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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 14 December 1989, at 3 p.m.

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

later: Mr. GARBA (Nigeria)
(President)

- Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa [7]
(continued)
- Closure of the sixteenth special session

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Hurst (Antigua and Barbuda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 7 (continued)

APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Mr. NANDOE (Suriname): It gives our delegation great pleasure to see Ambassador Garba presiding over this first ever special session of the General Assembly on apartheid, since we acknowledge his tirelessly devoted efforts in carrying out his mandate as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and his commitment to the eradication of the scourge of apartheid.

This special session is taking place amidst a relaxation of tensions in international relations and progress in the field of peace and international security. It is therefore sad to note that in today's changing world we are still confronted with that heinous system of racism and racial discrimination called apartheid.

Recent developments in South Africa, such as the allowing of marches, the encouragement of the repeal of certain laws, the consultation of churchmen and, last but not least, the release of eight important prisoners are all positive steps indicating that domestic and international pressure are at last beginning to have some effect. Despite those developments the situation in South Africa remains, in essence, the same. The timing of the release of the prisoners was partly tactical, to drown the call for more sanctions at the Commonwealth Conference in Kuala Lumpur. It seems the South African leader even intends to release Mr. Mandela and get rid of the Separate Amenities Act, the umbrella for what remains of petty apartheid, but it is not expected that genuine reform will extend to grand apartheid, which rests upon stronger foundations such as the Group Areas Act, the various land acts and above all the Population Registration Act. All

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those so-called acts are designed literally to keep the disenfranchised majority of the South African people in their so-called places. Furthermore, the state of emergency is still in force and the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and many other organizations remain banned.

The disheartening aspect of the events in South Africa is the historical inability of the Government to understand that the majority of the people do not want to - and will not - live with apartheid in any of its forms. Half-hearted reforms, such as a tricameral parliament where a handful of blacks play the politics of collaboration, or the confederal dream of the National Party, where undoubtedly whites will rule whites in the rich areas and blacks will have autonomy in their barren homelands and ghettos, are doomed to failure.

The Government of South Africa can no longer repackage with impunity the tenets of apartheid by promising the future ending of white domination while at the same time allowing its security forces to suppress the anti-apartheid opposition. According to a report of the Committee against Apartheid, more than 20 protestors died, among them churchmen and elderly women, and more than 1,500 arrests were made when a defiance campaign was organized against apartheid laws and racially segregated elections on 6 September this year. A recent report of the Economic Commission for Africa reveals that South Africa's military aggression and the destabilization of its neighbours cost the region \$10 billion in 1988 alone and over \$60 billion and one and a half million lives in the first nine years of this decade.

A very frightening aspect regarding the suppression of political opponents has been highlighted during confessions of former South African policemen, who admitted that they were part of assassination squads set up within the South African police which were responsible for assassinations committed by allegedly unknown persons and that those killings were authorized by the highest security officials.

(Mr. Nandoe, Suriname)

We urge the Government of South Africa to investigate this matter, which was brought to its attention by the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions on 23 November 1989.

In this respect we would also like to draw attention to the activities of the White Wolves in South Africa who, according to an article in the Christian Science Monitor of 7 November, have taken credit for many violent acts. That newspaper notes that there has been only one conviction in respect of the more than 60 political assassinations and that most likely the Government has not given these cases high priority, or has given tacit approval. In this respect we indeed hope that the recent decision of the Government to limit military influence in Government decision-making by replacing the national security management system will improve the relationship with the opposition parties.

As many representatives have observed, the political and economic sanctions against South Africa adopted by a number of Member States have contributed to some changes. Although the South African economy is based upon gold, diamonds and strategic minerals, which have been exempted from sanctions and are easily transported, it has proved vulnerable to external trade sanctions and a related loss of investor confidence.

As the 1980s come to an end, South Africa confronts an inexorable logic: a coercively fragmented and stratified State of 5 million white citizens dominating some 28 million others cannot hope to achieve and sustain healthy economic development. It could not do so even if it stopped expending huge sums administering and defending Namibia, dispatching expeditionary forces, supporting surrogate armies and monitoring pre-emptive strikes against ANC.

(Mr. Nandoe, Suriname)

Sanctions, even if their implementation, monitoring and enforcement have been unco-ordinated and lax, have had an adverse impact on South Africa's economy and have, inter alia, contributed to the withdrawal from Namibia. In order to accelerate the force of change, the possibility of the broadening and strengthening of sanctions could be considered. However, at the same time we are witnessing the fact that most conflicts are not being resolved by acts of force, violence, destabilization and aggression but that ultimately negotiations have brought about solutions even to deep-rooted problems.

The democratic movement in South Africa is ready to negotiate a peaceful settlement on the basis of the Harare Declaration, which was endorsed by the summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade.

It is up to the South African Government to create the necessary climate so that genuine and serious negotiations can take place, leading to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic society. As I said earlier, there have been changes in South Africa but thus far most of them have been of only a cosmetic nature.

(Mr. Nandoe, Suriname)

We therefore cherish the hope that the process of substantive change, which the Government can no longer prevent, will convince the Pretoria régime of the necessity of negotiating a peaceful settlement. If reason and good sense cannot prevail, then sooner or later violence will escalate into a bitter and bloody civil war.

The destructive consequences of apartheid in South Africa, particularly in Namibia, are manifold. In that respect I should like to express my Government's gratitude for the constructive role of the United Nations and for its contribution to the outcome of the recent elections in Namibia. In that context we should also like to congratulate the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the other political parties of Namibia on their recently elected Constituent Assembly.

We reiterate the view of the Non-Aligned Movement that the role of the United Nations remains crucial in guaranteeing the territorial integrity and security of Namibia and in ensuring that the constitutional process reflects the sovereign will of the Namibian people as reposed in the Constituent Assembly. It is our fervent hope that unjust omission of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands from the territory of Namibia will be redressed, since that country will otherwise have no port outlet, which will make it dependent on others in its trade relations.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my country it gives me pleasure to congratulate Ambassador Garba on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this special session on apartheid. I take this opportunity to convey to him our great appreciation. We are sure that he will be able to help the Assembly address the issues that made it necessary to convene a special session and to adopt measures to deal with them effectively.

As members know, the United Nations was established to lay the foundations of a post-war world of law and moral values. The Organization came into being to

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

co-ordinate the interests of States and peoples in every area and initiate an era of global humanitarian justice in which the adverse remnants of the past all over the world could be eliminated.

It is almost 45 years since this monumental task began and yet there are still gaps in the moral texture of our world: humanity and human values are being flouted and human relations are being brought down to the level of barbarism. How can anyone give himself the right to mistreat others because their colour or creed is different from his? This is contrary to divine law and a distortion of human relationships.

Such discrimination violates the most basic of moral principles; it deals recklessly with social relationships and flies in the face of the dictates of reason. Our commitments under the United Nations Charter should prompt us to adopt the measures that would force the violators to respect the laws of humanity.

It is indeed tragic that towards the end of the twentieth century we are still faced with the necessity of debating the sick phenomenon of racial discrimination. Apartheid, that pestilence lodged in South Africa, is a scourge that must be speedily eradicated. There is no room in our world today for such a plague.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the leadership of the Custodian of the two Holy Mosques, King Fahd, stands today wholly in support of the General Assembly and ready to work with the Member States to bring those who pursue such an abhorrent policy to their senses. We would restore to man his dignity.

The South African régime, with its racist policies and arbitrary, odious practices against the black inhabitants, is a hideous stain on humanity's escutcheon. With that régime in the same abyss stands its partner in racism, the Zionist régime in Palestine, that other racist phenomenon which refuses to heed the call of the twentieth century or understand that the time of racial discrimination

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on the ground of colour or creed is past. Those two collaborating régimes complement each other, whether covertly or overtly. They support and buttress each other in every field, including trade, the manufacture of weapons, the arms trade, the export of terrorist expertise and matériel, and other areas of collaboration that enhance the oppressor's ability to persist in his oppression.

The information media have revealed, and official sources have confirmed, the extent of the ongoing collaboration between the Zionist racist régime in Palestine and the racist régime in South Africa, the latest aspect of which has been the manufacture of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles. As is well known, only those who are bound by the closest ties and the strongest bonds of common interests allow anyone else to have a share in such industries. The two régimes realize that they are swimming against the current of history and the norms of human relations. They know that they are founded on the worst tenets that exist in human relations - discrimination, racial domination, exploitation and abuse.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid states that:

"While, in the 1970s, Israel was the major supplier of arms and ammunition to South Africa, during the present decade the relationship turned to a partnership and joint production of armaments. Israel has provided South Africa with military technology needed for its growing armaments industry".

(A/44/22, Part II, para. 1)

Those régimes that go against human nature and the tide of time are built on foundations the international community abandoned decades, even centuries, ago. They refuse to heed the lessons of history.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Today we face an urgent crisis. The suffering of whole peoples, such as the South Africans and the Palestinians, is bound to continue if we do not urgently find a solution to end that suffering. Given all the experiences of the past, we have no right to give an unjust and oppressive Government a period of grace in the hope that it will mend its ways, when we know that it has wasted every opportunity to remedy the situation. That Government has been given the chance to put an end to its crookedness, but it has persisted in its course at the expense of the security and legitimate rights of a whole people on its native soil.

The massacres, deprivation, starvation, arrests, arbitrary laws, curfews, demolition of houses, obstruction of business, and deprivation of employment - to mention only some - will avail if nothing in the face of a people's determination to regain its freedom. We support the recommendations of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the sanctions stipulated in the Charter be imposed. South Africa has been given every chance to mend its evil ways but has avoided the issue through circumvention, deceit and outright rejection.

We call upon all States to bear in mind the suffering of a whole people under the yoke of oppression and to sympathize with the parents whose children are daily made the victim of State terror and fair game for State-sponsored armed gangs. Condoning such régimes creates the impression that they can continue their acts with impunity. We must side with the efforts of the front-line States in southern Africa, which pay dearly for their commitment to the principles of the United Nations and to human values. Their stability is undermined, their sovereignty is violated and their right to stand for principles to which the whole of humanity is committed is constantly challenged.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

We are hopeful that the special session will crystallize the position of the United Nations with regard to the continuing policy of apartheid in South Africa. We should move on to an advanced stage in containing the policies of apartheid, bringing apartheid to a quick end and exposing the dangers of the policies of those who aid and abet it by collaborating with it; those who, in the final analysis, share the responsibility for the consequences of its evil doings and bear the results of its crime against mankind. We know why zionism co-operates with apartheid: they are two sides of the same coin and share a single course towards the realization of their community of interests.

As for those other States which observe in their own countries and in their relations with their neighbours the civilized standards of twentieth-century conduct, they have no excuse for co-operating with the racist régime of South Africa.

The problem is clear, as is our course. We hope that the special session will achieve the purpose for which it was convened.

Mr. BAKHTIAR (Pakistan): I wish at the outset to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Garba for his personal contribution to the international campaign against apartheid. The Special Committee against Apartheid, over which he has presided with such distinction, has rendered invaluable service in strengthening international efforts to dismantle that vicious system which has rightly been declared a crime against humanity.

To us in Pakistan the evil doctrine of apartheid represents the very antithesis of our faith, Islam. It was 1,400 years ago that our Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, proclaimed that all men are equal before God regardless of race, colour or class. In the eyes of Muslims the world over the evil practice of apartheid is not only a flagrant violation of the basic rights of man but also a subversion of our religion. To join the struggle against apartheid is therefore

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our sacred duty. Equality, fraternity and brotherhood of man are not only principles of morality, humanity and civilized behaviour but also an article of our faith.

Four decades have passed since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but apartheid continues to persist with all its wickedness. One of the fundamental principles of the United Nations is equality and freedom for all without distinction as to race or colour, as enshrined in the 1948 Declaration. Racial discrimination, however, continues to be practised brazenly in South Africa, where the black majority population is kept under the yoke of one of the most evil and vicious doctrines ever put into practice by man.

The history of apartheid in South Africa, which has been sustained through a brutal régime of terror and oppression, is well known. The loathsome system of apartheid has proved that under colonial, racial and apartheid domination there can be no peace or justice. Permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can be attained only when the evil system of apartheid has been totally demolished.

It is a cause of deep regret that, despite renewed expectations and hopes with the coming to power of a new leadership in South Africa, the institutionalized system of repression and deprivation of the black majority population in South Africa continues to prevail, with all its brutality. The steps taken by President De Klerk's régime are merely cosmetic devices of reform designed to keep the real policy of apartheid intact.

The so-called reforms remind me of a passage from the letter written by the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after he had been sentenced to death during General Zia ul-Haq's military rule, to his daughter Benazir Bhutto, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, while giving her his instructive assessment of the world situation in June 1978 from his death cell in Rawalpindi prison.

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He wrote that:

"The Western attitude needs to be changed towards Africa. The pride and sensitivity of the black man has be understood. The diplomacy of lip service will not do. The plunder of Africa with both hands must stop. It is not enough of a concession to sit next to an African in an omnibus. Africa has changed and will keep on changing. The African people...will not tolerate indignity. That is how the Asian situation developed. That is how the situation will develop in Africa, but more rapidly and more intensely."

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto went on to say:

"The time for condescension and pompous patronage is over. The common man of militant Africa will not crawl and lie prostrate before the foreign exploiter as did the Ashanti royalty in 1896. In the emerging dawn, Africa will overcome the legacies of colonialism and tribalism to build an honourable and dignified future for its beaten and battered children."

The proponents of the view that the new Government in Pretoria has ushered in an era of hope and reform point to the recent events in South Africa. They refer to the release of Mr. Walter Sisulu and seven other prominent political prisoners from South African jails; a meeting with Mr. Nelson Mandela; the holding of huge anti-apartheid demonstrations; and statements by the spokesman of the régime that the De Klerk leadership is committed to reform.

The hollowness of that claim is evidenced by the most recent elections, in which the majority of South Africans was once again denied any voice in the affairs and political process of its country. The elections in which 36 million blacks were denied any franchise by fewer than 5 million whites speaks for itself.

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid clearly indicates that there has been no movement in the direction of doing away with the main pillars of the apartheid system. The state of emergency has not only continued but has been

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further strengthened, the ban on the national liberation movements of South Africa remains, and the continued detention of valiant Nelson Mandela and other political activists without trial persists.

The black African freedom fighters remain in the shadow of death, as was evident from General Assembly resolution 44/1, adopted earlier this year, which calls for the commutation of the death sentences imposed on Mangena Boesman and all other political prisoners. The report of the Special Committee categorically spells out that while the apartheid régime has made pronouncements about the proposed changes in the political structure of the country, its reform plan falls far short of the demands of the black majority for full political rights. It goes on to underscore the régime's unwillingness to establish the conditions that would create the necessary climate for negotiations.

The additional repressive measures by Pretoria in its attempts to eliminate any peaceful opposition whatsoever to its rule have been hidden behind the smoke-screen of strict press censorship. That is a futile attempt to conceal from the eyes of world scrutiny the massive human rights violations being practised by the racist minority régime.

The central pillars of apartheid, including the fundamental apartheid laws and decrees, remain intact. The 1960 laws banning the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Final Security Act of 1962, the Public Safety Act of 1953, and the legislation on trespassing and housing and work permits continue under the institutionalized and odious doctrine of apartheid. In fact, those laws have been made more stringent in some respects. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act of 1989, the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Government in Free Settlement Areas Act, and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill have all been enacted to further expand the scope of the legislation for

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perpetuating the dominance of the white minority over the black majority population of South Africa.

Those developments clearly demonstrate the fact that there is no evidence whatsoever to justify the claim that South Africa is gradually moving towards a free and multiracial society. Under those circumstances, the international pressure against South Africa must be forcefully maintained. The sanctions already imposed by the United Nations should be fully implemented by all Member States, and steps should be taken to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa until it complies with the well-known demands of the international community. Those include the lifting of the state of emergency; the unconditional release of all political prisoners, including Mr. Nelson Mandela; the lifting of the ban on all political organizations opposing apartheid; repeal of the draconian press laws; and the cessation of all political trials and executions.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, the great and valiant fighter against apartheid, has not only played a historic role in the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa, but has become a symbol of the dignity of man the world over. We salute that great hero.

The Government and the people of Pakistan have unwaveringly stood by the oppressed majority people of South Africa in its struggle to regain its basic human rights and freedoms. Pakistan is also proud to have contributed to international efforts to extend practical and material assistance to the victims of apartheid. We have constantly maintained a comprehensive and stringent boycott of the racist minority régime for the past 42 years and have scrupulously avoided and eschewed any links with the Pretoria régime in the diplomatic, political, economic, commercial, cultural and sports fields.

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The people of Pakistan stand behind the people of South Africa in its valiant struggle. Our Prime Minister, Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto, has instructed me to reiterate the unswerving support of the people and Government of Pakistan in the struggle against the evil of apartheid, which we firmly believe will collapse sooner than the protagonists of that discredited doctrine believe.

Pakistan is fully supporting the comprehensive Declaration on the Question of South Africa adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa of the Organization of African Unity at its meeting held in Harare in August 1989. Pakistan also reaffirms its commitment to the relevant decisions contained in the Belgrade Declaration of the ninth summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, which had endorsed the Harare Declaration. We urge the immediate implementation of the decisions contained in those Declarations.

My delegation calls for the adoption, by consensus, of the draft declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We urge the international community to pursue vigorously the programme of action contained in the declaration. The régime in Pretoria must realize that, in the march of civilization towards democracy, universal brotherhood and the equality of man, there is no place for the vicious system of apartheid. Racism is a remnant of the disappearing age of colonialism. There may still be time for the minority régime in South Africa to retrace its steps from the fatal course which it seems determined to pursue.

(Mr. Bakhtiar, Pakistan)

The wind of democracy is blowing through Eastern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere. The Berlin Wall, which was a symbol of political oppression and segregation, has come crashing down. The nations that welcome and support the advent of democracy in Eastern Europe should demonstrate their sincerity by supporting the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Palestine, Kashmir, Afghanistan and other parts of the third world for a democratic life, free from terror and exploitation.

The special session of the General Assembly is a landmark in the global efforts to eliminate the scourge of apartheid and to usher in an era of freedom, justice and equality in South Africa. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the decisions of this session will give fresh impetus to those efforts and strengthen the resolve of the international community to close, for ever, one of the ugliest chapters in the history of man.

Mr. GHOZALI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives my delegation great satisfaction to see a man of Mr. Garba's calibre, who has so long been committed to the struggle against apartheid, leading the work of this session devoted to examining the destructive consequences of apartheid in southern Africa. All the countries that have expressed their commitment to the cause of combating apartheid - in particular my country, which shares with his great nation, Nigeria, grave responsibilities within the Special Committee against Apartheid - are familiar with his unwavering commitment to the liberation of the South African people. At this time, when Africa is preparing to reap the results of its support of the Namibian people, my country hopes for and indeed expects real improvement in the prospects of the South African people as a result of the new momentum of international solidarity, which cannot fail, under his competent leadership, to be translated into far-reaching commitments.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

At this moment of truth for peace in southern Africa, the international community is justifiably concerned at the resistance of the apartheid régime to the tide of history and attendant changes. The aspirations of peoples to peace, freedom and justice are being reaffirmed day by day, and there are promising signs and changes.

As those changes tend to isolate the forces that persist in going in the opposite direction to international détente, they will certainly help to bring down the walls of misunderstanding and dismantle the symbols of confrontation. There is no doubt that we are all happy to see the trend towards peace, which will certainly lead to the eradication of racism. It is not logical that racism should be immune to the effects of the peaceful transformations we are now witnessing. The people of South Africa and the other peoples of the region cannot remain hostage to Pretoria's violence and its policy of aggression.

In an international environment conducive to the reduction of tensions and efforts aimed at the peaceful solution of regional conflicts, southern Africa must be enabled to establish genuine peace. Achievement of that goal of course necessitates the eradication of the apartheid régime, the abolition of racial discrimination and fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of the region to development and security. Hence it is the Assembly's duty to see to it that the apartheid régime is prevented from exploiting the new global climate for its nefarious purposes or using it to divert the international community's attention from the main cause of the crisis in the region. In that context it must be stressed that, although the exploratory contacts now taking place in the region have achieved some results, they must be followed up with constant international pressure. We must make no mistake as to the motives behind the present reforms. In addition to their being modest, they were brought about under duress, as it

(Mr. Ghazali, Algeria)

were, by international pressure that became unbearable, to which Pretoria is trying to respond with a few red herrings.

At this crucial juncture for the prospects of peace in the region, we must not lower our guard or waver in our determination. It is not yet time to soften our stand, even if we see some signs of weakness in South Africa's position. We should keep the Namibian experience in mind and remember how much effort and mobilization it took for the non-aligned countries, the countries of southern Africa in particular, to thwart the unending manoeuvrings of South Africa in its attempts to delay that country's accession to independence. What is needed now is the same degree of commitment on our part to overcome the last-ditch stand of South Africa.

The Namibian experience also constantly reminds us that South Africa embarks on dialogue and negotiation only under strong pressure from armed struggle and political persuasion. It is such a combination of methods that is expected by the peoples of the region so that their aspirations to freedom and independence may be fully realized.

Given the strong hopes raised by Namibia's imminent accession to independence, it is only right that the situation in South Africa and its extension throughout the region once again be given the full attention of the international community. It is urgently necessary that forceful steps be taken to put an end to the suffering of the South African people and to hasten the emergence of a multiracial, democratic society in that country so that peace, security and stability may reign throughout the region.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

Despite the slight signs of the easing of tension which we now perceive in the region, apartheid is still rampant and is still causing widespread concern. It is a régime incapable of questioning its own basic tenets. The return to power of a Government in Pretoria that claims a reformist approach cannot hide the political, economic and social fact of a régime of institutionalized racial discrimination that has entrenched itself in power.

The first steps taken by that Government have shown, soon enough, that all it intends to do is to introduce superficial, cosmetic changes to give the oppressive system a better image. The release of a few political prisoners may be a positive step. However, that step will take on real meaning only with the unconditional release of all political prisoners - including Nelson Mandela - who are still suffering the fierce cruelty of the South African régime. Similarly, the "tolerance" of rallies organized by anti-apartheid movements will be meaningful only if it leads to the lifting of the ban on all political parties and anti-apartheid movements.

Indeed, what real meaning could there be in such a relaxation of the repressive laws backed by the ruthless state of emergency that has been in force for so long? The peaceful demonstrations and activities of the anti-apartheid movements are still banned, and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) militants are still being persecuted by special squads.

While using Namibia's forthcoming independence as an indication of its own good will, the Pretoria régime is in fact trying to prevent the example of Namibia from spreading to South Africa itself. That should convince us of the urgent need to eradicate apartheid. The desperate attempts to find excuses for it and to absolve it from its responsibility for the state of insecurity that continues to prevail in the region cannot be viewed as a valid alternative to its complete

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

abolition. Here I should note that the climate of instability in the region is being aggravated by the continued collaboration between South Africa and Israel, particularly in the nuclear and missile fields.

At Harare, in August, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) once again faced up to its responsibilities with regard to apartheid. Encouraged by the climate of détente in international relations, Heads of State and liberation movements, acting on behalf of Africa, outlined the necessary, viable and realistic conditions for the eradication of apartheid and its destructive consequences in the region. The duty to show solidarity with ANC was reaffirmed. The non-aligned countries at their ninth summit Conference also declared their support for ANC and the front-line States. At a time when unity in the ranks and unity of action are needed, it is essential that the international community as a whole take the most vigorous action in its power to see to it that Pretoria responds to the aspirations of the persecuted South African people.

While the people of South Africa have every right to use any means at their disposal to rid themselves of the régime that is oppressing them, it is up to all of us to support them in this decisive phase of their struggle for freedom, progress and justice. In this regard international sanctions are the proven deterrent of which the South African régime is most fearful and for which the oppressed peoples are calling most vigorously. It is up to those developed countries which, in view of their extensive trading with South Africa, have the means to do so, to use their influence to respond to that appeal and stop their opposition to a real commitment of the Security Council's authority in order to put an end to apartheid.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to the President and, through him, to the representatives assembled here, greetings from my august sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the sixteenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is taking place at an important time under the President's very able guidance.

The far-reaching - and indeed, revolutionary - changes that we are witnessing around the world today raise hopes for peace and a better international order based on justice. There is renewed faith today in the fundamental and universal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We find greater interest in and enhanced prospects for resolving outstanding regional issues by peaceful means. The ongoing transition of Namibia to independence is a remarkable example of this. Against that background the policy of apartheid of the Pretoria régime stands out as a stark anachronism. Indeed, the situation in South Africa poses the most serious test of the ability of the international community to translate the new vision into reality.

The apartheid system is a flagrant violation of the fundamental and universal principles of equality of peoples and their right to human dignity irrespective of colour, race, creed or sex. It is also the violation of the principle of government based on consent. The scourge of racism in South Africa, besides bringing ruthless repression at home, has also led to the imposition of a brutal war on the southern African region. The policy of aggression and destabilization adopted by the Pretoria régime has resulted in untold loss of life and suffering to the people of the region and has caused massive destruction of infrastructure and property. The front-line States have won the appreciation of the international community for the enormous sacrifices they have made to serve the cause of justice, equality and human dignity in South Africa.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Notwithstanding the resort by the racist régime to brute force and despite massive repression, there is today a resurgence of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. On behalf of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, I wish to pay a tribute to the countless men, women and children of South Africa who are waging an unrelenting struggle, not only to render the apartheid machinery ineffective but also to realize the vision of a united, non-racial and democratic society with equal rights and opportunity for all its people. Determined and co-ordinated implementation of the sanctions already in place and further measures to isolate South Africa politically, economically and socially would greatly strengthen the struggle of the majority people for justice and equality. The international community must not relent in its pressure upon South Africa, for pressure alone can persuade the racist régime to accept negotiations as the only peaceful way to end apartheid.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

The anti-apartheid forces both inside and outside South Africa have been expressing their readiness to engage in serious negotiations with the Pretoria régime to bring about a peaceful end to apartheid. If the Lusaka Manifesto carried and conveyed that message in 1969, the Harare Declaration of the Organization of African Unity adopted at the highest level in August this year provided the basic philosophy and framework for a peaceful and negotiated eradication of the apartheid system.

That important peace initiative provides a unique opportunity and critical challenge to the De Klerk régime to prove its declared intention to establish a new South Africa. Some recent developments, especially the release of eight political prisoners, are important achievements of the concerted pressure on the régime, from both within and without. Those steps are, however, far short of what the resistance and international community consider the absolute minimum for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations. The South African Government can begin to demonstrate its willingness to engage in serious negotiations to end apartheid by releasing unconditionally all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. It should also simultaneously undertake steps to dismantle all arbitrary and discriminatory laws. Such measures will establish South Africa's willingness to honour the universally recognized norms of human rights, freedoms and civil liberties. They will also assure the neighbouring countries of the readiness of South Africa to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, as also its readiness to pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all.

A unique combination of circumstances exists today for a new beginning in South Africa, the beginning of a process of peace that would for ever do away with racism and minority rule. The special session offers an opportunity to address

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

itself to the achievement of that noble objective. The only alternative to that course will be disaster - a tragedy for all South Africans, black and white. My delegation therefore urges the international community to take advantage of the new climate in international relations and to exert pressure on the Pretoria régime to force it to give up its policy of racism and rigidity and accept the inevitable. The end of apartheid in South Africa will ensure permanent peace and stability in southern Africa and be another step towards the strengthening of international peace and security.

Mr. ST.-PHARD (Haiti) (interpretation from French): It is no secret that the delegation of Haiti, pleased at the unanimous election of the President to guide the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, takes even greater pleasure at his unanimous election to the presidency of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. We greatly admire his involvement in and commitment to the Organization's crusade against the scourge of apartheid. We have been by his side in the struggle we have waged in the Special Committee against Apartheid, of which he is Chairman and in which he has shown virile courage, exemplary zeal and unparalleled integrity.

The honour done him also reflects upon his country, Nigeria, one of the most beautiful pearls of the African continent and Alma Mater of the Haitian nation, which I am pleased to represent at the rostrum of the General Assembly. His vast experience, his outstanding qualities as a man and as an experienced diplomat, guarantee the success of our delicate task - our common search for a unanimous voice in which the international community can, through the Organization, tell Pretoria the party is over.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

We are convinced of that because his action is solidly joined with the many vigorous and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Peres de Cuellar. My delegation is therefore extremely pleased to pay a tribute to him as well, from the bottom of our hearts.

We should now like to highlight a few aspects of the consequences of apartheid, which has justly been condemned as a crime against humanity.

The word seems to have fallen into disrepute, but we cannot gloss over its pernicious and harmful manifestations for its victims. We cannot properly assess the full extent of its evils without making a survey, however cursory, of its catastrophic effects, not only for its home, South Africa, where it has festered like a malignant disease for far too many years, but further afield as well, where it has spread like some random and uncontrollable growth throughout the geopolitical and geoeconomic zone created by the front-line States that are grouped around its centre.

The following figures and data are taken from the report, "The destabilization of South Africa: the economic cost of the front-line resistance to apartheid", which was prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. From 1980 to 1988, Pretoria's continuing war against the front-line States has produced 1,500,000 dead. That figure reveals the unthinkable horror of approximately 900,000 children cut down before the age of five. The report reveals the displacement of more than 50 per cent of the populations of Mozambique and Angola at least once in their lives. It reports that an incalculable number of persons are wounded, disabled, mutilated, undernourished. It notes more than US\$60 billion in material destruction and losses of gross domestic product (GDP) - double the current annual GDP and thrice the gross external resources in the form of grants, concessional loans, export credits and commercial loans.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

It is estimated today that the total cost to the region of South Africa's policy of destabilization and aggression is \$10 billion per year, or some 40 per cent of the region's gross domestic product.

The high mortality among infants and children under five years of age is more than revolting. I would think that were Jean-Paul Sartre alive today, he would be feeling a most intense "Nausea" at this.

Given the tens of millions of blacks in Africa and elsewhere - including Haiti, once called Saint-Domingue - who have been exterminated over the centuries, guilty in the eyes of their white oppressors of the congenital sin of excessive dermal pigmentation, Adolf Hitler, who unleashed a holocaust against his victims, including our Jewish brethren, for whom he devised a "final solution", seems to belong to a far longer "honour-roll" of butchers of humanity, whose greed for death must be cut short without delay.

Countries that refrain from exercising their power on behalf of the blacks of South Africa or that become allies of the Pretoria régime - even if they do so with a guilty conscience - by supporting it through their scientific, technological, financial and diplomatic resources cannot claim, either today in this Hall or tomorrow before history, that they have no links with the guru of nazism. To paraphrase Cicero: Quousque tandem, Praetoria, abutere patientia nostra? How much longer will you abuse our patience, Pretoria?

With a little imagination on the part of men and women of good will in this Christmas season, we can reflect on the past, present and future losses to plans for development, investment, health, employment, national defence, the servicing of the infamous external debt, the massively destroyed environment and so forth. Let us imagine the scope of the catastrophe that Pretoria continues to inflict on the region despite the misleading cosmetic measures of recent weeks, which remind us of

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

the image in Matthew 23:27, where Christ denounces the fallacious nature of the whited sepulchres: seemingly beautiful on the outside, but full of rotting bones and all manner of corruption inside. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. Eadem, sed aliter: the same, only different.

What can we say of the human rights of the vast majority of our 28 million South African brothers? We wonder whether in certain world capitals there is still a debate about whether they are truly human or merely humanoid: how else can we understand the inconsistency and contradictions in many nations that aspire to be the repositories of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which is the source of their crusade for democracy, founded on the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, of which universal suffrage - one man, one vote - is a firm pillar.

How can the leaders of those nations, without blinking, continue to lend Pretoria their precious support and unswerving protection at the signal of their white brothers in that capital while at the same time living in peace with their conscience and serving as the resounding heralds of the good news of representative democracy?

Let me quote Senator J. William Fulbright, who in his latest book The Price of Empire wrote:

(spoke in English)

"There is no greater human vanity than the belief that one's own values have universal validity, no greater folly than the attempt to impose the preference of a single society on an unwilling world".

(continued in French)

I think that applies perfectly to the case of the Pretoria racists.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

So long as dehumanizing, or frankly murderous, tyranny prevails in South Africa, with the support and protection of certain members of the United Nations family, let them at least have the decency to declare a moratorium on their zealous preaching of the gospel - whose Old English roots mean "good news" - of democracy. That, at least, would be good news. But there is no valid explanation of the contradiction of wanting democracy at all costs for some, while doing everything possible along with Pretoria to deprive nearly 30 million souls of that democracy simply because they do not like the ebony hue of their skin. I would recall Montesquieu's warning: "There is no more cruel tyranny than that imposed in the shadow of laws and with the colours of justice".

"Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

"Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also". (The Holy Bible, Matthew, 23:24-26)

Could not Christ use those same words today to inveigh against Pretoria and its diverse accomplices?

We can believe in the superficial changes of the new De Klerk Administration in South Africa only in response to the implementation by his régime of the sine qua non conditions that must precede the initiation of the process of negotiations with the liberation movements such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the representatives of the mass democratic movement and all relevant political groups with the final goal of the creation of a non-racial, united and democratic Republic of South Africa, a goal we would all prefer to see achieved by peaceful means.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

In that connection, my delegation is pleased to endorse the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, in conformity with the common will of the people of Haiti and of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Prosper Avril, President of the Military Government of the Republic of Haiti, to reaffirm their full support for our oppressed brothers and sisters of South Africa until the final victory, a victory that will bring not a mere change in the nature of the cancer of apartheid, which is unacceptable since it is impossible, but rather its radical excision, along with the surrounding diseased tissue.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

As we await the glorious dawn of the day that will soothe their bodies and ease the distress that is daily renewed and bring the democratic society for which the victims of apartheid clamour, we can at least say to the militants and the cynical strategists of that odious system, "Acta, non verba": "Deeds, not words".

Mr. REINO (Portugal) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): Allow me on behalf of the Portuguese Government to convey to Ambassador Garba our sincere congratulations on his assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at its special session on apartheid.

This special session has the merit of being devoted to a problem decisive for the development of the situation in southern Africa: the question of apartheid. Portugal, linked by specific historical, cultural and human ties to that region, cannot but participate in the debate in its own right, although it certainly fully shares the views expressed on behalf of the European Community.

Portugal firmly condemns apartheid and believes that its eradication is an indispensable condition for peace and development in southern Africa. Only by that means will it be possible to create in the Republic of South Africa a situation which can lead to understanding and dialogue and to the regional co-operation necessary to the economic and social progress of that entire area.

The persistence of a régime based on racial discrimination is untenable, not only because it is contrary to the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also because the continuing social injustice provoked by the system of apartheid constitutes a permanent source of tension.

We cannot accept that skin colour should determine access to work, justice and education. The demand of the majority of South Africans for a régime of full citizenship and equal civic and social rights is legitimate. Those are the heartfelt aspirations which Portugal shares and supports without reservation.

(Mr. Reino, Portugal)

The attainment of those objectives cannot, however, be dissociated from a gradual and peaceful process of change in South African society leading to a full non-racial democracy. Therefore, Portugal favours the building of a society without any discrimination, whether based on race, religion or political convictions. We believe that all South Africans have the right to participate in the process of transition to a democratic society. The expeditious beginning of negotiations with the participation of all sectors will be necessary for the achievement of those objectives.

For us, negotiations must imply the identification, through dialogue, of the means that will make possible the existence of a State truly committed to the rule of law and rooted in the democratic principle of one man, one vote and in respect for human rights. Yet the door should be left open to some hope regarding the new Administration governing South Africa. Given the need to create a climate propitious to dialogue and negotiation, President De Klerk deserves encouragement so that the required programmes of internal reform can be carried out with resolution and firmness.

The recent measures taken by the Pretoria Government, such as the announcement of an intention to abolish the Separate Amenities Act and the freeing of some political prisoners, justify the expectation that new steps will be taken towards further reforms and the opening of negotiations.

The freeing of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the abolition of restrictions on individual rights and guarantees, the lifting of the state of emergency and, most of all, the revocation of all legislation based on social segregation are requirements which Portugal has constantly demanded, not just in bilateral contacts with the Pretoria Government but also in the framework of the

(Mr. Reino, Portugal)

political co-operation carried out by the 12 member States of the European Community and in other international forums within the framework of the United Nations system.

Conscious of the necessity of inducing the Pretoria Government to follow that path, Portugal has favoured the means of persuasion and constructive dialogue, along with the maintenance of some sanctions which in practice have had some positive effects. We believe it is undoubtedly necessary to maintain pressure on the South African Government, but such pressure should not be an end in itself. Whenever appropriate it should be accompanied by dialogue and signals of encouragement for the adoption, in a necessarily short period of time, of the required initiatives.

It should also be stressed that the indiscriminate adoption of economic sanctions will affect negatively South Africa's neighbours, namely Angola and Mozambique, which as it is have been the main victims of the destabilization that has prevailed in southern Africa; as a result, Angola and Mozambique have had to bear heavy economic, social and political burdens. For that reason, efforts towards peace in Angola and Mozambique have to be strongly supported to avoid an impasse or the perpetuation of the existing instability. Simultaneously, the priority of economic reconstruction and development of those two States should not be contingent upon the initiation of the peace process. Commitment and the availability of means will contribute to the irreversible and urgent nature of the peace process. The support to be extended will give the negotiators confidence in the viability of national reconciliation and in the peace and stability of the entire southern African region. The dismantling of apartheid must ideally take place simultaneously with the process of peace in Angola and Mozambique so that a genuine and lasting spirit of national reconciliation will prevail in the region, removing once and for all any trace of external interference.

(Mr. Reino, Portugal)

The eradication of apartheid is today the aspiration and objective of the African continent, but it is also universal, for it is in keeping with the spirit of détente prevailing today in the most diverse parts of the globe. Portugal thus maintains an attitude of critical expectancy with respect to the developments which will certainly take place in South Africa shortly. We are convinced that the peoples and the countries of the region, as well as the whole of the African continent, will reap a multitude of benefits as a result of the eradication of apartheid.

In that context I would emphasize the notable progress achieved in the region as Namibia marches finally towards independence. Our congratulations go not only to the people of Namibia for the democratic civic spirit they recently displayed during the election process but also to the United Nations, and in particular to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all the participants in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, for the stabilizing role they are playing in that process. It is appropriate to point out that South Africa and other neighbouring States, namely Angola, have complied with the relevant international provisions and obligations.

It is indispensable at this stage for the international community here represented to continue its endeavours, striving in a constructive, consensual and collective manner towards the attainment of the objectives we all hope for: the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of peace and economic development for the well-being of the peoples of southern Africa.

Mrs. AGNELLI (Italy): Allow me first of all to note how appropriate it is that the work of this special session of the General Assembly devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa should be taking place under the presidency of Ambassador Garba, who represents Nigeria, a country that from the beginning has been in the forefront of the fight against apartheid.

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

In her presentation on behalf of the member States of the European Community, the French Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Edwige Avice, has already expressed the position of the Twelve on the issue of apartheid. I fully share the thoughts expressed by Mrs. Avice and, on behalf of Italy, I would like to add a few considerations on a political, juridical, social and humanitarian problem of exceptional magnitude.

The special session of the General Assembly attests to the vigilant and intense attention of the international community to that most serious violation of human rights. It proves, moreover, how dramatic and persistent is the institutionalized system of racial discrimination in South Africa.

Forty years after the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for a country not to recognize the equal dignity of its citizens but to regard instead the discrimination of its people as an accepted standard, notwithstanding all the international codifications and the trend of world history, is to knowingly alienate itself from the international community.

The continued existence of such a reality does not mean that the concerted efforts, political and humanitarian, of our Governments have been in vain. On the contrary, those efforts have succeeded in outlining a picture no longer devoid of perspectives and have made possible the alleviation of the sufferings of the oppressed populations.

The Italian Government sincerely hopes that the discussion and conclusions of the current special session will result in significant progress in the same direction.

Our condemnation of the segregationist system, which denies fundamental rights to the majority, is firm and unconditional. It is accompanied by constant pressure on the South African authorities to repeal the state of emergency; to liberate all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela; and to legalize the opposition

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

forces, thus creating the premises for the conduct of a genuine dialogue among all the components of that society. Italy's particular resolve and consistent commitment on behalf of the total and negotiated abolition of apartheid was confirmed by its voting twice, in 1987 and in 1988, in favour of the resolution on the selective and mandatory sanctions on South Africa introduced in the Security Council by the African countries.

Our stand for the immediate repeal of apartheid and its replacement by a system of equal social and political dignity in South Africa is therefore clear. Equally clear and unequivocal is our condemnation of any form of violence, from wherever it may come. We are in fact firmly convinced that violence generates additional violence, and that it can provide neither a solution nor a means of legitimization of power. We have therefore used every opportunity to reconfirm our wish that South Africa succeed, in a peaceful manner, in putting an end to its current state of internal strife.

Because of that strife, South Africa cannot aspire to its rightful place in the international community nor can it contribute to the elimination of tensions and the achievement of a peaceful and fair readjustment of relations between the countries of southern Africa.

Italy, whose international conduct is constantly focused on the search for dialogue, has acknowledged with satisfaction the recent positive signs emanating from both the South African Government and the opposition movements. In particular, it has welcomed the recent liberation of political prisoners and the willingness shown by the parties to engage in paths of dialogue with more moderation and enhanced realism. However, Italy regrets that the Pretoria Government has not yet adopted the necessary measures for the liberalization of the political dialogue with the opposition movements and for the democratization of South African political life.

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

Those signs strengthen the intent of the Italian Government to insist in its initiatives on behalf of an effective evolution, in a democratic way, of the South African constitutional system. Those initiatives - to be pursued within the framework of European political co-operation - are consistent with a constant line of conduct. As France's Minister for Co-operation recalled when she spoke on behalf of the European Community and its member States, that line is substantiated by the rigorous enforcement of the restrictive measures on South Africa decided upon by the Twelve. Those measures include, inter alia, the prohibition of new investments and the freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the fields of culture, science and sports. Furthermore, the Twelve have requested that the Pretoria Government give proof, by word and deed, of its sincere determination to engage on the path of negotiations with all true representatives of the black community. At the same time, Italy devotes an important share of its funds for development co-operation to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and to projects in the southern African countries designed to alleviate those countries' dependence on South Africa in the fields of commerce, economy, transportation and telecommunications.

The Italian Government will continue to express in the clearest manner its own condemnation of an ideology that truly stands against civil conscience, while striving, together with the partners of the European Community, to induce South Africa to embark upon a path of fundamental, negotiated change. We do so because we feel that without such a change the relations between all the countries of southern Africa cannot evolve towards the establishment of mutual respect nor could they be safe from attempts at disruption.

In the broader context of South Africa, two positive developments stand out. After the New York agreement of last December, a new system of security is emerging in that area. Its components are the forthcoming independence of Namibia and the

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Just as essential as those developments are, in our view, the prospects for internal pacification in Angola and Mozambique. They are important in their own right and also as premises for the beginning of the economic development of the region. It is conceivable that those processes may even induce a political evolution within South Africa.

From the outset, Italy has given its support to the laborious negotiations that led to the signing first of the Brazzaville and then of the New York agreements. Italy's participation in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group is symbolic of our support of the action of the United Nations in Namibia.

In that respect, I deem it appropriate to recall here the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. With his unfailing commitment, Mr. Ahtisaari has made possible the positive completion of the first phase of the independence process through the holding of free elections in Namibia.

The prospects opened for Angola by the Gbadolite summit on 22 to 23 June of this year are further positive indicators of a trend that Italy, for its part, wishes to see consolidated and extended. The renewal of hostilities in August, however, has once more resulted in a deplorable spiral of violence inimical to a prompt reestablishment of peace.

For some time now, we have noted hopeful signs in Mozambique of a renewed dialogue and of a search for peaceful solutions to the serious problems of that country. Italy fervently hopes that the Nairobi negotiations will proceed positively, thanks to the worthy personal commitment of the African Chiefs of State.

But in order to have a complete and lasting peaceful settlement in southern Africa, an indispensable condition is - we emphasize - a genuinely democratic evolution in South Africa based on the full participation of all its citizens in the political process.

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

At a time when confrontation between blocks is receding, giving way to dialogue and international collaboration, all countries must seize the opportunities offered by the current juncture. Within that framework, within that rapidly evolving society, South Africa cannot refrain from engaging with courage, imagination and realism on the road of profound renewal.

(Mrs. Agnelli, Italy)

We sincerely wish to see these first signs of an evolution confirmed and consolidated in the immediate future. We also feel that the day has come for the South African Government to live up to the expectations of international public opinion, today solemnly represented at this special session. By the same token, it is incumbent on world opinion to follow and stimulate that evolution in the manner most suitable for the general interests of all the peoples of South Africa. An eloquent sign of a willingness to assume that responsibility will come, I believe, with the consensual conclusion of the deliberations of the special session.

The defence of human rights at the international level cannot today be considered as interference in internal affairs. Thus it becomes our specific duty to continue to operate so that the word apartheid will no longer represent a tragic reality but rather a crime against humanity belonging to the past, a crime that must never be repeated.

Let us finally remember that respect for human rights in all their manifestations is a dynamic process that always leaves room for improvement. It is a challenge that implies educating and preparing new generations for a society that is everywhere multiracial and multicultural, and therefore richer, more fruitful and peaceful.

Mr. KARIM (Bangladesh): This special session is well timed. In our rapidly changing world one phenomenon - a hideous symbol of inhumanity - has remained unaltered. I speak of apartheid in South Africa. We hope that our deliberations, under the able guidance of Ambassador Garba, will contribute to our desired objective, which is the elimination of apartheid.

We have long been convinced that the international community lacks neither the will nor the authority to compel Pretoria to heed the voice of reason. Why, then, does apartheid persist? Does that suggest that the issue at hand is intractable? Those are the questions we must ask ourselves.

(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

My delegation does not believe this is an intractable problem. What we require now is the sincere commitment of all members of the comity of nations to act decisively - and I emphasize "all members". The gravity of the situation in South Africa can hardly be exaggerated. Even as we debate, the sufferings of the people of South Africa continue unabated. To our great dismay, the régime in Pretoria persists in perpetrating unspeakable brutalities. What pains us even more is that it feels itself adequately secure to act in utter defiance of world public opinion.

Persuasion and dialogue have so far failed to elicit the desired results. It is evident that the régime will not change its policy unless it is forced to do so by resolute international action. We believe that only through comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter can effective pressure for change be brought to bear upon South Africa. We hear the argument that sanctions will not work, that they would only add to the suffering of the black majority. But no price is too high for freedom and human dignity. The oppressed people of South Africa have themselves stressed time and again their willingness to undergo the hardship it may entail. The total isolation of the Pretoria régime, therefore, remains the single most effective measure that would contribute to the peaceful dismantling of apartheid.

We appeal to all countries to desist from all contacts with South Africa. There are at least four crucial areas where embargoes are called for. First, we must all without exception refrain from supplying South Africa with equipment and technology that would enhance its military and nuclear capability. Secondly, the supply of essential commodities such as oil and gas must cease forthwith. Thirdly, all financial flows into South Africa, whether they be investments, credits or loans, private or governmental, should be stopped. And, finally, human

(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

interactions with South Africa, such as sporting contacts or visits, must be eliminated.

It is encouraging to note that certain Governments and institutions have already adopted some necessary measures to curtail their political, economic and social links with Pretoria. We commend their efforts. Reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid amply testify to the fact that sanctions, even though they fall short of our expectations, are bringing significant pressure to bear on the apartheid system. None the less, we are saddened, and even alarmed, at the ongoing practice by some countries, taking advantage of the economic vacuum created by others, of undermining the sanctions.

Recently hopes were raised that Mr. De Klerk's Government might effect some substantive changes. However, much to our regret, its actions do not appear to go beyond cosmetic reforms. So long as these so-called reforms do not respond to the demand of the black majority for the full realization of its political rights, we shall have no reason for confidence or complacency. Apartheid, it has rightly been said, cannot be reformed; it can only be dismantled. As a prerequisite to that, we add our voice to the call for the unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, the outstanding symbol of free South Africa; for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency; for a total halt to all oppressive measures against the black majority; for the cessation of all political trials and political executions; and for the termination of the policy of bantustanization.

Pretoria's aggressiveness is not confined by its own frontiers. Its attempts to divert international attention from its domestic scenario continue. Neighbouring States remain under constant threat of military intervention and economic blackmail. That state of affairs poses a serious threat to peace, security and stability in southern Africa.

(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

It is no secret that the resources of my country are meagre. Nevertheless, in manifesting our solidarity with the people of South Africa, the Government of Bangladesh has made modest contributions to the various United Nations funds to help alleviate the sufferings of the people of southern Africa.

(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

The forthcoming independence of Namibia has once again heightened our confidence in the efficacy of the United Nations in bringing about the peaceful settlement of disputes. We therefore hope and trust that this Assembly will continue its efforts to help the people of South Africa to establish a united, democratic and non-racial society. In that regard, the Secretary-General's tireless efforts deserve our full support.

Let me also take this opportunity to commend the Special Committee against Apartheid for its role in mobilizing and strengthening global public opinion against the apartheid régime.

We must not delude ourselves into believing that peace in South Africa is elusive. Peace would be well at hand in that country if only Pretoria would show good faith. The modalities through which the aim is achievable have been identified. The Harare Declaration adopted in August 1989 by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity sets out the guidelines and a prescription for the peaceful resolution of the issue. It has our full support. We also reaffirm our commitment to the relevant decisions taken on this issue in all international forums, including the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth.

Let us here and now rededicate ourselves to the search for a united approach against apartheid. Let us make every concrete effort to bring peace and justice to South Africa and to the region at large. Let us remind ourselves that we must not regard these debates as mere rituals. The special session has been entrusted with an onerous and solemn responsibility. We place great store by the programme of action this session will adopt. I assure members that Bangladesh will do everything possible to achieve that goal.

(Mr. Karim, Bangladesh)

It is our fervent prayer that some day soon the legitimate aspirations of the people of South Africa will be realized. As I conclude, I should like to pay a tribute to the memory of the martyred men, women and children of that troubled land who have laid down their lives so that their compatriots and future generations can be rescued from the morass of humiliation and injustice.

Mr. KARUKUBIRO-KAMUNANWIRE (Uganda): Allow me on behalf of the Uganda delegation to congratulate Ambassador Garba most warmly on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session. Given the vigour and dispatch with which he has been conducting the work of the forty-fourth regular session, I am confident that our deliberations will be successful. It is fitting that the Assembly's special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa should be taking place under Mr. Garba's able leadership. As Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, he has an intimate knowledge of the subject-matter. He has been playing a leading role in the struggle to eradicate apartheid and for the liberation of southern Africa. The Assembly will no doubt benefit from his insight as it seeks solutions with a view to bringing apartheid to an end.

Last year marked the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This year was the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, when mankind united to defeat the Nazi régime and thus thwarted its design to impose a world order in which the notion of the racial superiority of a Herrenvolk would hold sway and exercise hegemony. Since the defeat of the Nazis and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 41 years ago, many countries have won their right to freedom and self-determination. However, in South Africa millions live under the criminal régime of apartheid. That régime

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

kills people. Millions of men, women and children in South Africa and neighbouring countries have been exterminated. The régime tortures and detains people without trial. Many die in prison in inhuman conditions.

The holding of this special session is timely. The easing of tensions between East and West and the recent developments in some parts of Europe have created a euphoria which could lull the international community into a sense of complacency that all is well throughout the world. No doubt the South African régime would like to take advantage of the situation in order to divert the world's attention. I wish to underscore the fact that apartheid is firmly rooted in South Africa and that it therefore continues to pose a threat to the peace and security of the entire region. Its destructive consequences in the region, both in human and material terms, are staggering. It should be noted that the South African régime, while opposing international sanctions against itself, has not hesitated to use them against its neighbours. From time to time, Botswana has been subjected to delays of goods being imported into the country and Zimbabwe has often been threatened with sanctions by the régime.

Contrary to the Nkomati agreement, South Africa continues to support the RENAMO renegades in their attempt to destabilize Mozambique. At the international donors' meeting for Mozambique, an official of the United States State Department correctly observed that the situation in that country involved

"a systematic and brutal war of terror against innocent civilians through forced labour, starvation, physical abuse and wanton killing" and that it was "one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War II".

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

Until their disastrous defeat at Cuito Cuanavale, South African forces were occupying the southern part of Angola and fighting alongside UNITA against the legitimate Government of Angola. We salute the people of Angola and the Cuban internationalist forces whose victory paved the way for South Africa's retreat from Angola and the beginning of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

For some time, the United Nations has been grappling with South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Intense diplomatic efforts by the United Nations have supplemented the armed struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to put an end to that illegality. We note with satisfaction the progress registered thus far in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The racist régime erected one road block after another to prevent a SWAPO victory. Despite the obstacles emplaced by South Africa, the people of Namibia exercised their right to choose their own leadership. I wish to take this opportunity to salute SWAPO on the occasion of its victory. It is, however, imperative for us to be on guard and ensure that South Africa and its surrogates do not impede Namibia's smooth transition to independence.

We wish to reiterate our position that Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands constitute an integral part of Namibia. Their continued occupation by South Africa is, in our view, illegal. The presence of a racist military base in Walvis Bay is clearly designed to compromise the independence of Namibia and lay the groundwork for its destabilization. The United Nations and the international community have a duty to ensure that that does not take place.

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

We salute and welcome the newly released heroes of the South African struggle. Through their unwavering commitment to freedom and social justice, even behind the gray walls of prison, they inspired their struggle. As we welcome them and rejoice at their release, let us be reminded that it is the reality of mass and armed struggle, coupled with international pressure, that has forced an unwilling De Klerk to open the prison gates. What needs to be done now is to intensify the struggle inside the country. Externally, the sanctions campaign and boycott strategy need to be intensified also. We call upon the international community to intensify the struggle for all-round isolation of the racist régime, including the imposition of all-round economic sanctions.

Whenever confronted with a situation of international isolation the régime has always made efforts to break out of the situation by appearing to be ready to introduce reforms. The so-called reforms have in the past turned out to be cosmetic changes intended to beautify apartheid and deceive the international community. It will be recalled that last year, in a response to the uprising of the black majority, the régime went ahead with the discredited municipal elections. The General Assembly, in resolution 43/13, appropriately declared those elections a further attempt to entrench white-minority rule and contrary to the principles of the Charter. The General Assembly in resolution 38/11 and the Security Council in resolution 554 (1984) had already proclaimed the tricameral Constitution imposed by the racist régime as null and void. The dismal failure of the municipal elections is living proof that the oppressed majority cannot accept being used in manoeuvres intended to legitimize the apartheid constitution.

Some have viewed the assumption of power by Mr. De Klerk in South Africa as a harbinger of a period of glasnost and, hence, of the democratization of South

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

Africa. The permission for demonstrations to take place and the release of some political prisoners have been cited as indicators of positive change. The Republic of Uganda is not deceived. Both Vorster and Botha at one time or another posed as reformers in South Africa and as peace-makers in the region. Their reforms were merely cosmetic changes intended to disguise the ugly contours of apartheid. The apartheid structure was left more entrenched. In an article entitled, "Moving to the Next Stage" in the Canadian magazine The Nation of 4 December 1989,

Mr. Gevisser stated:

"Even though the release of some prisoners does make tangible the prospects for resolution of the crisis, they were released not as free agents but as commodities in an intricate game of approval-mongering and time-buying.

Mr. De Klerk is caught between the rock of internal resistance and the hard place of international condemnation. Mr. De Klerk has been cast by the world's news media as a visionary, a saviour, et cetera, but the robes don't fit him."

As we have had occasion to state, Mr. De Klerk has a long way to go before he can be accepted as an apostle of peaceful change in South Africa. Despite the rhetoric of his inaugural speech, in which he promised to execute his mandate for change over five years, De Klerk remains an adherent of apartheid. He has a big instrument of repression at his disposal that has been trained to kill and destroy for the perpetuation of white-minority rule. The speech was directed primarily at the international community and allies of apartheid, from whom he hopes to buy time with the plea that he needs a chance to deliver on his promises.

We regret that moves are afoot to use the present developments in South Africa as a cover to undermine the international consensus on sanctions against South Africa. The decision by international banks to strike a deal with South Africa on the rescheduling of its external debt is not helpful. We had hoped the

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

international banks would heed our call not to reschedule until the régime put in place fundamental changes for the dismantling of apartheid. Regrettably, the new arrangement between South Africa and the international banks relieves it for a further period of four years from the pressure of using its debt burden as an instrument for bringing about change. As Mark Phillips of the University of Witwatersrand correctly observed:

"If the Government were under less pressure internally and externally, negotiations could become just another in the long line of strategies that successive governments have pursued to defend white minority rule."

We therefore call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We have always regarded as merely self-serving the argument often advanced by others that sanctions could not be imposed since they would hurt the majority. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions are the only peaceful avenue left to make the régime comprehend that the policies of apartheid are unacceptable to the international community and must therefore be dismantled.

We commend and support the front-line States that have borne the high cost of defending universal values. We urge the international community to increase the assistance to those countries.

Uganda will continue to speak out against countries that collaborate with South Africa. We find it absurd that those countries that continue to do business with the apartheid régime put inordinate pressure on some developing countries to remain silent on this important subject. On the question of apartheid Uganda's view is that there is no fence to sit on. All of us must stand up and be counted. The position of Africa is well defined in the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity and in the recent Harare Declaration.

(Mr. Karukubiro-Kamunanwire, Uganda)

We shall work together with the rest of the international community in the search for faster methods to end apartheid in South Africa. We in Uganda shall work within the framework of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and our own Organization of African Unity in order to create a non-racial democratic system in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950, I now call upon the Acting Chairman of the Observer Delegation of the League of Arab States, Mr. Hakim Darwaza.

Mr. DARWAZA (League of Arab States) (interpretation from Arabic): In keeping with its firm commitment to support the cause of national liberation, the League of Arab States realizes the importance of the convening of this special session of the General Assembly at this time to discuss apartheid and its destructive effects in southern Africa. The League of Arab States, which supports all national liberation movements, particularly the national liberation movement in South Africa, also realizes that the liberation of a people's homeland is inextricably linked to the liberation of the individual citizen and that the liberation of the individual citizen cannot be complete without faith in the equality of all men. Equality and freedom are the mainstays of human dignity.

Throughout its history, the apartheid régime in Pretoria has based itself on the negation of equality, the denial of freedom, and the trampling of human dignity. As a matter of course, that negative philosophic premise of apartheid has resulted in practices of oppression and racial discrimination to which the régime has resorted, not intermittently but systematically, as part and parcel of the day-to-day business of apartheid.

While racial or sectarian discrimination, wherever it is practised, in any country of the world, is a cause for shame and creates a problem, such discrimination in the case of the Zionist and the apartheid régimes is a matter of doctrine and a *raison d'être*. How else can we explain the strategic alliance described by His Excellency President Mugabe of Zimbabwe as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Some of the pressures that produced the conditions favouring the Namibian independence process have already been undermined.

"To begin with, and thanks to Israel's shameful collaboration with Pretoria, it now appears that Pretoria has regained its supremacy in the skies

(Mr. Darwaza)

over southern Africa through its acquisition of the Jericho-type intermediate-range strategic missiles, which are capable of hitting all our capitals. Thus the strategic gains of Cuito Cuanavale have been negated by Israeli support. Israel has chosen to travel such a low road by propping up the defences of racism. Secondly, international bankers have, unfortunately, relaxed pressure on Pretoria by agreeing to reschedule its foreign debt. Finally, some powerful friends of South Africa are already working hard to have existing sanctions measures lifted and are using the powerful media machines to whitewash apartheid and present every minor adjustment by De Klerk as if it were a fundamental political reform." (A/S-16/PV.1, p. 48 et seq.)

(continued in Arabic)

The Pretoria régime has been sending bogus signals designed to persuade public opinion that it is in the process of "opening up" South African society. That sham "opening up" is no more than a cover for a dogged racist onslaught. Our Palestinian people has continued to be at the receiving end of the self-same deceitful machinations, as in the case of the so-called elections with which Israel tries to cover up its racial discrimination, expansionism, repression and other practices in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. That is exactly what the racist régime in South Africa is trying to do. It is touting a so-called change in its practices. This is just a smoke-screen designed to hide its true intentions and give the impression that it is changing practices, while its sole purpose is to perpetuate its dominance and fragment the unity of the South African national liberation movements. In a statement in the General Assembly, the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States said:

(Mr. Darwaza)

(spoke in English)

"It is this structured defiance of every aspect of human destiny and human equality that characterizes the policies of apartheid, together with its deliberate contempt for the United Nations and its resolutions and its total and absolute defiance of international public opinion. Because of this it has been necessary to impose sanctions on the apartheid régime of South Africa, for sanctions contribute to lessening and defusing violence and making oppression and racism costly. Sanctions are the only language understood by apartheid and those that hold United Nations resolutions in contempt. They have to be pursued, they have to be continuous and they have to bring about the necessary expeditious results. ... That is why we look upon these developments in South Africa as a matter of moral and ethical commitment, a commitment to bring about the genuine application of the principles enunciated in the various United Nations resolutions on apartheid. It is important to realize that we in the Arab world have a supportive affinity for the ennobling struggle of the people of South Africa to bring about their equality, democracy and freedom in a pluralistic society. ... It is in this light - even though violence might be tempered by certain so-called defusing reforms - that we should not lose sight of the very institutional contempt of the apartheid régime for human equality and human decency. Apartheid is not only an attack on the people of South Africa; it is an obstacle that blurs the vision of mankind as it seeks to bring about the convergence of human freedom and human equality.

"Whenever one deliberately disenfranchises people because they are of a different religion, a different colour or a different race, that in itself will erode respect for human dignity. In this age, as we prepare to enter the

(Mr. Darwaza)

next decade, we can no longer allow régimes that seek to distinguish between men because of their race and religion. Our attack on apartheid is an attack on irrationality within every society. In that respect the Assembly's deliberation today on apartheid is a matter of deep relevance to the people of the Arab world and in particular to the people of Palestine because the technique of non-violence that has been pursued ... in South Africa has been used in the struggle of the Palestinian intifadah against Israel's racism and practices of oppression." (A/44/PV.62, pp. 62 et seq.)

(continued in Arabic)

The release of national leaders in South Africa is a step towards the total elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid. Without a doubt the international community is called upon to tighten further the isolation and ostracism of Pretoria so as to make that régime realize how costly it is to persist in oppressing the people of South Africa and depriving them of their rights to equality and freedom.

The League of Arab States, therefore, hopes that this special session will contribute to the speeding up of the process of liberation and democratization of the society of South Africa. The racist régime in Pretoria should not be immune from the punishment that should be meted out to all racist régimes.

(Mr. Darwaza)

The Arab League attends this special session of the General Assembly in the fervent hope that the historic declaration that will be adopted by consensus will have the results for which all freedom-loving and peace-loving people so fervently hope.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 1st plenary meeting, on 12 December 1989, I now call upon the Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Johnson Mlambo.

Mr. MLAMBO (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): First and foremost, allow me, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), heartily to congratulate Ambassador Joseph Garba on his unanimous election as President of the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Intimately knowing his commitment and ability, we are confident that under his wise guidance this special session of the General Assembly will further uphold the legitimate rights of all peoples to be free and to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

Moreover, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited, disenfranchised and dispossessed people of Azania, allow me also to thank most sincerely the President and the members of the United Nations family for convening this important and timely special session devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. With the independence of Namibia now on course, it is only natural that the international community should now specifically focus on the last bastion of colonialism and racism on the African continent with the sole aim of eradicating that evil system.

This historic special session is taking place at a time when the oppressed and dispossessed people have achieved an unprecedented degree of mobilization and

(Mr. Mlambo, PAC)

organization. Their resolve to struggle for their inalienable and fundamental rights has never been so high. Their determination to sacrifice is exemplary. They have strengthened their methods of struggle and have resolved to employ all methods of struggle to realize their legitimate quest for national liberation and self-determination.

Moreover, a plethora of Draconian laws, the so-called state of emergency, the threat of death sentences under the controversial doctrine of common law, the incarceration of political prisoners for over a quarter of a century, the mass detentions without trial, and the official use of hit squads by the racist régime have all failed to contain, suppress and subdue the Azanian masses. In reality, increased oppression has resulted in increased and principled resistance on all fronts.

On the other hand the ever-increasing internal resistance and international isolation and the voluntary and selective sanctions have directly contributed to the illegal minority racist régime's wallowing in a political quagmire and facing an unprecedented economic crisis, its myth of military invincibility exposed. Faced with those deepening crises the minority régime is desperately attempting to extricate itself by introducing peripheral reforms in the hope of co-opting a section of the oppressed into the system. Its so-called bantustan policy has proved to be a dismal failure. The so-called tricameral parliament system has been unequivocally rejected by those the régime had hoped to co-opt.

The sole purpose of the reform exercise, therefore, is not to eliminate the apartheid evil but, rather, to buy time and overcome present sanctions and political isolation. In all the utterances made by F.W. De Klerk and his racist National Party, the five political pillars of apartheid have, conveniently, not been addressed. I note with appreciation that several delegations here have

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touched upon those five pillars. They are, first, the Population Registration Act; secondly, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, on which are based the Group Areas Act and the fact that 85 per cent of our people are entitled to only 13 per cent of the land, whereas the white community, which is only about 14 per cent of the total population, has 87 per cent of the land; thirdly, the Bantu Education Act; fourthly, the Tricameral Parliament system, which was massively rejected by our people, whose basis has been declared null and void by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council; and, fifthly, the Bantustans.

Until and unless those five political pillars of apartheid are genuinely addressed and unconditionally removed, it cannot be said that serious moves are afoot to eradicate the evil system. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has, moreover, consistently maintained that those five political pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable and they must go. We further assert that all those genuinely demanding the elimination of apartheid must insist that the five political pillars must go so as to pave the way for fundamental changes in Azania.

(Mr. Mlambo, PAC)

On the question of negotiations, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, after consultation with people on the home front, believes that what is currently being talked about is what will constitute a climate conducive to negotiations. Some have suggested that the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on national liberation movements, the lifting of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of racist troops from the African townships and the return of the political exiles, which we have all along demanded, could lead to creation of that climate. These, in the view of the Pan Africanist Congress, are merely the reactions of the régime to the legitimate struggle of the people - they do not address the core of the problem.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania wishes to remind this Assembly that this special session of the General Assembly has been called specifically in order to eradicate apartheid, not to reform it. To eradicate it, the political pillars which support it must be addressed and methods evolved to deal effectively with the core of the problem. Any other action would only help to prolong the long and devastating agony of our people and those in the front-line and neighbouring countries.

What is to be negotiated is not apartheid but the elimination of apartheid, and the only effective way of negotiating the elimination of apartheid is to get to the core of the problem. The total elimination of apartheid, which is the legitimate demand of the people of Azania and of the international community, can be realized only through the adoption of a one-person, one-vote constitution based on a non-racial election on a common voters roll. Only such an exercise can lead to the establishment of a genuine non-racial, democratic society in a free Azania.

I shall now dwell briefly on the developments inside apartheid South Africa in recent weeks. As part of the ongoing programme of mobilization, the Pan Africanist Students' Organization (PASO) was formed, and since its formation in October it has

(Mr. Mlambo, PAC)

been inundated with applications for membership. Last week delegates from all over the country assembled in Johannesburg to launch the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), which will co-ordinate the political views and demands of the Africanists inside the country and mobilize the broadest possible front against the racist régime. Moreover, the Pan Africanist Movement will consolidate the mass organizations formed to organize the workers, women, youth, students, vocational organizations and intellectuals.

It was also recently revealed that the racist régime, besides embarking on ruthless suppression, employed death squads to eliminate political opponents. The régime is attempting to dismiss these revelations as unauthorized acts by over-zealous officers. The truth is that these death squads have been part and parcel of the violence of the system against the oppressed masses and not just isolated individual acts and have been in operation not just for a period of 10 years, as has been suggested, but from the early 1960s. We in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania have been victims of these murder squads. Those assassinated by the murder squads include a promising lawyer, Advocate Kutumela, in 1966; several released political prisoners, stretching from the 1960s right through the 1970s, members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania like Thomas Motlounq, Neville Mncube, Mukudubete, Enoch Maphaphu, Philip Chiloane and the Founder President of PAC, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. Furthermore, it will be recalled that General van den Bergh, ex-nazi sympathizer and former head of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), when testifying during the Muldergate Information scandal, said that it was official policy physically to eliminate those opposed to them since it was a life-and-death struggle, a struggle to preserve the apartheid system.

The international community, and in particular the media, should ensure that the hit squads issue is not covered up or glossed over under the glare of reform.

(Mr. Mlambo, PAC)

Equally, whilst the régime is attempting to appear reformist, it is at the same time distracting attention from the plight of those languishing in death cells. The régime is threatening to hang the Uppington 14, who were charged and sentenced under the controversial "common purpose" law, like those who were sentenced and came to be known as the Sharpeville Six. These and others facing the gallows in apartheid South Africa must be saved. We call on the international community to intensify the campaign for their unconditional release.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the core of the problem is the universally condemned policies and practices of the illegal minority racist régime in South Africa. The Azanian people are determined to liberate themselves from this neo-Nazi régime by employing all means at their disposal, including armed resistance. Our brothers and sisters in the front-line and neighbouring States and in the rest of Africa have suffered in one form or another from their principled opposition to apartheid. We fully appreciate their sacrifices and their support. International political isolation and voluntary and selective sanctions have affected the racist régime. We call for the intensification of the isolation and the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against that régime. The call from this important and historic special session of the General Assembly is quite clear: apartheid must go and it must go now. It must be immediately replaced by a genuine non-racial, democratic system. Our people are determined to win their national liberation and to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in a free and democratic Azania.

The PRESIDENT: The meeting is now suspended in order to allow for the processing of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session.

The meeting was suspended at 6 p.m. and resumed at 8 p.m.*

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

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

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): It is with a sense of profound regret that my delegation feels compelled to ask to speak in exercise of the right of reply. My delegation had thought that we had all come here to join our forces in the common struggle against apartheid; therefore we were surprised and shocked when the representative of Pakistan, in a statement earlier this afternoon, sought to abuse the forum of this special session to make tendentious and unwarranted references to Kashmir, outrageously combining it in one breath with the struggle against apartheid. My delegation finds that totally unacceptable, the more so because we have all come to this special session to concentrate our efforts on the elimination of apartheid. Such extraneous references can only divert the attention of the Assembly from the struggle against apartheid and cause harm to our common endeavour.

As the world knows, the people of Kashmir have repeatedly exercised their democratic rights. Such rights, freed from the slightest hint of terror, exploitation or any form of coercive persuasion, are part of my country's commitment to the exercise of full democracy, most recently manifested in the ninth general elections held in November this year, including elections in Kashmir.

Once again I apologize for having had to speak at this stage.

* Mr. Garba (Nigeria), President, took the Chair.

Mr. QURESHI (Pakistan): I also regret having to speak at this stage in exercise of the right of reply to the representative of India. Our position on the question of apartheid is very clear and it has been very clearly reflected in our statement which was read out today. As far as the position of Pakistan and that of the international community with regard to Kashmir is concerned, it is very well known and requires no further reiteration. Jammu and Kashmir are disputed territories. We have therefore always maintained that this problem needs to be resolved in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla Agreements of 1972.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session on agenda item 7, entitled "Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa" (A/S-16/4).

I request the Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session, Mr. Gerhard Richter, of the German Democratic Republic, to introduce the report.

Mr. RICHTER (German Democratic Republic), Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session: I have the honour and pleasure to introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session of the General Assembly on Apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, now before the Assembly in draft form (A/S-16/AC.1/L.1). The General Assembly also has before it document A/S-16/4 in that connection.

It will be recalled that the Ad Hoc Committee was established in accordance with decision 44/408 of the General Assembly at the 1st plenary meeting of the sixteenth special session. Its task was to hear non-governmental organizations as well as individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa and to finalize a draft declaration to be considered by the General Assembly, as we are now doing in today's plenary meeting.

In this connection, the Ad Hoc Committee devoted two meetings to hearing 19 non-governmental organizations and individuals on the subject. A list of them is included in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee.

Two other meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee were dedicated to an exchange of views on the draft declaration, which was earlier introduced to the Committee by the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Eleven delegations addressed the meetings on the draft declaration. Statements were also made by the

(Mr. Richter, Rapporteur, Ad Hoc
Committee of the Whole of the
Sixteenth Special Session)

representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Over the last three days the officers of the Ad Hoc Committee have held intensive consultations with various delegations and groups of delegations on the draft declaration. As the General Assembly now has before it the draft report of the Ad Hoc Committee, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to paragraph 6 of the final report, which will read as follows:

"At its 5th meeting on 14 December 1989, the Ad Hoc Committee considered its report, including the draft Declaration, and adopted that report by consensus. At that meeting, the Committee heard statements by the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the German Democratic Republic, Haiti, Nigeria, and France on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community. The Ad Hoc Community authorized its Rapporteur to submit the report direct to the General Assembly. In its report, the Ad Hoc Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of its report, to which is annexed the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The Committee also recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the draft decision contained in paragraph 8 of its report."

Finally, on behalf of the officers of the Committee I should like whole-heartedly to thank Dame Ann Hercus, our Chairman, for her untiring efforts. I thank the officers of the Ad Hoc Committee and all those who participated in the result-oriented negotiations on the draft declaration.

The PRESIDENT: If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I shall take it that the Assembly will not discuss the report.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution and the draft decision recommended in paragraphs 7 and 8 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session, contained in document A/S-16/4.

We turn first to the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 7 of the report. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution without a vote?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution S-16/1).

The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the draft decision recommended in paragraph 8 of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision without a vote?

The draft decision was adopted.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their position on the resolution and decision just adopted. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the Sixteenth Special Session have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records. Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of position. May I remind members also that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. MOORE (United States of America): The United States is pleased to be able to join in the consensus adoption of the final Declaration of this special session. We have done so because of our clear belief that apartheid must end and

(Mr. Moore, United States)

that the people of South Africa must, together, find genuine and peaceful solutions to their problems.

The United States believes that a new era of conciliation, negotiation and change may be emerging in South Africa. There have been encouraging signs, especially since the inauguration of South Africa's new government in September. President De Klerk has spoken of a "totally changed South Africa ... free of domination or oppression in any form". He has permitted peaceful demonstrations to take place and he has met with opposition leaders.

Only yesterday, President De Klerk met in his office with Nelson Mandela, who during his 27 years of incarceration has become the personification of the anti-apartheid struggle. We hope and expect that Mr. Mandela will soon be following in the footsteps of other opposition leaders who were recently released from prison.

The consensus which has been reached on this final Declaration is especially meaningful because it meets our concerns - yours, Mr. President, and those of the United States - that the United Nations be unanimous in sending an unambiguous signal to the people of South Africa in support of the negotiating process which we believe may be emerging in that country.

We must not impede that process. We must give momentum and encouragement to the efforts now being made by the people of South Africa themselves. We believe that the final Declaration before this special session of the General Assembly does precisely that, and for that reason we are happy to join in supporting it.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand for her constructive and facilitative leadership of our drafting discussions. I would also like to pay a tribute to all those who

(Mr. Moore, United States)

participated in our negotiations for the co-operative spirit which informed our common efforts.

I would like to make a few points for the record, so that there may be no misunderstanding of the United States position on the negotiations which must begin and on the goal, which is the emergence of a democratic non-racial South Africa.

First of all, it should be clear that we call upon all sides to renounce violence in pursuit of their goals. The Declaration rightly emphasizes the need to encourage the peaceful nature of the negotiations. Our participation in this consensus reflects our encouragement of a peaceful process.

(Mr. Moore, United States)

Next, we believe very strongly that it is the responsibility of the people of South Africa alone to decide what is right for it. The Declaration explicitly reaffirms the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, not to have it determined by others. Any attempt by well-meaning outsiders to prescribe specific steps that must be taken or specific forms that must be followed represents interference in that country's internal affairs.

Yes, there are some suggestions in this final Declaration. That is part of what friends are for - to give advice from time to time. We believe the suggestions in the Declaration are by and large helpful and would facilitate the process of negotiations. However, they should not be construed as any form of rigid blueprint by this body or by the people of South Africa, which alone will be engaged in those negotiations.

We do not believe that the list of suggestions herein is by any means exhaustive. There may well be other or different issues to discuss, other parties that might be included, and other measures that could be taken in furtherance of the goal of peaceful negotiations and a transition to a non-racial South Africa. We do not wish to rule them out if the people of South Africa decides they are helpful.

We are pleased to note in that regard that the final text of the Declaration omits elements that had been proposed earlier, such as additional mandatory sanctions, an international framework for those negotiations or for the transition process, or the establishment of an interim Government. We felt such ideas to be inappropriate for that document. We view that change in approach as evidence that the international community recognizes that a new era of peaceful change may be dawning in South Africa that deserves our support and encouragement.

(Mr. Moore, United States)

Finally, we note herein a call for extending assistance requested by the "Governments of Angola and Mozambique". We fully endorse the efforts now under way to bring peace and stability to those two troubled countries. The question what assistance is appropriate and should be rendered is, necessarily, a sovereign decision to be taken by each individual Member of the United Nations. I must also note that our support for the Declaration does not constitute any change in the United States position of not recognizing any Government in Angola at this time.

I have one more brief comment on another, less productive, subject before closing. I regret that the Panamanian delegation has sought to diminish the dignity of our common enterprise by making unfounded allegations against the United States.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): I should first like to repeat the tribute paid a short time ago in the Committee of the Whole by the representative of France on behalf of the Twelve member States of the European Community to Dame Ann Hercus, the Chairman of that Committee. Long and arduous negotiations under Dame Ann's leadership, in which the Twelve within their framework played their full part, led to the adoption of our final document. Without her diplomatic skill, strength and stamina we would not have achieved consensus. The Assembly owes her a great deal.

In his statement on 13 December, Sir Crispin Tickell commented that the outcome of this special session should be a strong and unanimous signal to all concerned of the need to sit round the table and solve their difficulties by negotiation. He added that we would not achieve that by endorsing the position of one side or the other, nor by presuming to dictate in advance to the people of South Africa what the outcome of its negotiations should be. Rather, our aim should be to ensure that everything we do or say enhances rather than hinders the

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prospect of negotiations. We should encourage all those involved to demonstrate flexibility and a spirit of mutual accommodation. We do not and will not accept that violence or armed struggle is a legitimate means of seeking change.

The consensus we have reached today demonstrates the extent to which those objectives have been achieved. It is indeed a considerable achievement. We congratulate all those involved on the positive spirit in which the negotiations on the final document were conducted.

The final Declaration is a fair summary of the views of those who share the common goal of a peaceful end to the obnoxious system of apartheid. All have had to compromise. But we must recognize that the role of the international community is limited. Ultimately, it is for the people of South Africa itself to decide its own future. It is imperative that that people should be free to do so in a way of its own choosing. For the most part, the final Declaration does nothing to hinder that. There was nothing to be gained by including in it detailed prescriptions for the future of South Africa. Any negotiating process needs a degree of flexibility.

My delegation is particularly pleased to note that the final document is fully consistent with the negotiating concept of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which enjoins all sides to enter negotiations and suspend violence on the basis of simultaneous and matching commitments. We believe that that concept, the validity of which was reaffirmed by Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur earlier this year, offers the most promising route towards negotiations and the end of apartheid.

In joining the consensus, I should like to clarify the position of my delegation on two specific points. First, the reference in paragraph 19 (c) of the final document to a "non-racial voters roll" should not be interpreted in such a way as to inhibit the people of South Africa themselves - all of them - from

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deciding upon any electoral process that is acceptable to it. Secondly, my delegation believes that the parties involved must be free to determine when the climate for negotiation exists. The call for the repeal of the Internal Security Act, as in paragraph 22 (d) of the final document, should not be used as an obstacle to delay the start of negotiations. The important point is that normal political activity should be permitted in South Africa.

With that consensus document, the membership of the United Nations has made an important commitment to peaceful change in South Africa. We wish all the people of South Africa well in the difficult task that lies ahead of them. Where there are ways in which the international community can contribute to that process, the British Government will do so to the best of its ability.

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

Mr. JARRETT (Liberia): This is a historic occasion, as the special session is the first ever on the evil policy of apartheid. The occasion is also historic because the Assembly has adopted an international consensus on the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa through direct negotiations between the apartheid régime and the genuine representatives of the South African people.

(Mr. Jarrett, Liberia)

The Group of African States, on whose behalf I am privileged to speak, extends its profound thanks to you, Mr. President, to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole, the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, and equally to all those who worked so very hard, in a spirit of co-operation and compromise, to produce this Declaration.

Of course we in Africa would have wanted more, but we are willing to accept the Declaration on behalf of our oppressed brothers and sisters in South Africa as a first step in the process towards the attainment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to express its deep satisfaction at the results of the work of the special session. Agreement has been reached on one of the most difficult problems in Africa - the elimination of the system of apartheid in South Africa. One of the imperatives of today's interdependent world is to defuse regional conflicts and eliminate hotbeds of tension, and to do so justly and comprehensively so as to safeguard the genuine interests and rights of all countries and peoples freely to choose their paths to national development. This process is not simple. It requires prudence, responsibility and thoughtfulness of all States and Governments and loyal co-operation with strict observance of the fundamental principles of international law. It is precisely in this context that we consider the results of this special session.

The final document adopted by consensus represents the fruit of the productive mutual interaction of all Members of the United Nations who have carried out their task using the positive trends in world politics to hasten the process of the establishment of peace and justice in southern Africa. Representatives know how hard the road has been towards consensus, how much patience, reserve and political

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

realism has been required to reach reasonable compromises. The Declaration just adopted is especially valuable because a broad range of States, representing the entire political spectrum of our Organization, took part in its negotiation.

We should like to emphasize the contribution of the African and other non-aligned countries, the flexible, realistic position of the liberation organizations and the constructive role of the European Community. We note with satisfaction the active role in the preparation of the document played by our delegation and that of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Finally, we should like to draw attention to the report on the preparation of the Declaration by the representative of New Zealand, Dame Ann Hercus, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, which indicates the decisiveness and firmness that were required to bring the work to a successful conclusion.

The Declaration of the sixteenth special session on apartheid can rightly be considered a victory of commonsense and sober political approaches. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, as the preceding speaker observed, a document has been adopted on apartheid that reflects the unified opinion of all its Member States. I think that we shall not be mistaken if we call this achievement an important landmark in United Nations efforts to affirm the priority of common human values in a system of peace, security and co-operation based on the United Nations Charter.

The international community now has in its hands a real programme of action, whose implementation will make it possible fully to eradicate what is left of racism and apartheid on the African continent. This document is also a serious challenge to South Africa, which now has a chance to come back to the international community and adopt swift, decisive measures to dismantle apartheid and meet the demands in the document.

(Mr. Petrovksy, USSR)

In our opinion, the consensus adoption of the document by the United Nations is further proof of the effectiveness of the new political thinking, which is becoming increasingly useful in the resolution of the most complex problems facing the contemporary world.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): The ANC delegation has already had the opportunity to address the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole and to express its position on the document before us. I speak now only to avail myself of the opportunity to place on record the appreciation of the ANC to the international community represented in this special session. In particular, we would like to express our profound gratitude to you, Mr. President, for all the efforts you have personally exerted in bringing this session to its successful conclusion. We should also like to place on record our deepest appreciation to Dame Ann Hercus, the representative of New Zealand, through whose diplomatic skill it was possible to bring divergent political positions to a consensus. Let us also thank very sincerely the officers of the Ad Hoc Committee, who have made very strenuous efforts towards reaching a consensus. Finally, we should like to thank the Members of the United Nations represented here who made it possible for the first time for the international community to adopt a consensus position on the question of South Africa.

Some doubts have been raised about the document; in particular it has been said that this document is not intended to deprive the people of South Africa of their sovereignty and to dictate to them what kind of positions to adopt and how their futures should be shaped. We could not agree more. The reason we, the people of South Africa, came to the United Nations regarding this document was not

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

to surrender the sovereignty of the people of South Africa; rather it was to ensure that the international community had some parameters within which to determine the course of action that the international community should take on the question of apartheid. We are happy that the community has been able to draw up such parameters, and that there is some general agreement on the principles to guide the future South Africa to a successful negotiated truce. We are also very happy that some agreement has been reached as to the mechanisms that have to be adopted towards this end.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

We should like therefore to say that we are happy with the document that has been agreed upon here. We must add that although, as has already been indicated, the document does not necessarily reflect the views of every delegation and certainly does not reflect all the views of the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, nevertheless the people of South Africa are very grateful that the United Nations has been able to speak with one voice and will be able to send a clear signal to Pretoria that the international community can no longer allow the Pretoria régime to continue to flout international opinion, to continue to deny the people of South Africa what is rightfully theirs and to continue to allow a situation in which democracy and self-determination do not prevail in South Africa. We would like to say, therefore, that we are very thankful to the United Nations and to the international community.

We wish to add that the document that has been signed at this session is a historic one, but it is just a document. What is important is the action that will be taken after its adoption. It is therefore against this background that we wish to urge the members of the international community to ensure that the good positions that have been reflected in this document will be followed by actions that will contribute tremendously towards South Africa's obtaining the long-sought-after objective, which is a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Let us not for one minute perpetuate a situation where resolution after resolution and declaration after declaration are adopted to no avail. It is our belief that the fact that this has been arrived at by consensus will ensure that the entire international community gathered here will stand squarely behind the people of South Africa in ensuring that all the positions that are reflected in this document will be followed through, thus ensuring that our condemnation of apartheid is translated into action.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of item 7 and all other agenda items.

In the last three months I have had many occasions on which I have felt honoured and proud to preside over the deliberations of the Assembly, but I wish to say today that whatever burning issues we have had before us, notwithstanding the differences of opinion that were expressed, I am most proud of what we have all achieved together today. The result that we have so arduously and diligently worked for is a landmark in our long fight against apartheid and should serve as an example for generations to come of the determination that men and women of conscience can display in their united commitment to fight for a principle which we all hold to be sacred and immutable.

I believe that the Declaration we have just adopted sends a clear signal to Pretoria that change must now take place. I also believe - and I know that many of the members share this belief - that the stage that has been reached in South Africa, where the possibility for real and fundamental change exists, has been reached through the shedding of much blood and the shedding of many tears by our brothers and sisters inside South Africa and also because we, in the international community, have been persistent in our efforts to help them effect meaningful change. We are, today, sending a loud and clear message to the minority that wields power in Pretoria that the international community is determined more than ever determined to see the system of apartheid disappear from the face of the earth.

We have already said in different ways what we said here today, but never have we said it with the strength derived from the unity that the Assembly has shown today. Members of the General Assembly, you have spoken. It is now our duty, as the representative of the African National Congress has just stated, to translate our words into action. A declaration, however solemn or unanimous, will not in

(The President)

itself help the people of South Africa in their efforts to help create a new and non-racial society, but it will lend tremendous power to our arguments henceforth when addressing the proponents of apartheid, whether inside or outside South Africa. It is my fervent hope that you will put that power to good use and build upon what we have achieved today, so that, together again in the near future, we may welcome among us the freely elected and true representatives of a new South Africa.

Let me conclude by expressing my appreciation to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Her Excellency Dame Ann Hercus, who, as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Sixteenth Special Session, worked with skill, energy and perseverance and played a crucial part in producing the happy results that we have seen tonight. I would be remiss in my duties if I did not also pay a tribute to our Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, and his very able staff in the Centre against Apartheid for all the work they have done. I believe that their dedication and commitment, particularly in the last few days, went far beyond the call of duty. I pay a tribute to you all.

Finally, I wish to pay a tribute to all the Members of the United Nations for speaking once again and for speaking loudly and in unison against the obnoxious system that is called apartheid.

I invite representatives to stand and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silent prayer or meditation.

CLOSURE OF THE SIXTEENTH SPECIAL SESSION

The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.