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STATEMENT BY MR F W DE KLERK, DMS, STATE PRESIDENT OF THE-  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA : 10 OCTOBER 1989

In my first speech after I took office I gave the assurance that the release of security prisoners would be looked at on an ongoing basis. The test which the Government laid down in such cases is that, all the surrounding circumstances should be considered, good order should be maintained and the search for peaceful solutions should preferably be promoted by such a release.

Within this framework it has now been decided to release the following prisoners unconditionally as soon as the necessary formalities can be dealt with, which can take some time.

They are Messrs:

Jafta MASEMULA

Andrew MLANGENI

Raymond MHLABA

Walter SISULU

Elias MOTSOALEDI

Wilton MKWAYI

Ahmed KATHRADA

Oscar MPETHA

The decision was preceded by a thorough investigation and a series of administrative processes. All relevant factors were brought into consideration, including the fact that most of these prisoners had already served many, many years of their sentences, and are already advanced in years.

It was decided that, taking good order into account, a favourable climate currently exists in which the release can take place.

The decision has further been taken against the background of requests and representations from various sources over

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a long period. In particular, the views of moderate black leaders, including the leaders of the self-governing territories, carried special weight.

It is necessary to state that Mr Nelson Mandela is fully apprised of these proposed releases. In fact, discussions were held with him and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda.

I wish to express the hope that the release of these prisoners will contribute to the spirit of reconciliation which is presently evident in our country.

Most South Africans are tired of confrontation and wish to speak to one another about the road of prosperity and justice for all. The search for peaceful solutions is the key to a safe future for South Africa and I make an appeal to all South Africans to become a part of this process.

10 OCTOBER 1989

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NEWS HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA  
40/89

POLITICAL UPDATE

CHURCH PRESSURED ON TERRORISTS.

LUTHERANS ALSO HIT OUT AT SACC

Bonn - The West-German Lutheran Church is under strong pressure from within to end all support for SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC). The influential West-Berlin section of the church decided on Monday (20 November) that all direct and indirect aid to the two organisations has to be suspended. This call on the Church leaders resulted from the revelation that SWAPO tortured prisoners. The decision of the West-Berlin section of the Church also stipulates the Namibia Council of Churches should no longer be regarded as the only source of information for the German Church. (BLD11ZZ)

REFORMS BEGIN TO IMPRESS US GOVERNMENT

Washington - Pretoria was starting to meet the requirements set out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) for the modification or suspension of sanctions, a senior US official suggested on 21 November 1989. The official, who spoke on condition he was not identified, noted that "the state of emergency is virtually lifted on a de facto basis" and "the African National Congress (ANC) has been virtually legalised". The Act permits the President to "suspend or modify" its sanctions if Pretoria releases all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and fulfils three of four further conditions. These are: ending the state of emergency, unbanning political  
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THE PERMANENT MISSION OF  
SOUTH AFRICA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
30 NOVEMBER 1989

parties, repealing the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and agreeing to enter "good faith negotiations". (BD1122)  
IHK RESGHUPES IHPPITIHNE TO  
CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

London - The British government would continue to encourage peaceful change and reconciliation in southern Africa, Queen Elizabeth said in her speech at the opening of the new session of Parliament on 21 November 1989. Reading the speech, written for her by the government, the Queen said her government also looked forward to independence in Namibia. (BD/CIT1122)

JESSE ENCOURAGES FW IN SONG OF PRAISE

Washington - The Rev Jesse Jackson, America's best known politician, is busy changing his tune on South Africa. He praised President FW de Klerk in an article he wrote for the Los Angeles Times. He said at the same time. that President de Klerk could become for South Africa what President Michail Gorbachev became for the Soviet Union. (BLD1123)

"WORDS OF HOPE"

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To South Africans  
grown weary of American moralism and

moral posturing,  
the address by Chester Crocker, for-  
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mer assistant secretary of state for Africa, comes as a breath of freshness. At least, he has been honest with us. Among other things, he told us our destiny was in our own hands, not in those of the West, nor of a collapsing socialism. For black South Africans his message was that socialism - "You pretend to work and I pretend to pay you" - offered no utopian escape from the Afrikaner statism which they mistake for capitalism. For white South Africans, it was that Western aid offered no escape from the demands of their black countrymen. There would be no Marshall plan, no massive aid for the region. For both black and white the message was that their fates were interlocked: "Do not take your problems to the West," he said, "take them to each other." It was time that somebody said these things. The pretence that foreign intervention might overthrow white rule, or so weaken the Afrikaners as to make them vulnerable to overthrow, has been assiduously sustained by lobbies that make a living out of fighting apartheid. Crocker, in contrast, said the rest of the world would simply walk away from a failed South Africa. Unless South Africans made a success of their country, they would be marginalized - ignored, avoided, forgotten. The issue, as he framed it, was not whether black or white might prevail; it was whether South Africa would slide into the abyss of the Third World, an irrelevant, backward place of no particular consequence or importance to the civilized nations. The issue was whether South Africans would continue to fight one another, and go down together. whether they would copy models of failure, or whether they would choose the modern world's model for success: liberal democracy. It was time, too, that somebody said this country was not without hope. Crocker offered to easy walk to freedom. but he did say that South Africa has a better chance than any other country on the continent to escape from the Third World. The implication, obviously, was that those who lived in South Africa were more fortunate than those who lived in Nigeria or Zimbabwe or Mozambique. As reasons for hope he cited the fact that all South Africans, whatever they might say, knew that they must share this country, or wreck it together; they were, too, better off than many other countries, including perhaps Poland and the Soviet Union; and this was, by Third World standards, a very open society which remained part of the world system. The country was blessed with heroic figures, many of them peacemakers, and the external environment might, in the wake of great changes occurring elsewhere in the world, be more favorable than it had been in decades. These things, too, needed to be said.

(BD1124)

#### US ENVOY HIGHLIGHTS NEED FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH

US Ambassador William Swing said last night (22 November 1989) it was hard to imagine talks and negotiations in South Africa on a realistic basis unless they occurred through an uncensored Press and unbanned political

parties. Addressing a US Information Services (USIS) function for past participants in the USIS's international visitors programme, Swing said the time had come "for all of us to review obstacles to communication, including visas and Press censorship".

(BD/CIT1123)

#### RUSSIAN GROUP WILL VISIT SOUTH AFRICA

Moscow - The Soviet Union is sending its first citizen delegation to South Africa, a country with which it has no diplomatic ties, Tass announced on 23 November 1989. Tass said the delegation from the officially sanctioned Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee would include two professors from Moscow University's Institute of Asian and African Countries, Irina Filatova and Apolon Davidson. The group was invited to visit South Africa from Nov 30 to Dec 12 by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Tass said.

(CIT/BLD/BD1124)

#### THATCHER MAY BE 'CLOSE' TO LIFTING

##### SANCTIONS - REPORT

London - Mrs Margaret Thatcher's official spokesman declined to comment on 24 November 1989 on reports that she was close to a

decision on lifting some of Britain's economic sanctions against South Africa. The London Guardian reported on 24 November 1989 that Mrs Thatcher was close to making up her mind to lift some of the sanctions against South Africa, a move she believed would encourage the State President, Mr FV de Klerk, to move more rapidly towards "clear and irreversible" reform. (CIT/SSTR1125)

#### FW TO PRESENT HIS PLANS FOR CHANGE

Washington - President FV de Klerk would present plans for negotiations on a new constitution and economic restructuring when he opened Parliament on February 2, he told the Washington Post in an interview published on 26 November 1989. He declined to be specific, but said he hoped to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible because he thought government had largely succeeded in creating a more positive climate. But he warned that U.S. policy makers should not expect a complete overhaul of the South African political system by the time Parliament went into recess in June.

(BD/CIT1127)

#### BIG DROP IN MEMBERSHIP

London - The individual membership of the London-based Anti-apartheid Movement has dropped from a March 1989 peak of 19 410 to 14 061 at the end of October. (CIT1127)

#### FREED SEVEN TO GO ROUND THE COUNTRY

The 7 recently-released African National Congress (ANC) leaders will undertake a nation-wide political tour beginning at the weekend after the successful welcoming rally near Soweto last month. A statement by Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) on 21 November 1989 said the political shuttle would begin this Sunday (26 November) at the Independence Stadium in Umtata, Transkei. (CIT1122)

#### A. .MADUDEIJK.MEHEPIDK3

Nelson Mandela is to meet African National Congress (ANC) veterans Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba at Victor Verster Prison today (23 November). Nine South African activists, including Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress, are scheduled to meet him next week at the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader's request.

(BD/CIT/SOW1123)

#### B. ACTIVISTS INVITED BY.MANDELA FOR TALKS

The Citizen's political correspondent reports that the 3 co-leaders of the Democratic Party on 22 November 1989 met Mr Walter Sisulu and other recently-released security prisoners for what was described as "an exchange of views". (CIT1123)

#### A. HANDEIJ;SETPII)HEE1?TOPINATAILLEADERS

Durban - Several top anti-apartheid leaders in Natal have been invited by the African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela to visit him in Victor Verster Prison next week. (PN1123)

#### B. SCHWARZ MEETS MANDELA

Cape Town - Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yoeville, who was a member of the defence team at the Rivonia trial, visited Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison this week.

(CIT/PN/BLD1123)

#### RAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS RULES OUT ANY TALKS

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Harare - The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has ruled out talks with the government of Mr FW de Klerk and vowed to intensify the armed struggle. Mr Gora Ebrahim, Pan Africanist Congress Foreign Affairs Secretary, told a news conference that a meeting in Harare between anti-apartheid activists from South Africa and PAC leaders agreed no negotiations could be held at this stage.  
(SSTR1125.SSTR1126,CIT1127)



#### RAIN MARS KWA-THEMA MEETING

About 10 000 people packed the local stadium at Kwa-Thema on the East Rand to hear recently released ANC leader, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, on 26 November 1989. The air of festivity and revelry was marred by high winds and blinding rain that drove the crowds to shelter as Mr Kathrada and Mrs Winnie Mandela took the platform. (CIT/SOW1127)

#### amu: READY'FTHR TALKS

The African National Congress (ANC) was prepared to negotiate for a peaceful settlement in South Africa and it was the responsibility of the Government to create a conducive climate. Addressing more than 8,000 people at a rally at KwaThema Stadium on the East Rand on 26 November 1989, freed ANC stalwart Mr Ahmed Kathrada said President FV de Klerk must: - Release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners; - Lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and all other banned organizations; - Lift the state of emergency; - Stop political trials; and - Stop executions and repressive laws. (SOW1127)

#### SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVISTS HOLD

'EAIJKS YVIEHI IURUIHDA

Lusaka - South African based opposition activists and exiled guerrilla leaders met on 22 November 1989 with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, one of the staunchest opponents of South Africa's racial policies. (CIT1123)

#### VENDA RECONSIDERS

Venda is reconsidering its status as an "independent state" and could join Transkei in asking to be readmitted to South Africa. It has appointed an inquiry to study constitutional alternatives which would directly affect its status as an independent homeland. (BD1123)

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#### FW, PIK HOLD TALKS IN VENDA" TODAY

The State President, Mr FW de Klerk, is to visit Venda today (24 November) for talks with President FN Ravele. (CIT/BLD1124)

#### UDF'S MOOSA FOR PARIS MEETING

Police have temporarily lifted restrictions on United Democratic Front (UDF) acting general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa to allow him to attend the Paris conference on South Africa next week (27 November). The restrictions will be reimposed on December 3. The conference is being organised by France-Libertes, headed by Danielle, French President Francois Mitterand's wife. (BD/CIT/BLD11ZZ)

#### AANTJIEIKROG, BRINELARETALSOISOINEFTO?EHE PARIS CONFERENCE

Various leading South Africans and important African National Congress (ANC) members will be attending next week's conference in Paris, France, organised by the wife of the French President, Mrs Danielle Mitterand. A list of names of people who will be attending the conference, was released on the 26 November 1989 by Mr Alex Boraine, a director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (IDASA). Included in the list are, Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, the poet Antjie Krog, Professor

Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Andre Brink, Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa, and Mr Hennie van Deventer, editor of "Die Volksblad". The African National Congress (ANC) delegation consists of 25 members and will be led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, the international secretary of the African National Congress (ANC). A large number of the ANC executive committee is also included in the delegation.  
(BLD/SOW/CIT/BD1127)

#### ECONOMC JJPDAT

#### FW CALLS FOR CO-OPERATION

There were so many points of agreement in South and southern Africa on which states could agree, that they shouldn't wait until all differences were resolved before co-operating with each other, the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, said on the night of 22 November 1989. Opening the new multi-million rand headquarters of the Development Bank of Southern Africa at Midrand, between Pretoria and Johannesburg, he said he had no doubt the bank was well placed to play an important role as an intermediary between international sources and development possibilities in southern Africa. "This will especially realise - once political circumstances allow renewed access to international capital markets and a more relaxed relationship with international institutions," he said. "We in South Africa do not have the resources ourselves to fully address this need. "Taking into account our own internal development as well, we should take care not to over-extend our capabilities. "We do, however, have the know-how in our public and private sectors to become partners with the governments and private sectors of the developed countries in a much-needed reconstruction and development programme for Southern Africa." President De Klerk said he believed the bank would play a key role in converting such a vision into reality. After the first six years of operation, it could be said the bank had come a long way in achieving the objectives of a more effective mobilisation of resources for development. (CIT1123)

#### NAMIBIA UPDATE

#### swapo TAKES A STAND FOR DEMOCRACY

(MR HAGE GEINGOB, SWAPO'S ELECTION

DIRECTOR, WAS ELECTED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE ASSEMBLY)

Windhoek -

South West African People's

Organisation (SWAPO) turned the tables on its critics by setting up a Western-drafted set of democratic principles as a constitutional framework during opening debate in the territory's Constituent Assembly. Under a surprise SWAPO proposal, the 72-member assembly on 21 November 1989 formally adopted an 8-point document of fundamental freedoms already endorsed individually by participating parties as essential to the new nation's constitution. The 1982 Constitutional Principles were unanimously adopted. (BD/CIT/BLD1122)

#### COMMISSION MEETS

Delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola arrived in Hazyview, eastern Transvaal, at the weekend, to review Namibia's election, progress made in implementing United Nations resolution 435, and the linked withdrawal of Cuban troops. (BD/BLD1127)

#### HOLD HIM TO IT

Swapo's acceptance of the principles of democracy set out in 1982 by the major Western nations as a basis for Namibia's constitution is the most hopeful development

since the start of the independence process. Swapo may yet turn away from the democratic path, but the risks of doing so have been increased. While Swapo's professed commitment to democracy will need to be borne out by its actions, it has set the scene for reconciliation to the extent that even right-wing whites are offering their support and expertise in building the new Namibia. Whatever Swapo's motivation - the need for Western financial aid perhaps, the desire to widen its popular support, or pressure from its foreign backers during the war - developments this week have shown that the more orderly the transfer of power, the greater the chance it will lead to a free society. The task of the other Namibian parties now is to hold Nujoma to his word, and make their own contributions to constitution-building in the spirit of compromise which

has emerged from such an unexpected quarter.  
(BD1123)

#### SOCIAL UPDATE

##### SIGNS

With the aroma of negotiation summers in the air, the different power groupings will have to make certain that their names do appear on the negotiation list. On consecutive Sundays Inkatha crossed the Rubicon of negotiation when, at mass meetings, it showed its muscle to those underestimating it. The homeland leaders are planning a mini summit to also secure a seat at the negotiating table. Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), started questioning the Mandela-myth. Apparently there are also a few younger lions in the MDM who wish to strengthen their positions. Evident from this is that the future will be decided not only between a white government and the African National Congress (ANC).

(BLD11Z1)

#### SPEECH BY KING GOODWILL ZWELETHINI :

19 NOVEMBER 1989

On 19 November. King Goodwill Zwelethini, the King of the Zulus, called for the second tribal Imbizo (convention) of his 20 year reign, Approximately 75 000 people gathered at the Kings Park Soccer Stadium in Durban to hear what the Zulu King had to say.

The King's speech centred around the concept of entering into negotiations to ensure black liberation and the removal of apartheid. His first plea was for people to bring an end to the violence and senseless killings in the Natal region. He called on all parties - the African National Congress (ANC)/United Democratic Front (UDF)/Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA) - to come together in order to achieve a solution to the problem.

His second plea was a call for black unity in the process of negotiating a new South Africa. He called on the Indian and Coloured communities to join with the Zulu nation in bringing about change. And he called on all blacks to unite in order to create the circumstances in which there could be reconciliation between the country's race groups. His aim is to liberate South Africa from racism in order that a multi-party democracy could be realised. Acts of violence aimed at making the country 'ungovernable', the calls for sanctions and the vilification of the Zulu nation had to come to an end. He called for all black leaders to look towards the goal of a "race-free, ethnic-free, culturally harmonious diverse South Africa". King Zwelethini appealed to the crowd to put aside party political considerations and strive for Zulu unity. He called for the promotion of reconciliation between black and black, and between black and white because if there was no reconciliation before liberation, the killing of blacks could continue, as had occurred in other countries in southern Africa.

Chief Buthelezi endorsed the King's call for a meeting between Inkatha and Mr Sisulu,

saying that they should co-operate to bring peace to South Africa.

#### SOURCES

"The South African News Review" is a weekly news summary of the major daily newspapers in the Pretoria/Johannesburg metropolitan area.

Sowetan (SOW), Citizen (CIT), Business Day (BD), Star (STR), Natal Mercury (NM), Pretoria News (PN), Beeld (BLD), Sunday Times (ST), Sunday Star (SSTR). Argus (ARG), City Press (CP), South African Press Association (SAPA), Transvaler (TVL), South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

NB.: This news summary reflects the wording and terminology of various newspapers. It does not reflect the views or choice of words of this Mission.

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Observer Mission to the United Nations.

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Novemberzj, 1989.

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people, allow me, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania (South Africa), to convey revolutionary solidarity and greetings to our Palestinian brothers and sisters.

The Palestinian people are today legitimately fighting to liberate their usurped and occupied homeland. Palestine, it will be recalled was handed over to international Zionism by British colonialism through the infamous Balfour Declaration in 1917 to the total extlusion of the Palestinian people. In South Africa British imperialism did the same, handed over colonised Azania to the white settler minority to the total exclusion of the legitimate owners of the land. Hence, it should surprise no one that such close ideological, political and military affinity and collaboration exists between Zionism and apartheid because they are two sides of the same coin minted in Britain.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently supported the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination. The PAC recognises the establishment of the Palestinian State.

The people of Azania and the PAC remain firmly convinced that we are waging a common struggle against a common enemy but in different trenches.

The PAC and the Palestine Liberation Organisation has repeatedly said that miliraty and nuclear collaboration between the Zionists and the apartheid rulers in South Africa existed and, moreover, posed a grave threat. Now the Godfather of the Zionists has revealed that such collaboration infact does exist. We call on the international community to take immediate action to end such collaboration because such dangerous weapons in the hands of murderers and racists must be a matter of grave concern to all.

The PAC is confident that the Palestinian people, sooner rather than later, will triumph.

Ahmed Gora Ebrahim

Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

SECRETARIAT EXECUTIF DE L'ORGANISATION ' EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANIZATION  
DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE AUX NATIONS UNITES a , ' OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
346 EAST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

OAU PRESS RELEASE NO. NY OAU BUR 4 39

The Following is a Press Release issued by the OAU Headquarters  
Commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with  
The Palestinian People

Once again today, 29 November, the International Community  
and all peace and justice-loving peoples, are commemorating the  
International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.  
The commemoration of the Day of Solidarity this year coincides  
with the Second Anniversary of the Popular uprising "INTIFADHA"  
in the occupied territories where unarmed men, women and children  
have risen against domination and oppression. They are engaged  
in a resolute fight against an occupation force which is heavily  
armed and persists in denying them of their most elementary  
rights. The International Day also comes in the wake of the  
proclamation of the Palestinian State, a development which has  
received wide support of the world community.

At this time when all the peoples of the world are celebra-  
ting this day of solidarity, the Organization of African Unity,  
wishes to reaffirm its unwavering support for the heroic Pales-  
tinian people struggling under the leadership of the Palestine  
Liberation Organization for the restoration of their inalienable  
rights to self-determination and independence. In this context,  
the Organization of African Unity will continue to lend its  
support to all those working relentlessly in the search for a  
just and permanent honourable solution to the Palestinian Question  
within the framework of an International Peace Conference under  
the auspices of the United Nations in accordance with its  
resolutions 242 and 338.

The Organization of African Unity appeals to the International  
community to exert pressure on Israel so as to bring it into  
negotiations with the Palestinian people under the leadership of  
the PLO. -



PERMANENT MISSION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
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33/89 8 DECEMBER 1989  
PRESS RELEASE  
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL FROM  
THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
MR R F BOTHA  
ISSUED IN PRETORIA  
7 DECEMBER 1989

7 December 1989

Dear Mr Secretary-General

As you know, the United Nations General Assembly is about to hold a Special Session on "Apartheid" in New York (12 - 14 December) and is to consider a "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa". A draft of the proposed declaration has been circulating at the United Nations and support for its adoption is currently being canvassed among regional groups and others.

Negotiating constitutional, economic and social changes in any sovereign state is the inalienable right of the citizens of that state. Attempts by other governments, however well-meaning, or international organisations to usurp this responsibility should be rejected. The Charter of the U.N. specifically prohibits the General Assembly from adopting a document such as the draft declaration on Apartheid, which is unarguably a blatant intervention in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

The United Nations General Assembly can no longer ignore the dramatic steps taken by the South African Government recently to improve the climate for negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa. It is generally acknowledged virtually throughout the world that the South African Government has introduced and announced constructive steps in removing obstacles to negotiation.

In three brief months the Government has taken a number of substantive steps which underline the sincerity of its purpose, releasing long-term security prisoners, permitting peaceful mass demonstrations, committing itself to the opening of public amenities and central business districts to all races, etc. The State President has personally practised an open-door policy and has met opposition personalities across a wide spectrum.

South Africa's positive contribution towards the independence process in Namibia is generally acknowledged. So is South Africa's positive role in supporting African efforts to bring internal conflicts in Angola and Mozambique to an end. The South African Government fully realises the urgency of getting credible negotiations off the ground and trusts that it will soon be in a position to make further announcements

that it will soon be in a position to make further announcements in order to clear the way for negotiations by recognised leaders.

The South African Government is irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system.

In the political field the aim is the creation of a free and democratic political system in which inter alia:

- All people shall be free in their country of birth and shall be equal and have equal rights regardless of colour, race, sex and creed;
- No individual or group of individuals will have any right to govern others without their consent;
- Adequate protection shall be given to the rights of individuals and minorities, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed; ;
- All people shall be equal before the Law,
- Freedom of speech, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people.

In the social field the aim is the creation of a free and equitable social system in South Africa in which inter alia:

- Freedom of religion will be guaranteed for all;
- Each individual shall be regarded as a unique creature of God entitled to equal protection of his human dignity;
- All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated. (In other words Apartheid is no longer the South African Government's policy);
- Freedom of movement, of association and of disassociation shall be guaranteed to all; '
- All people shall have the right to work, and all discrimination in the work place shall be eliminated;
- Housing for all shall be a high priority;

In the economic field the aim is to ensure equal access to opportunities within the framework of a free enterprise economic system in which inter alia:

- All people shall be free to utilise their skills to their best advantage;
- Private ownership is fostered and property rights guaranteed for all;
- As is already the case, the resources of the State will continue to be utilised to create an environment within which all individuals can develop their skills to the best of their abilities and within which the economy can prosper and the benefits of growth can be passed on to all individuals as effectively as possible;
- Special attention is given to the development of disadvantaged individuals and communities.

The adoption by the Special Session of the proposed declaration will make the pursuit of these policies within South Africa much more difficult. The people of South Africa fail to understand the international community's response to what this Government has already achieved. South Africa will have no option but to reject the declaration if adopted. The adoption of this declaration would have an extremely negative effect on the initiation of negotiations between the relevant parties in South Africa. It would, further, complicate the future conduct of such negotiations.

The declaration is an attempt to incorporate as much as possible of the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, which endorsed the position of only one of the parties likely to participate in future negotiations, the African National Congress, thus putting it in a preferential position. The ANC can qualify itself for participation by committing itself to the peaceful resolution of differences. Such a commitment will match the South African Government's commitment to a new political constitutional dispensation which will meet the political aspirations of all South Africans, to be arrived at by peaceful means.

The negotiating positions of the various parties will need to be accorded equal consideration. For the United Nations to take cognizance of but one is a recipe for failure.

The proposed declaration seeks to establish a rigid framework which would undermine the flexibility required for genuine negotiations. The declaration seeks to entrench in advance principles which are the essence of what the future negotiations will be about, preempting the prerogative of the negotiators. By suggesting a continuing role for the United Nations and also for the international community and promoting the concept of an interim government, the proposed declaration overlooks the fact that South Africa is a sovereign state and it is South Africans themselves who will have to solve current problems and chart their future.

If the international community wishes to encourage the people of South Africa to proceed on their declared course of creating a new South Africa through negotiations, the way to go about it is hardly to promote the continuation and extension of sanctions, as the draft declaration does. Sanctions harm the economies of all the countries of southern Africa. The prime motivator of the new South African Government's approach to the Southern African region is economic progress and stability. The Government believes that peaceful coexistence and maximum cooperation in all fields is essential for the benefit of all the countries of southern Africa. There is no logic or advantage in confrontation.

While on the one hand the South African government is laying the ground-work for a new order at home, on the other it is concerned about the economic progress and stability of the Southern African region and the welfare of the rest of the continent. The countries of Southern Africa indeed have opportunities for economic progress unique in Africa. Through trade, transport, investment, labour, migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara. Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than handouts. Western nations interested in the development of the region should support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa, rather than actively discouraging them such as by debating the adoption of the proposed declaration on apartheid.

What is urgently needed for the very survival of the sub-continent is a programme to improve political and economic conditions through regional cooperation. The world community should;

- Acknowledge that South Africa has an essential contribution to make if efforts to uplift countries in the region economically are to have a chance of succeeding;
- Pursue policies supportive of - rather than impeding - South African efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
- Grant and/or mobilize funds and expertise for extending and modernizing the physical infrastructures of the region;
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Given the broad spectrum of Africa-related technological know-how available in South Africa, common sense suggests that outside governments and development agencies seeking to promote the material welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa, should make maximum use of this locally available expertise. It would be wasteful and counter-productive to ignore the availability of such expertise. The South African government places its resources and know-how at the disposal of the continent.

South Africans are still divided as to the best ways in which our aspirations and ideals are to be realised, but are united in their love for their Country and in their resolve to come peacefully to an agreement on a new constitution. The South African Government is determined to apply all its energy to overcome the differences and to find a peaceful way in which a better future can be created for South Africa, all its peoples, and the generations to come.

The Special Session offers the United Nations the opportunity to acknowledge and promote the emerging new realism that is developing in southern Africa as around the world. Since the season of White domination in South Africa is over, is it too much to hope that the season for empty declarations and hollow resolutions in the General Assembly has also come to an end?

Please accept, Mr Secretary-General, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

R F BOTHA

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of South Africa

His Excellency Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary-General of the United Nations  
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SPECIAL SESSION OF THE\_GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL FROM  
THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
MR R F BOTHA  
ISSUED IN PRETORIA  
7 DECEMBER 1989



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7 December 1989

Dear Mr Secretary-General

As you know, the United Nations General Assembly is about to hold a Special Session on "Apartheid" in New York (12 - 14 December) and is to consider a "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa". A draft of the proposed declaration has been circulating at the United Nations and support for its adoption is currently being canvassed among regional groups and others.

Negotiating constitutional, economic and social changes in any sovereign state is the inalienable right of the citizens of that state. Attempts by other governments, however well-meaning, or international organisations to usurp this responsibility should be rejected. The Charter of the U.N. specifically prohibits the General Assembly from adopting a document such as the draft declaration on Apartheid, which is unarguably a blatant intervention in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

The United Nations General Assembly can no longer ignore the dramatic steps taken by the South African Government recently to improve the climate for negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa. It is generally acknowledged virtually throughout the world that the South African Government has introduced and announced constructive steps in removing obstacles to negotiation.

In three brief months the Government has taken a number of substantive steps which underline the sincerity of its purpose, releasing long-term security prisoners, permitting peaceful mass demonstrations, committing itself to the opening of public amenities and central business districts to all races, etc. The State President has personally practised an open-door policy and has met opposition personalities across a wide spectrum.

South Africa's positive contribution towards the independence process in Namibia is generally acknowledged. So is South Africa's positive role in supporting African efforts to bring internal conflicts in Angola and Mozambique to an end. The South African Government fully realises the urgency of getting credible negotiations off the ground and trusts that it will soon be in a position to make further announcements

that it will soon be in a position to make further announcements in order to clear the way for negotiations by recognised leaders.

The South African Government is irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system.

In the political field the aim is the creation of a free and democratic political system in which inter alia:

- All people shall be free in their country of birth and shall be equal and have equal rights regardless of colour, race, sex and creed;

No individual or group of individuals will have any right to govern others without their consent;

2 Adequate protection shall be given to the rights of individuals and minorities, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed; ;

- All people shall be equal before the Law,

- Freedom of speech, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people.

In the social field the aim is the creation of a free and equitable social system in South Africa in which inter alia:

- Freedom of religion will be guaranteed for all;

- Each individual shall be regarded as a unique creature of God entitled to equal protection of his human dignity;

- All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated. (In other words Apartheid is no longer the South African Government's policy);

Freedom of movement, of association and of disassociation shall be guaranteed to all; V

- All people shall have the right to work, and all discrimination in the work place shall be eliminated;

- Housing for all shall be a high priority;

In the economic field the aim is to ensure equal access to opportunities within the framework of a free enterprise economic system in which inter alia:

- All people shall be free to utilise their skills to their best advantage;
- Private ownership is fostered and property rights guaranteed for all;
- As is already the case, the resources of the State will continue to be utilised to create an environment within which all individuals can develop their skills to the best of their abilities and within which the economy can prosper and the benefits of growth can be passed on to all individuals as effectively as possible;
- Special attention is given to the development of disadvantaged individuals and communities.

The adoption by the Special Session of the proposed declaration will make the pursuit of these policies within South Africa much more difficult. The people of South Africa fail to understand the international community's response to what this Government has already achieved. South Africa will have no option but to reject the declaration if adopted. The adoption of this declaration would have an extremely negative effect on the initiation of negotiations between the relevant parties in South Africa. It would, further, complicate the future conduct of such negotiations.

The declaration is an attempt to incorporate as much as possible of the Harare Declaration of 21 August 1989, which endorsed the position of only one of the parties likely to participate in future negotiations, the African National Congress, thus putting it in a preferential position. The ANC can qualify itself for participation by committing itself to the peaceful resolution of differences. Such a commitment will match the South African Government's commitment to a new political constitutional dispensation which will meet the political aspirations of all South Africans, to be arrived at by peaceful means.

The negotiating positions of the various parties will need to be accorded equal consideration. For the United Nations to take cognizance of but one is a recipe for failure.

The proposed declaration seeks to establish a rigid framework which would undermine the flexibility required for genuine negotiations. The declaration seeks to entrench in advance principles which are the essence of what the future negotiations will be about, preempting the prerogative of the negotiators. By suggesting a continuing role for the United Nations and also for the international community and promoting the concept of an interim government, the proposed declaration overlooks the fact that South Africa is a sovereign state and it is South Africans themselves who will have to solve current problems and chart their future.

If the international community wishes to encourage the people of South Africa to proceed on their declared course of creating a new South Africa through negotiations, the way to go about it is hardly to promote the continuation and extension of sanctions, as the draft declaration does. Sanctions harm the economies of all the countries of southern Africa. The prime motivator of the new South African Government's approach to the Southern African region is economic progress and stability. The Government believes that peaceful coexistence and maximum cooperation in all fields is essential for the benefit of all the countries of southern Africa. There is no logic or advantage in confrontation.

While on the one hand the South African government is laying the ground-work for a new order at home, on the other it is concerned about the economic progress and stability of the Southern African region and the welfare of the rest of the continent. The countries of Southern Africa indeed have opportunities for economic progress unique in Africa. Through trade, transport, investment, labour, migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara. Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than handouts. Western nations interested in the development of the region should support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa, rather than actively discouraging them such as by debating the adoption of the proposed declaration on apartheid. i

What is urgently needed for the very survival of the sub-continent is a programme to improve-political and econOmic conditions through regional cooperation. The world community should;

- Acknowledge that South Africa has an essential contribution to make if efforts to uplift countries in the region economically are to have a chance of succeeding;
- Pursue policies supportive of - rather than impeding
- South African efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
- Grant and/or mobilize funds and expertise for extending and modernizing the physical infrastructures of the region;
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