, Philippines)

Our objective at this special session is to clear the way for the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country where justice, equality and freedom reign. The suffering people of that country deserve no less. They have been denied those rights throughout their lives. In the same vein, the United Nations too deserves no less.

Today the Philippines joins other members of the community of nations in calling upon the South African authorities to begin to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations between them and their people. We call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, for the lifting of all bans and restrictions on all organizations and persons, for the removal of troops from the townships, for termination of the state of emergency and for the cessation of all political trials and executions. At the same time the Philippines calls for intensification of international pressure against South Africa until genuine peaceful change takes place in the country.

Indeed, there is no time for double-talk. Sincerity and purity of objective should infuse our present and future discussions of the problem in South Africa.

Finally, I take this opportunity to express to the President, Mr. Garba, the sincere appreciation of the Philippines for his unrelenting efforts in steering the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Similarly, we congratulate the officers and staff of the Centre against Apartheid for their unquestioned dedication to their responsibilities. As a member of the Special Committee, the Philippines will continue to extend to it and to the Centre its full support and co-operation.

Mr. VILLAR (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me at the outset, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate the President, Mr. Garba, on his unanimous election to preside over the special session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Villar, Spain)

This afternoon the representative of France, speaking on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community, made a statement to which my delegation of course fully subscribes. I shall therefore confine myself at this juncture to offering some brief observations on behalf of the Government of Spain.

The current climate of détente and dialogue that has become dominant in international relations is contributing decisively towards the resolution of many regional conflicts. The dynamic process of peace-making is also at work in southern Africa, where negotiating processes have made considerable strides in recent months, not only in Namibia, a Territory that will in the very near future join the ranks of the international community as an independent State, but in Angola and Mozambique as well.

We must acknowledge that within South Africa too certain steps have recently been taken that may reflect a new attitude on the part of that country's authorities. By way of example I would mention the freeing of certain political prisoners and the toleration of public demonstrations and political gatherings. There can be no doubt that those are positive steps, however inadequate. What we must stress here now is that there has been no dismantling whatever of the juridical underpinnings that form the foundations of the apartheid régime. Those, as a number of preceding speakers have noted, involve the law on the separation of races in various geographical areas, the registration law, bantustans and the racial segregation of the educational system. That is the legislation that must be repealed, for the system that supports it, apart from being morally unacceptable, constitutes a seriously destabilizing factor for peace and security throughout the region.

The Government of Spain wanted to contribute actively to the dismantling and abolition of apartheid. Towards that end it has adopted, both together with the

(Mr. Villar, Spain)

other members of the European Community and unilaterally, a certain number of restrictive measures against the Pretoria Government, among which are a decree on the suspension of direct investment in the Republic of South Africa and the interruption since 1987 of direct air links between Spain and that country. In addition, my Government has been contributing to the financing of various programmes to provide aid for the victims of apartheid.

My delegation feels it is necessary for international pressure to be continued with a view to compel the Pretoria Government to dismantle apartheid and to make possible the construction of a free, democratic and non-racist society in South Africa. It is high time indeed - and indispensable - that the South African Government adopt a series of measures designed to facilitate the required climate of confidence and dialogue that must precede and prevail throughout any negotiations among all the political forces in the country. Those measures must inevitably include the lifting of the state of emergency, the freeing of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners and the legalization of all political organizations. If in the near future no resolute steps are taken towards that end, the international community must redouble its pressures against South Africa by proceeding to the adoption of new sanctions.

The convening of the special session of the General Assembly provides us with a good opportunity to adopt a final declaration by consensus to send the international community's message that it is possible peacefully to do away with apartheid.

Mr. ORTIZ GANDARILLAS (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of my country's delegation I should like to extend to the President our sincere congratulations on his election to guide the special session.

(Mr. Ortiz Gandarillas, Bolivia)

Once again Bolivia comes to this forum devoted to peace and freedom. We are here to reaffirm our fervent support for and solidarity with the true people of South Africa and their representative bodies, to support their just and heroic struggle to win full recognition of their most basic rights, for the full exercise of their inalienable political, civil and cultural rights, for the final abolition of apartheid and for the establishment of the new South African State based on democratic and non-racist principles.

Once again, the international community, gathered in a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences for southern Africa, is declaring its most forceful protest against and just indignation at the arrogant attitude, the abuses, the oppression and the violence of the Pretoria régime. At the same time the international community would like to convey its message of support and hope to the valiant people of South Africa and their representative movements in their long and heroic struggle to win liberation from the yoke of apartheid.

(Mr. Ortiz Gandarillas, Bolivia)

But the echo of that message must not fade away in this Hall; we want it to grow stronger and, clearly and vigorously, reach those to whom it is addressed, oppressors and oppressed alike, so that the former may sense the accusatory weight of the international community's condemnation and the latter the firm and unswerving support of our Organization.

Over the years the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international organizations have adopted many resolutions rejecting the policy and practices of apartheid and demanding the abolition of that system, which is institutionalized and systematic and offends, injures and destroys the human dignity and physical integrity of individuals. Appeals and demands have been addressed to the South African Government to put an end to a system that is totally anachronistic and incompatible with the values of our civilization.

This special session is eloquent proof of the international community's firm and determined political will to hasten the process of eradication of the crime of apartheid.

This international pressure has compelled the Pretoria Government to adopt certain, regrettably inadequate, measures. The freeing of some political prisoners was a positive step, but it is not enough. The proposed reforms are mere cosmetic changes and do not meet the basic demands of the majority population. In its report the Special Committee against Apartheid concludes that

"the situation in South Africa remains, in essence, as grim as ever"

(A/44/22 and Corr.2, para. 255)

and states that the state of emergency has been extended for the fourth consecutive year, and there has been an increase in political violence, while attacks on opponents of apartheid by para-police groups and death squads have been stepped up. This alone shows the gravity of the situation, without even mentioning the political verdicts, death sentences and executions for crimes related only to

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political protests. The same report cites an April 1989 publication of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which states that in 1988 147,000 young Angolans and Mozambicans died as a result of apartheid, destabilization and war.

We must not forget that among the victims of the apartheid régime are Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners who have become living symbols of the South African people's resistance and struggle, which are intensifying as a natural and legitimate reaction by that valiant people. We are convinced of the inevitable triumph of its cause. History shows that the rule of force cannot be maintained for long, let alone indefinitely. The Pretoria Government should bear that lesson in mind. It must realize that the conditions that have supported the apartheid régime are disappearing, that the reappearance of repressive policies and practices can only inflame tempers and exceed the limits of what human beings can bear, and that the irresistible will of a subjugated people to survive and be free will enable it, through action and sacrifice, to find its own solutions with their unpredictable consequences.

Our Organization has reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and its right to use all possible means to ensure the eradication of apartheid, which is the principal cause of the critical situation in South Africa.

There can certainly be no peace, calm or tranquillity while the apartheid régime exists. It is not a matter of devising or implementing reforms, as has been claimed. By its very essence, apartheid cannot be reformed. The only solution is its abolition, which can be peacefully achieved through fundamental change. Now the responsibility rests with the leaders of the present Pretoria Government.

It is therefore vitally necessary for that Government to begin a serious and responsible dialogue with the true representatives of the people of South Africa to achieve the speedy eradication of the apartheid régime and open the door to the

(Mr. Ortiz Gandarillas, Bolivia)

building of a modern South African State based on democratic principles of freedom, respect for human rights and the peaceful coexistence of all South Africans.

The United Nations, the ideal forum for peace, seeks to attain those ends by all the peaceful means at its disposal, but we believe that a negotiated solution of the South African problem can be delayed no longer if greater and more serious sacrifices are to be avoided. In this regard, my delegation joins the Assembly in urging that the proposed programme of action be supported by the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions as the most appropriate, effective and peaceful means by which the international community can exert the maximum pressure on the Pretoria Government and as an expression of its firm and resolute support for the struggle of the South African people.

We note too that while many measures have been adopted and carried out through various bodies, they appear, regrettably, to have been woefully inadequate to bring about the speedy eradication of the apartheid régime and its consequences. However, we are certain that sooner rather than later the international community, with its great moral force and in an effort at world-wide mobilization, will achieve its objective of eliminating racial discrimination and apartheid through all the peaceful means at its disposal, and that the noble cause of respect for freedom and human rights will prevail in southern Africa.

Mr. CAPO-CHICHI (Benin) (interpretation from French): I wish first of all to say how pleased my delegation is that this special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is taking place under the dynamic leadership of Ambassador Joseph Garba. I congratulate him as President of the General Assembly and also as the energetic and tireless Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Remarkable work has been done, and I convey to the members of the Committee the thanks and appreciation of the Government of the People's Republic of Benin.

(Mr. Capo-Chichi, Benin)

It is a happy coincidence that this special session is taking place under Ambassador Garba's presidency. We could have asked for nothing better as we embark upon consideration of this serious, inadmissible and persisting question.

Apartheid is that odious system described as "separate development of races" imposed upon South Africa over the past several decades by the white majority that has seized power there. It is the institutional expression of the most brutal and antiquated colonial ideology, which advocates, as a system of government, political, social, economic and even territorial discrimination, to the benefit of some 5 million whites and to the detriment of a non-white population of more than 28 million. To use the phrase of Professor Jean Ziegler of the University of Geneva, apartheid is "the most perfect illustration of colonial adventurism".

Tangled in the contradictions of its own racist logic and haunted by its colonialist nightmares and by abject terror of what Vorster and Botha called "the black peril", the svaarte Gevaar - the white minority - has for decades involved South Africa in an infernal cycle of racial violence and genocidal crime which the mere names of Sharpeville and Soweto suffice to evoke with horror and disgust in the collective memory of Africa in particular and the international community in general.

Thus, blinded by its thirst for racial domination and desperate to exorcise its nightmare fear of a black apocalypse, the minority Pretoria régime defies the entire world by continuing to frustrate the profound aspirations of the vast majority of the people of South Africa, to flout their sovereignty and dignity and to maintain, both in South Africa and in neighbouring States, a climate of permanent tension that constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Capo-Chichi, Benin)

Indeed, not a day goes by that does not bring further victims of that despicable system that the United Nations General Assembly has so rightly branded a crime against humanity. The recently noted escalation of repression has extended the macabre list. No social segment of the black population is spared. Blind oppression is indiscriminately aimed against peaceful political opponents, workers, religious figures, women, children - all of whom are subjected to mass arrest and torture.

To reach its sinister objectives, which flout simple commonsense and reason, the apartheid régime is using every means at its disposal and recoils at no crime. The international community has noted, denounced and condemned its abhorrent colonialist and repressive arsenal, singling out, inter alia, the body of discriminatory laws designed to repress and subjugate the country's black majority; the denial to the country's black majority of the right to vote; the break-up and iniquitous redistribution of South African land and the geographical exclusion of a part of the country's inhabitants; the segregationist dismembering of the social fabric by the establishment of so-called homelands or bantustans, tribal reserves to which Africans are sent by force according to their ethnic roots and which they cannot leave without a special pass issued by racist and all-powerful Pretoria; the transformation of non-white South Africans into immigrant workers in their own land in order to put them to work, with a discriminatory status, in mines, factories and offices; the selective and abusive use of the courts in order better to camouflage denials of justice and gag the political opponents of apartheid; unfair political trials followed by death sentences and summary executions despite the international community's appeals for reason; prolonged detention without sentencing; torture carried out in police stations and prisons and resulting in death; the base terrorism practised against the black South African population by groups of armed civilians and death squads that with impunity kidnap, rape, torture and kill

(Mr. Capo-Chichi, Benin)

anti-apartheid militants and destabilize black communities and organizations while, in the face of their crimes, the official security forces play innocent and hypocritically wash their hands like Pontius Pilate.

The number of those savagely murdered by far-right groups from 1984 to 1988 has recently been estimated at some 4,000 persons - and when we realize that in South African, as in Namibia, the law permits every white to possess in his home, for self-defence, 40 different types of firearms, we are able to visualize certain aspects of that vile situation in all its cruel dimensions.

The extended state of emergency, which is now in its fourth consecutive year, the banning of anti-apartheid organizations, the Draconian enforcement of censorship of the press, both local and foreign, are only some of the weapons in the formidable repressive arsenal being directed against the majority of the South African people by the racist power in Pretoria.

In addition to those serious violations of the human rights of the majority of the South African people by the apartheid régime, the universal conscience cannot ignore the fact that it is in that same South Africa, the industrial Power in eleventh place in the world - in first place on that continent, where as early as 1974, the gross national product stood at \$30 billion - that the millions of black men, women and children constitute the largest mass of hungry people that Africa has ever known. That is not surprising if we recall that the tribal reserves into which the black population has been herded represent only some 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa - often enclaves of arid land unfit for intensive farming. The inevitable consequences of that situation are endemic malnutrition, with its concomitant physical debilitation and the spread of infectious disease - in a word, abject and dehumanizing poverty. The situation of the nearly 9 million blacks living in the white area in sordid shanty-towns on the outskirts of large South African cities is no better; indeed, it is worse.

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The deleterious and negative nature of the moral and societal values revealed by those facts of apartheid in South Africa requires no further demonstration and calls for no further comment. All those values bear the indelible stigmata of the destructive, vile and criminal nature of that racist system of minority government.

And there is more. The apartheid régime is not destructive merely within its own borders. In its essence it is a dangerous destabilizing factor for the other States of the region, a factor of permanent insecurity, indescribable suffering, privation and misery for their populations.

Indeed, since 1980 more than 1 million persons have been killed and more than 4 million displaced as a result of the undeclared war South Africa is waging or has waged, directly against Angola, indirectly against Mozambique. According to a 1989 report of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 147,000 young Angolans and Mozambicans were killed in 1988 alone as a result of the war in southern Africa, and 25 children die every hour as a result of the consequences of that war. If the human cost of the war has been heavy, the economic and financial cost is no less so for the States concerned. Thus, we note that from 1980 to 1988 the gross domestic product of nine of the region's States has been burdened with some \$50 billion as a result of the acts of aggression perpetrated against them by the apartheid régime.

In short, it is outright State terrorism designed to disrupt and destroy the still-fragile economies of young neighbouring States, which have considerable potential and which therefore, according to the Machiavellian and hegemonist reasoning of the racist minority Power in Pretoria, could well become at some future date important competitors to be feared on several counts. Thus, they must be weakened by destroying their economic infrastructures and means of production and they must remain in that state indefinitely, the better to keep them within Pretoria's economic orbit, if not subject to its diktats. On that same line of

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thinking, and with the use of State terrorism, it was deemed necessary to destroy in advance the model of organized, multiracial, democratic and prosperous African societies that those new States might have become for the world by living, at the very borders of South Africa, in conditions of stable peace and healthy co-operation.

The Government of my country believes that at a time when our beautiful and wealthy continent of Africa is, paradoxically, embroiled in economic and financial crisis and in a tunnel of poverty at the end of which no glimmer of light has yet been seen, the countries located in its southern region and directly subject to the destructive and disastrous effects of the apartheid régime's policy of destabilization and domination deserve the international community's special attention. Thus, my country, Benin, welcomed the pertinent resolution 43/50 G, of 5 December 1989, in which the General Assembly decided to hold a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

My delegation hopes that the special session will result in concrete measures for immediate economic and financial assistance to the countries of that region, within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), and, above all, that it will reiterate our firm resolve to demand from the Government of South Africa the rapid and definitive elimination of the inhuman system of apartheid.

To the fraternal peoples of that region of Africa in the front line of our shared combat, I would again express the unwavering support and solidarity of the people and Government of Benin.

(Mr. Capo-Chichi, Benin)

Of course there are new facts that give rise to a glimmer of hope in South Africa, but we must still remain vigilant. The change of style of the country's present Government and its leaders' garbled announcements of reform do not at all respond to the urgent desire for freedom of the whole of the South African people, who have been resolutely engaged for decades in a struggle for the total eradication of apartheid and the advent of a new, multiracial, democratic society, one respectful of basic human rights. Here I should like to pay a warm tribute to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the other liberation movements, the mass anti-apartheid organizations, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the trade unions for the heroic struggle they have been waging for a democratic alternative in South Africa. May the South African Government come to feel the need and the urgency to go beyond the abolition of what it has called "petty" segregation and put an end once and for all to apartheid by eradicating it.

Such a prospect is inconceivable without an improvement in the social climate with the freeing of Nelson Mandela and all the other political prisoners, without the lifting of the state of emergency and the other prohibitions, without the recognition of parties and political movements and, lastly, without engaging in serious negotiations with the representatives of the majority with a view to drawing up ways and means of organizing a democratic society without racial discrimination.

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It goes without saying that the most striking new feature, in more than one way, in southern Africa is the self-determination of the Namibian people as a result of the free elections held from 7 to 12 November this year under the auspices of the United Nations. What a marvellous victory of right over oppression that was; what an outstanding example of the indomitability of the will of the people. And what a great capacity for action our world Organization has shown. We are all pleased to see its credibility thus greatly enhanced.

In congratulating all those who have worked ceaselessly to achieve this happy outcome, I should like, on behalf of my country and Government, to pay a tribute to the Namibian people for its courage and political maturity and to congratulate warmly the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and its great leader, President Sam Nujoma, whose remarkable political sense made possible the success of the political process begun with the New York tripartite agreements of 20 December 1988. My Government's congratulations and gratitude go especially to our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who personally played a leading role in clarifying the pre-electoral situation in Namibia. I say again how much my delegation looks forward to welcoming among us at the United Nations the independent State of Namibia.

The valiant people of that country, with the hope and spirit given it by victory, are in the process of writing in letters of gold new pages in its history, in the light of a radiant new dawn. As it does so, drawing energy and determination from the spilt blood of its martyrs, we must not forget that the domination of the apartheid régime, through its direct administration of Namibia, has had effects there as destructive as those elsewhere in southern Africa.

It is encouraging that the special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa is being held in an

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international climate marked by détente in international relations and the search for a peaceful settlement of conflicts and tensions. This climate highlights the unsustainable contradiction inherent in apartheid, the expression of a vile philosophy and the basis of a system that blocks the harmonious evolution and development of societies under its influence, and makes clearer than ever the urgent need to eliminate it.

The Government of the People's Republic of Benin is convinced of the effectiveness of increased pressure by the international community through the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime, in order to bring it to the negotiating table and keep it there until there is agreement on a settlement satisfactory and acceptable to all.

In this context, the Harare Declaration of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which was endorsed by the summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade last September, contains acceptable guiding principles for the peaceful elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a new, multiracial, democratic and egalitarian society in South Africa. It could serve as a basis for consideration by our Assembly.

We should improve the physical environment of man as well as the environment of his spirit, which should be freed of all the fantasies, fears and selfishness that prevent its elevation in the scale of true values. Our suffering humanity is sorely in need of a rapid cure for the deep and already festering wounds of apartheid.

If those in certain circles in the world gain a better understanding of the reality of relations between whites and blacks in Africa, draw the lessons of history and understand that hate engenders hate, violence engenders violence and oppression engenders resistance to oppression; if there is the same understanding

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of human rights in all latitudes and under all skies, and the same ardour in their defence, then the white minorities in South Africa, Namibia and elsewhere will certainly be able to transform into a future radiant with coexistence in peace, co-operative development, true democracy and genuine humanism what they now see only as a future of chaos, hatred, blood and darkness.

Mankind will need its collective conscience and innovative capacity to meet the challenges facing it, which demand the realization of its enormous potential for the benefit of all. It can no longer tolerate the shame and sickness represented by the odious system of apartheid, no matter what its form. That scourge must disappear as soon as possible. That should be the objective of the present special session. It is a simple question of the peoples' right to justice and self-determination.

Mr. SOHAHONG-KOMBET (Central African Republic) (interpretation from French): The work of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly so far has highlighted two facts. The first is that for some time there has been an improvement, although still limited, in international relations. As a result, the necessary conditions have been created for the settlement of some regional conflicts. Secondly, the international community has reaffirmed its determination to continue to seek solutions to outstanding questions that threaten world peace.

Those questions certainly include apartheid. The Central African Republic is pleased that a special session is being devoted to the subject, since it is a solemn occasion on which we can again express our solidarity with the other members of the international community in their efforts to bring about the elimination of apartheid.

(Mr. Sohahong-Kombet, Central
African Republic)

I wish first to convey to the President the best wishes of General André Kolingba, President of the Republic and Head of State, for the success of this special session, and, at the same time, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate him on his election to guide our work.

I need not go into the details of the doctrine of apartheid, for it is perfectly well understood by all. The Central African Republic's views on the matter are equally well known; they are regularly repeated here. They may be summed up as total rejection of the practice and policy of apartheid. On this basis, the Central African Republic, like the majority of countries meeting here, maintains that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be totally dismantled.

(Mr. Sohahong-Kombet, Central African Republic)

The action since worked out by the international community to achieve this, which will be assessed at the special session, is undoubtedly an expression of its continuing concern to persist in this policy, whose consequences in southern Africa especially are bound to jeopardize not only the balance of peace in the region but also the development efforts undertaken at considerable sacrifice and in very difficult conditions by the front-line States.

The Central African Republic is among the countries that appreciated at the time the co-operation of South Africa in the quest for a framework that made possible the signing of the New York agreements of 22 December 1988, which led to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the plan for the accession of Namibia to independence.

This attitude was undoubtedly the effect of the increased contradictions apparent in the region, but also of the changes brought about by the new approach of harmony and dialogue that today characterizes relations between States. It was therefore to be expected that South Africa would demonstrate that same flexibility with regard to the concern expressed by the international community on the question of Namibia. However, so far this has not happened, although it is encouraging that it has released some political detainees and announced reforms aimed at improving the situation of the black majority in certain respects.

The real problem remains equality of rights at all levels, which must be recognized for the majority as it is recognized for the other groups so that South Africa may be converted into a truly democratic multiracial society that, together with other States of the region, can play its rightful role in bringing about more harmonious development of southern Africa and therefore of Africa as a whole.

The resolutions on the question adopted since then by the Organization of African Unity and, especially, by its Ad Hoc Committee on Apartheid at its meeting

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in Harare on 21 August 1989, which were endorsed by those of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in Belgrade last September, have the merit of emphasizing, as do the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the need for the international community to mobilize further with a view to establishing the conditions for the emergence of such a society.

We hope that this special session, of which the international community expects so much, will open real prospects for the elimination of apartheid once and for all, so that we may witness the emergence in South Africa of a society based on law and the values of justice, equality, democracy and freedom to which all the peoples of the world today aspire.

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

Mr. BAKR (Organization of the Islamic Conference): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Dr. Hamid Algabir, who would have liked very much to be here today to take part in the discussion on this serious problem which, like a humid gangrene, continues to shake the conscience of mankind. However, commitments made prior to this session prevent him from being here.

I should like on his behalf to renew our warm congratulations to Mr. Garba on his election to the presidency. I am convinced that his numerous qualities as a seasoned diplomat will enable him to conduct the deliberations so that the work of the special session proceeds smoothly.

I take this opportunity also to extend my warm compliments to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and to assure him of the readiness of the Organization

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the Islamic Conference)

of the Islamic Conference to work with the United Nations to ensure the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations to justice, peace and progress of the peoples represented here.

It is gratifying that our present deliberations are being held a few weeks after the resounding victory of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which brought to a happy ending the determined and unrelenting struggle of the Namibian people under the banner of its valiant leader, Sam Nujoma, to uproot one of the last pillars of colonialism in Africa, which the racist minority régime of South Africa hoped to maintain for ever.

This is telling evidence that the formidable South African edifice, built on intransigence and the blind pursuit of an oppressive policy and on the destabilization of Namibia and neighbouring countries, has been unable to withstand the declared will of Namibians to rid themselves of the colonial yoke, and the sustained international pressure. Here I pay a warm tribute to the front-line States and the whole international community, whose continuous support for the Namibian people has been one of the decisive factors in the initiation of the independence process in Namibia.

Today more than ever before we clearly need to strengthen our support and continue to assist Namibia in various ways to allow it to consolidate its achievements and ensure that the legitimate aspirations of its people are fulfilled.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has always been on the side of the undeniable right of African liberation movements, will continue to denounce very strongly the racist minority régime in South Africa.

(Mr. Bakr, Organization of
the Islamic Conference)

Apartheid, that odious system of racial segregation and discrimination imposed on the black people of South Africa, whom it deprives of their basic civic, political, economic and other rights, with its trail of genocide, barbaric and inhuman practices and State terrorism, has been described by the international community as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Apartheid is the core of the crisis in South Africa.

(Mr. Bakr, Organization of
the Islamic Conference)

The Organization of the Islamic Conference, on the basis of the principles of its charter, which are inspired by the everlasting values of Islam that advocate equality among men regardless of their race, their skin colour or their language, has always strongly condemned the anachronistic practices of the racist minority régime in South Africa against the black population. In that connection it has always given support to the liberation movement in South Africa, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and it has always joined its efforts with those of the international community and called for the dismantling of apartheid.

In order better to express its solidarity with the people of South Africa and to follow closely the progress of their struggle the Organization of the Islamic Conference has always given special attention within its various bodies to the problem of southern Africa. It has in recent years established a Committee on South Africa and Namibia, which, inter alia, makes it possible for member States to co-ordinate their stand on this issue.

At the last session, held here in New York on 2 October 1989, the Committee on South Africa and Namibia, on the basis of resolution 22/18-P adopted by the Eighteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Riyadh in March 1989, very clearly restated its constant support and committed its 46 member States to working jointly with the United Nations for the rapid and definite dismantlement of the apartheid system.

We are witnessing today very timid measures apparently designed to end some shortcomings of apartheid. Those would-be reforms, initiated with the advent to power of Mr. F. W. De Klerk, have brought about no basic change whatsoever in the nature of apartheid. We are seeing yet another conjurer's trick used by the

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segregationist régime to try to break out of its isolation and attenuate international pressure. As evidence of this one need refer only to the legislative elections held on 6 September 1989, from which the majority of the people were excluded. The Organization of the Islamic Conference did not hesitate then to denounce the racist and discriminatory nature of those elections.

Resorting to other pernicious subterfuges, the racist minority régime in South Africa is trying to mislead the international community by making it believe that the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the torchbearer of the valiant struggle of the people of South Africa, is impending. As the climax of its wit, the racist régime, on the eve of the current session, sent a letter to the United Nations Secretary-General declaring that apartheid was no longer the political line in South Africa. But, as is well known, Mr. De Klerk is dead set against majority rule and one man, one vote, the only real means of universal voting. He did not say that South Africa was giving up the group system, according to which each community can elect only its own representatives. It is clear that the international community, accustomed to these dilatory manoeuvres on the eve of each important session, will not be fooled, and that it will require concrete steps from the régime of South Africa to eradicate apartheid.

In this respect the Organization of the Islamic Conference solemnly reaffirms the legitimacy and justness of the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa by all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, and reiterates its support for the Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989 and of the statement of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted at its meeting at Kuala Lumpur on 21 October 1989.

The Organization once again calls for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency; the elimination of the policy of bantustans, on the basis of which

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citizens become aliens in their own country; the unconditional and immediate release of all prisoners and political detainees, including Nelson Mandela; and the imposition of global, mandatory and effective sanctions on the racist minority régime in South Africa.

Before concluding, I cannot but denounce another ugly aspect of the despicable apartheid régime, which in the recent past has taken a course that has caused great concern among all peace-loving peoples. I refer to the collusion between the racist minority régime in South Africa and Israel. Co-operation between those two régimes in the military and nuclear fields, indeed, constitutes a source of major preoccupation for the Organization of the Islamic Conference, since it represents a serious threat to peace and security in Africa and the Middle East, where the valiant peoples of South Africa and Palestine are waging a heroic and determined war to break the yoke of oppression and repression. Recent reports dealing with supply to South Africa by Israel of sophisticated military technology, which has made it possible to develop and test missiles, submarines and related military materials are telling proof of that dangerous co-operation.

The military and nuclear collusion between South Africa and Israel deals a serious blow to efforts being deployed in various areas to lay the foundations for world peace by making Africa and the Middle East nuclear-free zones. That co-operation is irrefutable proof of the identity of the expansionist and colonialist political aims of South Africa and Israel, whose daily behaviour indicates their deep disdain for the preoccupations of the international community. The Organization of the Islamic Conference therefore feels that the present special session should study and adopt measures likely to stop further military collusion between South Africa and Israel.

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the Islamic Conference)

The complaints and lamentations of our brothers in southern Africa touch our conscience increasingly with every passing day. We must therefore shoulder our responsibilities fully so as to ease the human conscience by extirpating the roots of that evil of the modern era - apartheid. We must move from wishful thinking to more vigorous action when we know definitely that the general good so requires, and especially when our social duty as human beings commands us to put aside our personal interests to ensure that right and justice prevail.

I call upon members to consider this fact, for history and future generations will judge us by our deeds.

The meeting rose at 11.20 p.m.