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An Uimhir ag Roinn Eile

305/94 VII

SOUTH AFRICIA Political Developments Including Nelson Mandela release feb 1990.

Do cuireadh chun	Dâta	Do cuireadh chun	Dâta	Do cuireadh chun	Dâta

TRANSFERABLE

START of file

P.08/90

Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

P. a SATTERS

A/S Mr/Ms/Mrs..... Letter No. .....

☐ Draft reply please before .....
(Original plus 3 copies of draft reply should be returned to this office)

☐ Direct reply in Section

☑ Any action deemed necessary Ms P. Attorney-Law

None

☐ Your information

☐ Any obs. please before .....

If a reply is considered unnecessary please notify this office.

P.S.T. pp M Cusack

Date 26/2/90

OIFIG AN AIRE GNOTHAI EACHTRACHA
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BAILE ATHA CLIATH 2
DUBLIN 2

6 March, 1990

Drs. Reina Steenwijk
Foundation for European and
International Cooperation
P.O. Box 70426
1007 KK Amsterdam

Dear Drs. Steenwijk,

On behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gerard Collins T.D., I wish to acknowledge receipt of your recent correspondence.

I will bring your letter and booklet to the Minister's attention at the earliest opportunity.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN KIRWAN

John Kirwan
Private Secretary

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

P.O. BOX 70426
1007 KK AMSTERDAM
TEL. (0)20-769757

His Excellency Mr G. Collins
Minister for Foreign Affairs
80 St Stephen's Green
Dublin 2

February 1990

Dear Mr Collins,

In October 1989 the Foundation for European and International Cooperation organised the second conference in a series on the subject of 'Possibilities for Peaceful Change in South Africa'.

Reactions proved that it was a most successful meeting indeed and that conference participants have benefited greatly from the discussions.

The papers delivered at the conference have been brought together in a publication which I have pleasure to enclose for your information.
Its final chapter 'Conclusions' reflects something of the yeast of our discussions and the decision of the Foundation to continue this series of gatherings.

Yours sincerely,

Drs Reina R. Steenwijk
Chairman

Encl.

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POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Papers presented during a Conference of the

Foundation for European and International Cooperation

in October 1989

Published report has not been copied

SEANAD ÉIREANN
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH
(Dublin 2.)

An Rúnaí
An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha

Tá orm a chur in iúl duit go ndearna Seanad Éireann ag an gcruinniú a bhí aige Déardaoin, 22 Feabhra 1990 an Rún seo a leanas a rith:-

"That Seanad Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela."

Cléireach an tSeanaid

22 Feabhra 1990

Rec'd 26/2

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SEANAD EIREANN

STATEMENT BY MR SEAN CALLEARY, T.D., MINISTER OF STATE AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

22 FEBRUARY 1990

A CHATHOIRLEACH

THE GOVERNMENT JOINS WITH MEMBERS OF THE SEANAD IN WELCOMING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ESPECIALLY THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA.

NELSON MANDELA HAS REMAINED A POTENT SYMBOL OF FREEDOM FOR ALL THOSE STRUGGLING FOR THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID. HE HAS DEMONSTRATED BY HIS INDOMITABLE COURAGE THROUGHOUT THE YEARS THAT THE HUMAN SPIRIT CAN NEVER BE VANQUISHED. STATEMENTS HE HAS MADE SINCE HIS RELEASE HAVE ADDED TO HIS INTERNATIONAL STATURE SINCE THEY SHOW THAT HE IS WITHOUT RANCOUR AND IS ADOPTING A HIGHLY CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THE TASK OF CREATING, THROUGH DIALOGUE, A NEW UNITED, NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

IN THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW, THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND THE OTHER MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTE A MAJOR AND WELCOME CONTRIBUTION TO CREATING A CLIMATE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH A NATIONAL DIALOGUE CAN TAKE PLACE AIMED AT THE EARLY AND COMPLETE ABOLITION OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. HOWEVER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO TAKE ALL THE NECESSARY STEPS TO CREATE THE CLIMATE FOR DIALOGUE. IN PARTICULAR, IT MUST LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. IT IS OF COURSE ALSO IMPORTANT THAT ALL

SIDES RENOUNCE VIOLENCE AND FULLY COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE PATH OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION.

IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN TO DATE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT LEAVE FULLY INTACT THE STRUCTURE OF APARTHEID. SUCH PILLARS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AS THE GROUP AREAS ACT AND THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT REMAIN FULLY IN FORCE. THE MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO LIVE UNDER THIS ENTIRELY UNJUST AND INHUMAN SYSTEM, WHICH IS AN INSULT TO THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON. THE MAJORITY CONTINUES TO HAVE NO SAY IN HOW THE COUNTRY IS RUN AND TO SUFFER SYSTEMATIC DISCRIMINATION ON RACIAL GROUNDS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SPHERES. WHILE PRESIDENT DE KLERK HAS INDICATED THAT HE INTENDS TO ABOLISH APARTHEID, WHAT EXACTLY HE MEANS BY THIS IS FAR FROM CLEAR. THERE ARE DISTURBING INDICATIONS IN SOME OF HIS STATEMENTS THAT HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT STILL CLING TO THE DISCREDITED IDEA OF 'GROUP RIGHTS' WHICH HAS BEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE WHITE MINORITY HAS EXCLUDED THE BLACK MAJORITY FROM POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER.

IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, MUST BE CONSIDERED. AS SENATORS WILL BE FULLY AWARE, IT IS THE VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT, A VIEW SHARED BY THE GREAT MAJORITY OF OUR COMMUNITY PARTNERS, THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN TO DATE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WHILE WELCOME, DO NOT JUSTIFY ANY RELAXATION OF PRESSURE. AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED, THE MEASURES

TAKEN TO DATE DO NOT EVEN MEET THE TRADITIONAL DEMANDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY - INCLUDING THE TWELVE - FOR CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL DIALOGUE. FURTHERMORE, THEY IN NO WAY TOUCH THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

IT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT PRESSURE, INCLUDING ECONOMIC PRESSURE, SHOULD BE MAINTAINED ON SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL ACTION IS TAKEN TO ABOLISH THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND REPLACE IT WITH A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. IF MAJOR STEPS ARE TAKEN IN THIS DIRECTION, THEN WE COULD LOOK AGAIN AT THE TYPES OF PRESSURE WE MAINTAIN ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, TO TALK ABOUT RELAXING PRESSURE AT THIS STAGE IS TO GIVE A TOTALLY WRONG SIGNAL TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THIS POINT HAS BEEN MADE FORCEFULLY BY NELSON MANDELA AMONG OTHERS. I AM SURE WE WOULD ALL AGREE THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA DESERVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS THEY EMBARK UPON THE DIFFICULT TASK OF ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED END TO THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THEIR ARGUMENT THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE IS ONE OF THE FEW BARGAINING COUNTERS THEY HAVE WHEN DEALING WITH THE MIGHT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS, I BELIEVE, A PERSUASIVE ONE.

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA ALSO NEED POSITIVE SUPPORT TO HELP THEM OVERCOME THE GAP THAT HAS BEEN CREATED BETWEEN THEM AND THE PRIVILEGED WHITE MINORITY. THE TWELVE ARE COMMITTED TO REINFORCING THE PROGRAMME OF POSITIVE MEASURES WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTING IN FAVOUR OF THE

MAJORITY COMMUNITY. THESE POSITIVE MEASURES AIM TO PROVIDE DIRECT AND PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA TO HELP THEM OVERCOME YEARS OF DISCRIMINATION AND NEGLECT. SUCH MEASURES ARE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN THE NEW SITUATION THAT IS NOW EMERGING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

AS SENATORS WILL BE AWARE, THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ACCOMPANIED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ITALY AND FRANCE, IS DUE TO TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON BEHALF OF THE TWELVE. THEIR MISSION WILL BE TO PROMOTE NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND TO CARRY OUT AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. THEY WILL REPORT BACK TO MINISTERS OF THE TWELVE ON THE RESULTS OF THEIR MISSION. IT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S HOPE THAT THE MISSION WILL HELP TO FURTHER ADVANCE THE PROSPECTS OF DIALOGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN CONCLUSION, LET ME THANK SEANAD EIREANN FOR GIVING ME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT ~~IN~~ On THIS IMPORTANT ~~DEBATE~~ matter. I FULLY JOINT WITH SENATORS IN WELCOMING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA. I ALSO, HOWEVER, LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN WE CAN WELCOME BACK INTO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY A NEW SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IS UNITED, NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC. THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE THAT STAGE IS REACHED. SO, WHILE WELCOMING THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, THE MESSAGE THAT I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH YOU IS ONE OF VIGILANCE. LET US CERTAINLY WELCOME THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT LET US ALSO NOT BE UNDER ANY ILLUSION AS TO THE NEED TO KEEP UP PRESSURE ON THE

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UNTIL THE TOTAL DISMANTLEMENT OF THE ABHORRENT APARTHEID SYSTEM HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

67. "That Seanad Éireann notes with concern the extensive damage caused to public and private property in coastal areas of the South and South-East of the country resulting from the storms of the 16th and 17th December, 1989; and aware of the inability of the relevant local authorities to finance the works needed to protect the communities involved against further damage and coastal erosion, calls on the Government to accept responsibility for the financing of the necessary sea defence works."—*Senators Avril Doyle, Maurice Manning, Liam Naughten, Michael Howard, Charlie McDonald, Liam Cosgrave, Pól Ó Foighil, Dick Hourigan, Mary Jackman, Patrick Kennedy, Larry McMahon, Dan Neville, Joe O'Reilly, Tom Raftery, Myles Staunton.*

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68. "That Seanad Éireann calls on the Government to immediately proceed with the drainage of the Mulcair basin."—*Senators Mary Jackman, Maurice Manning, Patrick Kennedy, Richard Hourigan, Dan Neville.*

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69. "That Seanad Éireann welcomes the unification of Germany."—*Senators Donal J. Lydon, Mick Lanigan, Patrick McGowan, Olga Bennett, Eddie Bohan, Hugh Byrne, Seán Byrne, Donie Cassidy, Richard Conroy, Seán Fallon, Willie Farrell, Michael Finneran, Tom Fitzgerald, Denis Foley, Des Hanifin, Seán F. Haughey, Tras Honan, Thomas Hussey, Dan Kiely, Rory Kiely, Seán McCarthy, Tony McKenna, Paschal Mooney, Brian Mullooly, Francis O'Brien, Eamon Ó Cuív, Denis A. O'Donovan, Batt O'Keeffe, Donal Ormonde, Eoin David Ryan, G. V. Wright.*

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70. "That Seanad Éireann—

— noting with approval increasing international concern for human rights and,

— noting in particular the transformation of Eastern Europe which will inevitably result in large scale disarmament,

— noting also the actions (as detailed by Amnesty International) of Cyprus, Finland, France, Greece, Italy and Switzerland, which have resulted in the penalisation of conscientious objectors to military service in those countries,

— condemns those actions as a flagrant assault on Human Rights,

calls on the Government to take every possible opportunity to influence the Governments of those countries to immediately end these assaults."—*Senators Brendan Ryan, Shane P. N. Ross, Joe O'Toole, David Norris.*

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71. "That Seanad Éireann—

— noting with alarm the dis-information campaign being mounted by the US Authorities in an effort to discredit the free and fair elections in Nicaragua,

— calls on the US to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of another country and in particular to cease providing physical and moral support for terrorism in Nicaragua,

— recognising the enormous need for international aid to Nicaragua,

calls on the Government to do everything possible to achieve a dramatic increase in EC aid to Nicaragua."—*Senators Brendan Ryan, Shane P. N. Ross, Joe O'Toole, David Norris.*

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72. "That Seanad Éireann—

— noting the widely held view that a significant number of items of military equipment purchased for the Defence Forces in recent years, in particular the purchase of new rifles, and the purchase of surface to air missiles were either unnecessary or unsuitable for Irish conditions, and

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— recognising the increased likelihood of a reduction of military expenditure all over Europe,

calls for a five year moratorium on the purchase of new military equipment, with the resources saved being used to add to Ireland's overseas development aid expenditure."—*Senators Brendan Ryan, Shane P. N. Ross, Joe O'Toole, David Norris.*

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73. "That Seanad Éireann—

(i) noting the continuing degrading treatment of unemployed people by the Labour Exchange system,

(ii) having observed the widespread harassment of unemployed people under the 'Jobsearch' scheme,

(iii) recognising that the provisions requiring unemployed persons to be 'actively seeking employment' and 'available for work' are meaningless and humiliating in a society where no work is available,

condemns the present labour exchange system as a systematic process of humiliation and degradation by the State and calls for its replacement by a system which will affirm the dignity of the individual."—*Senators Brendan Ryan, Shane P. N. Ross, Joe O'Toole, David Norris.*

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74. "That Seanad Éireann notes the continuing crisis in the Health Service, manifested in overcrowded hospital wards, long waiting lists and understaffing."—*Senators Joe O'Reilly, Maurice Manning.*

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75. "That Seanad Éireann calls on the Government and the EC to provide adequate financial aid for those farmers who are faced with considerable cost to meet the new requirements for effluent disposal."—*Senators Richard V. Hourigan, Tom Raftery, Maurice Manning.*

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76. "That Seanad Éireann calls on the Government and the EC to adopt immediately, appropriate measures to counteract the serious decline in the income of Irish farmers, particularly, those farmers not producing milk for sale."—*Senators Richard V. Hourigan, Tom Raftery, Maurice Manning.*

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77. "That Seanad Éireann condemns the failure of the Government to provide adequate resources to enable the Civil Legal Aid Scheme to be properly developed and expanded, and noting with concern that the present crisis which has led to the virtual collapse of the service; calls on the Government to provide an additional allocation to enable all existing centres to deal with their back-log of work and to ensure for the future that the provision of a comprehensive range of services, and further calls on the Government to enact the relevant legislation to place the Civil Legal Aid Scheme on a statutory basis, based on the principle that all those in need of Civil Legal Aid, but cannot afford it, will have access to it."—*Senators Joe Costello, Pat Upton, John Ryan, Jack Harte.*

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78. "That Seanad Éireann calls on the Minister for Education to install telephones in all rural National Schools."—*Senators Mary Jackman, Maurice Manning.*

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79. "That Seanad Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela."—*Senators Mick Lanigan, Maurice Manning, Joe O'Toole, Pat Upton, Martin Cullen.*

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long term. Thank you.

Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs (Mr. Callleary): First of all may I say that from the number of Senators who were anxious to join in the debate, and indeed many more could have spoken if the time had allowed, it is quite obvious that there is general unanimity in the House in relation to the motion and in relation to the feeling of joy that swept right through -

Section U follows.

in the House in relation to the motion and in relation to the feeling of joy that swept right through the country at the release of Nelson Mandela. Senator Harte confessed that he unashamedly shed a tear. I think there are many other people who would have joined him in that particular act. Therefore it is with great pleasure for me that I can say that the Government joins with the Members of the Seanad in welcoming recent developments in South Africa and especially the release of Nelson Mandela.

Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. He has demonstrated by his indomitable courage throughout the years that the human spirit can never be vanquished. Statements he has made since his release have added to his international stature since they show that he is without rancour and is adopting a highly constructive approach to the task of creating, through dialogue, a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. This is a point that was made by very many Senators, ~~XXXXXX~~ including Senator Norris and many others who have spoken about the man.

In the Government's view, the release of Nelson Mandela and the other measures announced by the South African Government constitute a major and welcome contribution to creating a climate in South Africa in which a national dialogue can take place aimed at the early and complete abolition of the apartheid system. However, the South African Government has yet to take all the necessary steps to create the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ climate for dialogue. In particular, it must lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners. I myself have stated that at the UN, speaking on behalf of the Government, ~~the steps that President de Klerk has taken.~~

Indeed, ~~it~~ this has also been stressed ~~acknowledged~~ by very many of the Senators who have spoken here today. It is, of course, also important that all sides renounce violence - a point made very strongly by Senators O'Reilly, Lydon, Norris, O'Keeffe and many others - and fully commit themselves to the path of peaceful negotiation.

It is also particularly important to remember that the measures taken to date by the South African Government leave fully intact the structures of apartheid. Such pillars of the apartheid system as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remain fully in force. Many other points have been raised by Senators O'Reilly, Costello Brendan Ryan, Eoin Ryan, Conroy, and also particularly Senator Jackman, Senator Neville.

The majority in South Africa continues to live under this entirely unjust and inhuman system, which is an insult to the dignity of the human person. The majority continues to have no say in how the country is run and to suffer systematic discrimination on racial grounds in the political, economic and social spheres. While President De Klerk has indicated that he intends to abolish apartheid, what exactly he means by this is far from clear. There are some disturbing indications in his statements that he and his Government still cling to the discredited idea of 'Group Rights' which has been the basis on which the white minority has excluded the black majority from political and economic power.

~~Senator Ross was, I suppose,~~ Senator Ross, in a very strident condemnation of apartheid, ~~He also~~ proceeded to say ~~in saying~~ that the whole Irish population suffers from hypocrisy. Apartheid is a constitutionalised form of systematic abuse of human rights. If Senator Ross had been able to listen to the explanation of Senator Harte who gave a very detailed description of the workings of this very obnoxious system, he would probably have been less strident. He also pointed the finger at this Government and the last Government in relation to Iraq. Could I remind the Senator -

it is unfortunate he is not here - that the UN Commission on Human Rights last year Ireland not only supported but sponsored a draft resolution condemning human rights abuses in Iraq. Senator Norris spoke about the situation in Tibet and questioned, as he saw it, the Government's lack of concern in the case of Tibet. I would like to say to Senator Norris that as recently as this month the Minister for Foreign Affairs speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission for Human Rights explicitly referred to our concern at the human rights situation in Tibet. Senator Brendan Ryan raised the question of coal again and felt that Ireland and indeed the Community could introduce sanctions on coal. I have already said - and indeed many Senators have agreed - that while this is not the time to lessen pressure on South Africa, however I feel that to increase pressure would also send the wrong signal. We would like to encourage the South African Government to continue down the path of reform as suggested by very many Senators. If they fail to do so, we could certainly consider increasing pressure there.

I think Senator Ryan, Senator Norris and Senator Ross failed to realise that the Irish Government is one of the few Governments in the world that has no diplomatic relations with South Africa. ~~Not only this Government but previous Irish Governments.~~ Senator Eoin Ryan referred to the Uppington 14 and appealed to the Minister to take up their case. The Minister, with the Twelve, ~~have~~ has regularly taken up this and other cases and will continue to do so in the future. Senator O'Toole spoke about the problems of Cambodia, while agreeing with the motion and congratulating the Government on its stance. I am a little disappointed that me Senators ~~did~~ does not seem to have read my explanation to this House on Cambodia. I explained clearly that we had voted for the resolution because we supported the principles set out in it including the right - and this I think is extremely important - of the Cambodian people to decide

Community foreign Ministers this week.

in free elections who should govern them. Our Ambassador delivered an explan on of our vote to the UN in which he made clear our total rejection of the ~~Kelpot~~ Pol Pot Khmer Rouge regime.

It is against this background that the issue of international pressure on South Africa and particularly economic sanctions, must be considered. As Senators will be fully aware, it is the view of the Government, a view shared by the great majority of our Community partners, that the measures taken to date by the South African Government, while welcome, do not justify any relaxation of pressure. As I have already stated, the measures taken to date do not even meet the traditional demands of the international Community - including the Twelve - for creating the conditions for national dialogue. FUrthermore, they in no way touch the fundamentals of the apartheid system.

I find Senator Neville's remarks somewhat strange. He appears to ~~bàame~~ Minister Collins for the position taken by the UK on easing sanctions at the meeting of I would like to say to Senator Neville that Minister Collins could not force the UK to accept the path taken by the rest of the Twelve in ~~XMXXX~~ relation ~~to their objections and~~ to their aims to keep the sanctions. ~~Senator Neville appears to be blaming Minister Collins. I feel that that is something that is somewhat strange~~.

It is the Government's view that pressure, very ably put by Mr. Collins, including economic pressure, should be maintained on South Africa until action is taken to abolish the apartheid system and to replace it with a united, democratic and non-racial society. If major steps are taken in this direction, then we could look again at the types of pressure we maintain on the South African Government. However, to talk about relaxing sanctions and pressure at this stage is to give a totally wrong signal to the South African Government. This point has been made forcefully by Nelson Mandela among others. I am sure that we would all agree that the

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representatives of the majority in South Africa deserve the full support of the international Community as they embark upon the difficult task of achieving a negotiated end to the apartheid system. Their argument that international pressure is one of the few bargaining counters they have when dealing with the might of the South African Government is, I believe, a persuasive one. In heeding this argument we here are paying attention to what Nelson Mandela and the other leaders are saying - a point raised by Senator Brendan Ryan. I might add that in my travels throughout the Continent I have found that in all of the ~~countries, the~~ frontline states that is a point that is very strongly made to me.

Section V Follows

V.1

~~I have found that in all of the countries the front line states, that is a point that is very strongly made to me~~ every time I talk to representatives of government ~~of trade that they feel that the sanctions should still be maintained.~~

The representatives of the majority in South Africa also need positive support to help them overcome the gap that has been created between them and the privileged white minority. The Twelve are committed to reinforcing the programme of positive measures which they have been implementing in favour of the majority community.. These positive measures aim to provide direct and practical assistance to the majority community in South Africa to help them overcome years of discrimination and neglect. Such measures are increasingly important in the new situation that is now emerging in South Africa.

The problems raised by ~~this~~ years of neglect were covered very fully by Senator Jackman, Senator Ryan and Senator Conroy among others.

As Senators will be aware, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by represenatives of Italy and France, is due to travel to South Africa in the near future on behalf of the Twelve., Their mission will be to promote national dialogue and to carry out an assessment of the current situation. They will report back to Ministers of the Twelve on the results of their mission. It is the Government's hope that the Mission will further advance the prospects of dialogue in South Africa.

In conclusion, let me thank Seanad Eireann for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Government in this important debate. I fully join with Senators in welcoming recent developments in South Africa and in particular in welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela. I also look forward to the day when we can welcome into the international community a new South Africa which is united, non-racial and democratic. There is, however, a very long way to go before that stage is reached. While welcoming the developments that have taken place, the message that I would like to leave with you is one of vigilance. As Senator Costello has said it is important that the momentum is not lost. We certainly welcome those developments that have taken place. Let us not also be under any illusion as to the need to keep up pressure on the South African government until the total dismantlement of the abhorrent apartheid system has been achieved and, in the words of Nelson Mandela, a new united, non-racial, fully democratic South Africa, where every citizen will have equal rights and opportunity is established.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at 1.53 to 2 p.m.

Business suspended at 1.53 p.m. until 2 p.m.

Section W follows

Mr. O'Reilly: The first point I would make is that there is universal joy at the release of Nelson Mandela,and this universal joy, this delight at the release of Mandela is nowhere more heartfelt than in Dublin, the city of which Mandela is a freeman. His imprisonment could not have gone on indefinitely,nor could the totally repressive apartheid system, a system that has ostricised the black people of South Africa,constitutionally, legally, socially and economically. There are four glaring examples, there are four glaring manifestations of the apartheid system still in palce in South Africa. The first thing is the voting system where the Africans still have no vote in parliamentary elections. The second glaring manifestation of apartheid in South Africa at the moment is the Population Registration Act which divides the population into four categories, the Whites, the Coloureds,the Asians and the Africans and that is the hierarchical order of the society as well. The third glaring manifestation of apartheid in South Africa at the moment is the Land Tenure Act where 87 per cent of the land is designated for the Whites and coupled with this the Group Areas Act where black people are confined to specific areas within white areas. For example, black workers in Johannesbourg commute to Soweto in the evenings. The fourth manifestation of apartheid at the moment must be the State of Emergency and the general body of repressive and arbitrary laws that exist there.

Obviously this is an horrific society, an unpalatable and unacceptable society, a society that is alient to every value that we hold dear in this country.

The first thing that should be said as we get on to the specifics of the situation now and in the future is that it is worth pointing out in the Upper House of our parliament that President De Klerk has emerged as a significant figure among his people

and that he has emerged as something of a visionery there. It can be argued, as is argued, that he is being pushed by international pressure, by factions etc., and obviously there is a large element of truth in that and we are delighted with that aspect of it, but he did have the courage - and it has been recognised by Mandela himself - to make a move in the right direction. On the other side of the equation Nelson Mandela is becoming the unquestioned leader of his people and is emerging as the unquestioned leader of the black people of South Africa. Nelson Mandela has behind him one of the great forces in society, he has people power behind him. Recently we saw the achievements of pepple power; people power undid many of the regimes in Eastern Europe. The impact of pepple power manipulated and led by Mahatma Gandhi was extremely significant. So Mandela at the moment has a tremendous weapon in his hands. I think the challenge that has to be issued to De Klerk at the moment and the challenge that our parliament, our Government, our society must issue to De Klerk is to go on leading his people towards a non-racial society. We must exort him to so do, we must encourage him to so do. I would be less than honest if I did not say to this House that I see a certain merit in the opinion which says that we must look at the moment at ways of indicating to the white body politic in South Africa, to the white people in South Africa as led by De Klerk, that we do acknowledge what they have done in releasing Mandela and in legalising the ANC. I am very conscious of the fact that the four essential elements of apartheid remain, that South African society remains horrific. I am totally aware of that but having said that I would not go so far as the British position, that we, in an arbitrary way, lift sanctions. But I think the time has come when our Government and European countries must look to methods of at least indicating to De Klerk that we appreciate what he is doing. When we look at the position on his right wing where he is with the Conservatives, with the Neo-Fascists, with the very large public rallied among the Whites and on the right, he does need some indication of support and

approval and he ahs to be seen to some degree to have brought home the bacon to h[illegible] people. But that consideration must never be unbalanced; it must be balanced by maintaining the stick approach and by maintaining an effective method of sanctions. All I am saying is that we would need to send him some signals.

I believe that Nelson Mandela has an immense challenge facing him at the moment as well. I believe that the challenge facing Mandela and the challengge that we should be presenting to Mandela on behalf of our parliament, on behalf of our Government, on behalf of our people and within a European context, is that his responsibility, just as is De Klerk's responsibility, is to go on moving towards a non-racial society. It also is Mandela's responsibility to so do, but it is specifically Mandela's responsibility to lead the ANC away from violence. I am aware that the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement argue that the violence aspect of things must be brought bot the negotiating table and must be a plank on the negotiating table, but at the same time it is imperative that international pressure should be suggesting to the ANC and to Mandela that they renounce violence and renounce the violent method as quickly as possible. Never let us forget that the Russian Revolution, which was bred on violence and was a violent revolution, has essentially undone itself and is essentially in a state of disruption 70 years on. Never let us forget that the countries that were conceived in violence, conceived in civil strife and conceived at the barrel of a gun have had very dubious histories afterwards. It is my contention that the great challenge facing Mandela and the black leadership at the moment is to give up the gun and to rely on the tremendous force that is behind the ANC and Mandela at the moment. The tremendous force that is behind Nelson Mandela in South Africa is the 35 million blacks who are backing them,morally, politically and every other way. So with that people power I believe that Mandela can achieve change without the use of the gun.

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I believe that Mandela can achieve change without the use of the gun, and I believe it is right that our Parliament should be first and foremost in the free world in calling for the renunciation of violence in South Africa at the earliest possible date. Just as we have a responsibility to go on calling on President De Clerk, just as we have a responsibility to say to De Clerk and the white ruling bodies in South Africa it is your moral political international responsibiity to give up the racial society and to concede free elections, to concede democracy, to undo apartheid. It is also the responsibility of the black leadership in South Africa to give up the violent methods to go for true democracy. I would be very concerned, and we have glaring examples on the African continent of situations where power was received through the barrel of a gun,,that we must keep the right kind of soundings, the right kind of pressure on to ensure that true democracy is achieved in South Africa, that in fact, the result is a truly democratic society, a truly free society, a truly egalitarian society. That achievement puts us in a position where we must be very even handed in our approach. It would not be right that we go over the top in our support of violent methods or of the ANC while they hold a violent position and while they still support the use of violence. I do not believe it would be right if we went over the top in that direction. It would not be right if we were to applaud the most minuscule development from De Clerk. What I am saying to the House - and I passionately believe this - is that we must have an even handed balanced approach, that we must today unanimously and with great enthusiasm and with great vigour welcome the release of Mandela, and we do with great pride in Dublin where he is a freeman, and we look forward to his visit to this city. But as we do that today, we also must unequivically say to De Clerk

that we welcome his development and we must look for methods of recognising what he has done and we must also clearly say to Mandela and to the black people, we believe in non-violence, we believe in the achievement of freedom in a non-violent method through people power. On that basis I rest the case.

Mr. Ryan: I too would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. As a Dublin man and Irishman but also as a member of Dublin City Council I was very happy that Nelson Mandela was freed as we had made him a freeman of Dublin City. I am happy to say that the Lord Mayor has issued him an invitation to visit Dublin whenever he can. I also welcome the end of the banning of the ANC. I believe that Mr. De Clerk deserves our congratulations for making these decisions and it would be foolish of us not to see the political problems he and his party will now face both from extreme right wing groups and also from the ANC themselves who will be a very active and vocal political party within SouthAfrica. There has been a very heated debate going on over the last week regarding the stand which the European Community should take in response to these measures. I am happy that the majority of our partners have agreed to keep the economic sanctions againstSSouth Africa and I am disappointed that Great Britain and Portugal have decided to take an opposing view. The reasons that sanctions were made in the first place were not to release Nelson Mandela or to lift a ban on the ANC. The reasons that sanctions were there was because of apartheid. This is the bottom line and we one we cannot let other people forget, both in South Africa and in the rest of the world. Certainly I welcome the gestures from Mr. De Clerk, but I have to ask the starting point from which he came. We have in South Africa a system of apartheid known nowhere else in the world. I do not have to go into the details

of white only neighbourhoods and the other methods used to divide the community there. The Government are using banning and banishment order to restrict and silence opponents without having to justify their actions before the courts. Banned people may not communicate with one another in any way, be quoted in public or private, attend any political or social gathering that is a meeting of more than two people from outside the area in which they are restricted, enter any educational insiitution, factory without special permission. Tens of thousands of people have been arrested and detained without trial over the years. Many have been tortured and many have died in custody. These atrocities and many more are carried out almost exclusively against the black population. Apartheid reaches into every corner of South African society. We have discrimination against the black population in education, jobs, housing in every walk of life. It is for these reasons I believe that the English and Portugese have missed the whole point of the sanctions, as the kernal of the proble m is apartheid. I am glad that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Collins, will be visiting South Africa on behalf of the Community on a fact finding mission and I believe that we should wait until he returns from that to make decision on what our reaction will be to the De Clerk measures. When he is there I hope that he will communicate to the Government and people of South Africa that the vast majority of people in Europe are impressed by his actions and will try and encourage Mr. De Clerk to go even further. I hope that he will emphasise to the South Africans that it is apartheid which is the kernal of the problem and when that is lifted South Africa will be welcomed back into the international community. I would like to believe that this will happen and perhaps with the changes in Eastern Europe happening so fast, they

will. In case it does not happen I would like the Minister to take up certain cases of people who are in jail for political reasons and those who have been tried on convicted on the notorious basis of common purpose. If I could take the case of the Uppington Fourteen. On Friday, 26 May,1989,14 South Africans were sentenced to hang at the end of a trial which lasted three years, one of the largest groups of people sentenced to death at any one time. I am happy now that the South African Government have stopped hanging people but at the same time they are still imprisoned. On the day after that they were taken to Pretoria Central Prison and they are there on death row. They joined over 60 other political activists already under sentence of death. Since the nationwide state of emergency was declared in 1986 the apartheid regime has executed 23 political activists for their illegal involvement in offences relating to opposition to apartheid. The 14 sentenced to hang rppresent a strong section of the community of the Uppington Township of Howbello, reportedly the most deprived African township in South Africa. It is situated in the remote north-west of the country. Among the 14 is a domestic servant in her late fifties, Evelyna De Brun, mother of ten children the youngest of whom is 12 years. Evelyna is illéterate and, according to her lawyer, she is busy dying on death row. She has lost several stone and cannot take exercise because she is crippled with arthritis. Because of this her lawyer applied for bail pending the appeal court hearing this year, in an attempt to get her out of jail and save her life. The judge refused on the basis that she may flee the country. This despite her crippling arthritis, her illiteracy, her age and the fact that she has ten children, and so I would appeal to the Minister to take her case up. The other

members of the Uppington Fourteen include a boxer, a schoolteacher, a male nurse working in a Namibian capital, a labourer and a former treasurer of the Town Council convicted of killing a policeman on the notorious basis of common purpose. The Fourteen from the north-western town of Uppington were among a total of 26 who stood trial. Of the 26, 25 were found guilty of murder, with the 26th being found guilty of attempted murder. Those not receiving the death penalty were given sentences ranging from six to eight years imprisonment on community service orders. The trial arose from the death of a policeman in 1985 at the height of the political unrest that swept South Africa. The events occurred at the Uppington Township of after security forces had broken up a meeting with teargas. The mass meeting was held to discuss community greviences including rent increases. Tear gas has never been fired in Povello before and the meeting panicked and scattered believeing that the lives

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tear gas has never been fired in before and the meeting panicked and scattered believing that the live ammunition was being fired. Part of the crowd then gathered outside the home of a black municipal policeman only days before a pregnant woman had been shot by municipal policemen in the township. The policeman opened fire on the crowd severely wounding a child. He then ran from the house with his gun, enraged the crowd then killed him. Almost all of those sentenced to death were convicted on the basis of common purpose. The judge deemed that by throwing stones at the house of a municipal policeman and chanting outside his house they would be considered to share in the common purpose with those directly responsible for the death. This legal ruling has been applied to the trial of the Sharpville Six and other subsequent cases. It has been discredited by the international league of communities as one of the many abuses of the legal system operating in South Africa, a system where the courts are used as part of the machinery for imposing apartheid rule. At the beginning of July 1989 application for leave to appeal for the 26 against a conviction and by the 14 against their death sentence was turned down by the trial court judge. The trial was then partitioned and the chief justice leave to appeal. On September 8, 1989 the chief justice granted leave to appeal against conviction for 23 of the 25 trialists and for all to appeal against sentencing. Although granted leave to appeal the 14 remain on death row in Pretoria central prison. Although the South African Government has put a stop to the death sentence I believe that the trial of and the other people involved in this case deserve to be brought up by the Minister with the South African authorities. I would hope that those who

have been convicted ~~and~~ under this common purpose would be released.

I bring these cases up just to highlight the whole situation of people who are imprisoned in South Africa. I am happy with our stand on the sanctions and I believe our stand is an honourable one. I ask the Minister if he will be able to emphasise to the South African authorities these cases and when he is there I hope that he will show to the South African authorities and the South African people that it is only when we get rid of apartheid that we can really bring them back into the international community. I believe that there is great problems there both politically for Mr. De Klerk and for everybody and I would hope that he would urge Mr. Mandela to drop his support for violence. I must say I was very disappointed that he recently accepted that there were acceptable targets in South Africa. I believe that the Minister has a very difficult job on his hands and I hope that he willbbe able to bring about a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa. It is a great country. It is enormously rich and/blacks and whites I believe can live there peacefully and well together over the years.

Mr. Ross: I am sharing my time with Senator Ryan with the agreement of the House. I wish to share the unanimity which is obviously present in this House today and the welcome given to the release of Nelson Mandela. Indeed I note that many members of this House including ~~the~~ me sign the welcome to Nelson Mandela which was advertised in all the national newspapers recently following his release. I share the points of view which have been expressed by Senator Ryan and Senator O'Reilly today already. I think it is probably wrong that we should at tis stage in the proceedings be harping too much on the past but we should be worried about what we can do in this

country with our foreign policy to dismantle apartheid in the future. We all know about the horrors and evils of apartheid as it exists at the moment and as it has been practised in ther past. I would just like to concentrate in the second halffof my very short speech on what the future is in the foreign affairs policy of Ireland vis-a-vis South Africa. I find it disingenuous and hypocritical for members of the Governing party in this country and others to continually condemn some of the infringement of human rights in South Africa when we are guilty of infringements of human rights in our own door step. Hanging has for a long time been practised as an evil part of the regime in South Africa and this Government has been noticeably reluctant to remove hanging from the Statute Book here. It has taken the Coalition with the Progressive Democrats in this country to make them abolish hanging. I have been trying to get hanging off the Statute Book in this country for seven or eight years. It has made me fairly sick to see the refusals of the Government in this country to take it off the Statute Book while at the same time anytime anybody is hanged in South Africa Ministers and Members of the Government are happy to stand up here and condemn it as a horrific violation of human rights. We cannot have it both ways and we should not have it both ways. I stand second to none in condemnation of apartheid. But I wonder has the Government here and the last Government found apartheid as too easy a whipping boy, too easy a target because apartheid stands condemned as the most iniquitous system that exists in the international world. There is a consensus about apartheid which is almost impossible to rival anywhere in the world. A lot of that is to do with the tremendous work in this area which was done by the anti apartheid movement but I accuse

the Government of taking such a moral high minded attitude to apartheid not because it has any ideological deep rooted objections but because it sees an international censensus and it finds that particular condemnation convenient and comfortable and they know it is safe. I find it more consistent if the high moral codes which the Irish Government has adpted towards sanctions in the last few days were taken towards other countries who are perpetrating regimes which certainly rival the South African regime and indeed are worse in what they do.

Has the Minister read the report of Amnesty International and what is happening in Iraq? If he has, why are we still trading with Iraq? Because Amnesty International very recently condemned out of hand the regime in Iraq not only because of its persecution and its genocide of its own people but also it produced instances as horrific as those produced by Senator Ryan just now about minors being condemned to death, about torture and yet in this country we are happy to continue trading with Iraq without a word being said. Indeed I cannot remember and I am open to correction any protest being issued by the Government here to the regime in Iraq about their internal policies. It seems to me totally inconsistent that we can on the one hand rightfully condemn South Africa but ontthe other hand we pick and choose the other regimes in the world whom we condemn simply on the basis of one thing and the reason why Iran and Iraq who run much worse regimes in South Africa are not condemned so wholeheartedly. The Irish Government is not leading a charge in the European Community to condemn them or introduce sanctions against them is one reason. It is because we trade heavily with Iraq

and Iran and while we protest the appalling evils of apartheid and so appalling are they that we introduce sanctions against them we are silent on other regimes and our silence is in direct proportion to the amount of trade that we do with those regimes.

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violence on other regimes and our silence is in direct proportion to the amount of trade that we do with those regimes. It seems to me the answer unfortunately is quite simply money. Does everybody know that they are honest? While we talk about sanctions against South Africa they are pretty well meaningless in terms of this country. While we lead the European Community in the last six months in introducing sanctions against South Africa and indeed, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs said on this week, while they will continue because the regime is evil we hear nothing. We are not leading the European Community in any particular initiative in condemning other regimes which are worse. While what we are doing may be right, while we must push and we should push and we will push, towards the end of apartheid with that single objective in mind, we are being totally and utterly dishonest if we do this from the comfort and security of it costing us nothing and from the safety of being amonst one of 11 and the international community. We should clean up our own doorstep and backyard first and then our condemnations would be more convincing.

Mr. B. Ryan: Of course, this is a moment for rejoice. It is also a moment that deserves both some reflection on the past and a fairly hard headed look towards the future. It needs to be said first of all that at least in Africa racism seems to be a particularly white phenomenon. One of the extraordinary things about Africa is the extraordinary non-racism and non-vindictiveness of many of those who have taken power in the various free countries that have been liberated in the last 25 years. The extraordinary non-vindictiveness of those who are now free to speak for the first time in almost 30 years in South Africa. Their willingness to make it clear that they support a non-racial society and

their willingness indeed to come into conflict with other black organisations in South Africa to insist on the fact that they must have a non-racial South Africa.

I think that many of those who have lead the struggle against apartheid in South Africa are models to most white people about what it means to be non-racist in your language, values and in your struggle for liberation. There are the occasional sights of brave white people and they welcome the unambiguous welcome they receive from those amongst the black community who are struggling for liberation. The white community - all of us - have inherited the whole history of the extraordinary ambivalence of western European "civilisation" towards people whose skin colours happen to be different from our own.

In terms of talking about Africa we need to be very clear, to use clear unambiguous language which does not contain within it even a hint of racism. That is why I MM and a number of my constituents were disturbed by the reported remarks of Senator Martin Cullen in this House last week. I want to read what he said on to the record and invite Senator Cullen to make it clear that the ambivalence and ambiguity is not as serious as many people suggested it to me. Last week on 14 February - I am quoting from column 1947 of the report - Senator Cullen said:

> I got to know the Africans as they are in reality as opposed to our oppressions of them in the hallowed halls of parliament. Indeed there can be a great difference between impressions and reality.

Senator Cullen owes it to Africa and to us to clarify that statement and to clarify that phrase. It is the sort of language that is often used by people to signal certain views. I do not believe Senator Cullen meant what many people interpreted

of that. He owes the House a clear and umbiguous explanation.

I also want to say that while it is now extremely fashionable to ~~xxx~~ oppose apartheid, those of us - I would have been a minor participant - will remember the period of 20 years ago when every meeting of the anti-apartheid movement would have at least two special branch men outside the door because it was seen as being dangerously subversive and dangerously threatening to our national interests and we had a perpetual presence of those who were supposed to protect the security of the State. They have not get got over that phenomenon because last Sunday in Cork when I had the privilege to address a ~~xxx~~ small gathering of 100 people to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release, there they were on Sunday afternoon at 3.30 p.m. when other people could find better things to do, two of them sitting in their car observing a celebration of the release of Nelson Mandela. ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ Can I ask the Minister to ensure that the resources of the State are better used than keeping two policemen occupied watching a celebration of the release of Nelson Mandela. They were not protecting us, they were there to make a particular view known. I will say no more because I was going to say too much.

On the issue of sanctions it needs to be said that there is very little to exceed the crass hypocrisy of western power and to a certain extend including ourselves on this issue of sanctions. Let us remember for instance that we slapped sanctions on Poland on the occasion of the suppression of solidarity, a position that I agreed with. Nobody whinged or muttered then about the sufferings of the vast majority of the citizens of Poland. We took off those sanctions reluctantly and slowly long after Leik ~~xxxxxx~~ Welesa first asked the western powers to end the sanctions against Poland, they continued them on. When the

people who were leading the struggle for freedom in Poland asked for the release of sanctions the western powers declined to respond. Why? Because our political interests sustained it. Let us remember that there are massive bans still on the sale of all sorts of areas of of high technology to the Soviet Union.

There are so many other things. There is the extraordinary ambivalence about violence which gives lectures to a man who has spent 27 years of his life in prison because he does not come out and say I renounce violence and does not say a word to the biggest power in the world which has consistently unleashed terrorism against a free democratic state of Nicaragua over the past eight years. What extraordinary hypocrisy and a lot of western hypocrisy is summed up in our attitudes to South Africa and a lot of it is bluff and our bluff is being called with the blossoming of freedom in eastern Europe and in southern Africa. What should we do for the future of South Africa?

I have a very simple view on this. We should listen to those who have suffered. We should listen to those who have carried on the struggle with damn little support from most of the western world until it became extremely fashionable, until western public opinion dragged its governments kicking and struggling into opposition to South Africa. It is easy to forget what was said and done. Up to 20 years ago most of the western powers were happily arming those forces who have repressed the vast majority of South Africans. It was western public opinion which forced governments to change from the position, to say the least of it, ambiguity and ambivalence. It was western public opinion which forced them to tighten up further and it is western public opinion that will sustain the pressure. As far as I am concerned I am very proud to say that I take my lead from the African National

Congress. I will support in this country and I will support opposition by this country which is the position that those who have struggled and suffered the brunt of the repression of apartheid and free protest. Those people have asked us for certain things and we should not give them lectures. We should do simply what they ask. We should listen to them and respect them and we should carry out their wishes. If we want to do something, not only should we sustain sanctions but there is something very simple we could do. We could ban the import of South African coal. It is quite a disgraceful operation to suggest that when half the world could supply us with coal, when a recently liberated Poland could desperately do with the trade, that we buy coal from South Africa. This is a specific demand of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. I invite the Minister through you, a Leas-Chathaoirleach, to tell us that he personally will encourage Irish people at consumer level at the beginning to ask their coal suppliers not to supply them with South African coal. That is what the African National Congress has asked us to do, not just to retain the sanctions but to increase the sanction. We should not be grateful to a minority which has finally recognised that it cannot hang on to power. We should be grateful to a majority which is prepared to be generous, magnamimous and non-racist in its plans for the future of South Africa. That majority is represented by the African National Congress.

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which is prepared to be generous, to be magnanimous and to be non racist in its plans for the future. That majority is represented by the African National Congress.

Miss Keogh: I would like to suggest that it is Senator Ryan who is reading something into my colleague, Senator Cullen's words. I read his statement in full this morning and it would appear to me quite unambiguous that he has lived in Africa and knows at first hand the difficulties encountered by the peoples on that Continent. I do not think we can read any more or any less into one aspect of his statement.

I, too, would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela and it is a great tribute to this House that we would allow such a generous amount of time and that the Minister would allow such a generous amount of time to speak on the subject of his release and of the developments in South Africa. I would like to join with the other comments and statements praising the courage of Nelson Mandela in withstanding the incarceration of the past 27 years. He has shown how a person of great depth of character can survive such an ordeal. What struck me on his release was his dignity and modesty. There was no triumphantism about him. Moreover, he showed little of the signs of stress or trauma that one would expect from one who spent such a long period in jail. That to a great extent, explains why he has been such a source of inspiration to South Africans, both black and white, and to all who despise the apartheid system. Prior,to, and on his release, he showed dignity and graciousness in his dealings with President de Klerk. We have heard that they share a mutual trust. It does appear that he is a natural leader. He is the right man in the right place at the right time and the calming influence he has exerted on a potentially explosive situation, is a tribute to his undoubted

charisma. All of this he needs, because so much rests on his shoulders. To a great extent he has been the focus and the cry to free Nelson Mandela was synonymous with breaking down the entire system of apartheid and all its consequent and attendant evils. We should remember that Nelson Mandela himself has said that no individual leader can take on the enormous task of creating unity and remaking South Africa on his own and indeed that any decisions will be made by the ANC leadership. This wisdom is a measure of the man.

We must also praise the courage of President de Klerk in releasing Nelson Mandela. He must be shown generosity, praise and encouragement. The ANC have said that they will send a delegation to meet with him to discuss any issues of structuring the start of negotiations and try to negotiate a lingering suspension of hostilities. We must at this juncture remove any support that one might have towards any campaign of violence on that in South Africa. We must encourage them to proceed in that direction.

Our generosity of support should not include the dimmunition of sanctions. I very much support the stand of the EC Foreign Ministers, less two, and in particular our own Government on this whole issue. The release of Nelson mandela has not changed anything yet, it is merely a symbol. The state of emergency still exists, detention without trial, censorship, the homelands policy and various restrictive acts are still in being and there are many more political prisoners still there. I fully agree with An Taoiseach's remarks on the unilateral stance taken by the UK Government. It is not new for the UK Government to take a dissenting view. That decision was taken even before the latest meeting of the EC Foreign Ministers. It would be wrong to credit Mrs. Thatcher with a spirit of generosity towards the regime in South Africa. This is not a generous gesture to show solidarity with Nelson Mandela

or to encourage the white South Africans to support the undoubted courage of President de Klerk. It is pure economic greed and unfortunately it is once again the British Government showing interest rather than principle. Britain is the principal exporter to South Africa. South Africa is Britain's twelveth largest customer in export terms and there are many thousands of jobs - around 70,000 jobs - directly linked with trade with South Afgica in the UK. Let us be under no illusions that what we have seen is a reduction or withdrawing of sanctions as a result of this great man's release. We should consider reduction of sanctions only as a direct result of the dismantling of the apartheid system in South Africa. I can only conclude by saying that if Mrs. Thatcher showed the same generosity towards the Irish situation as she is now showing towards the Boars of South Africa, perhaps we would be in a better situation in this island of ours today.

Debate adjourned.

Acting Chairman (Mr. R. Kiely): I have notice from Senator Costellos regarding a motion which he wishes to move under Standing Order No. 29. I now call Senator Costello to give notice.

Mr. Costello: I wish to move a motion for the Adjournment of the Seanad on a specific and important matter of public interest requiring urgent consideration, the matter being that the Minister for Education supply suitable accommodation and treatment facilities for young girls coming before the courts who are in need of same and for which no such facilities exist at present. A Leas-Chathaoirligh I would like you to allow that particular motion, which is an important matter which is of immediate public interest, to be debated today in the House because as you know the matter is once again before the courts and there is urgent need for facilities to be provided which have been lack for many decades.

Acting Chairman: I have given careful consideration to the debate by Senator Costello and I do not consider it to be a matter contemplated by Standing Order No. 29. I regret therefore I have to rule it out of order.

Mr. Costello: What is the purpose of Standing Order 29 if a matter of a pressing nature -

Acting Chairman: The Senator can speak to the Cathaoirleach in his office and he will explain to you.

Mr. Costello: I will be raising the matter again at the earliest moment in this House.

Acting Chairman: We cannot have further debate on the matter now Senator, so I will ask you to continue on the motion.

DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA - MOTION (RESUMED).

Debate resumed on the following motion:

Mr. Costello: I too, want to express my joy and pleasure at the release of Nelson Mandela. It is a momentous event and it is a milestone in the struggle against apartheid. After 27 years, as the longest serving political prisoner in the world, Nelson Mandela is free. He was a courageous man. He is a courageous man, a principle man, but it is not so much for the man as a person that we are celebrating his release here today and debating this motion on South Africa, it is for what he stood. It is that he was a symbol - a symbol of his people - of resistance against the apartheid movement or against the apartheid State in South Africa. It is in that context that we can see now South Africa entering into the second phase. Now that we have the freedom of the man, the symbol of that resistance, the second phase and the final phase is the freedom of a people for whom he was the symbol.

At this time, when we are celbrating his release, I think we must remember what it is that has contributed so largely to his release. It is of course primarily the tremendous struggle that has gone on in South Africa itself by the black oppressed people there, for their rights as human beings to equality with their white colleagues, but secondly and in very strong line of support has been the international community. The international community first in the form of the United Nations which advocated the sanctions against South Africa. The world community then specifically the EC which collectively decided to impose sanctions on South Africa and which of course Ireland was a specific part of and home here in Ireland

itself the ordinary men and women which really were the background to world opinion being influenced to bring about a situation where white South Africa was considered a leper among the world community of nations. I would like to mention particularly the enormous impact and role of the anti-apartheid movement. Through thick and thin, over many long years, as Senator Ryan mentioned, in the early days -

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of the anti-apartheid movement through thick and thin over many long years. As Senator Ryan mentioned in the early days it was not a popular activity or a popular cause to be engaged in with plenty of attention from the special branch in relation to meetings and so on. I would like to mention also the role that was played by courageous young trade unionists, the Dunnes Stores strikers, who took to heart the message that was passed at a conference at their trade union, the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union, and they stood up for the principles and the terms of that resolution. They spent 18 months on the picket line in 1985 and 1986; on the picket line standing in solidarity with the black people of South Africa. At this point in time we must recognise that enormous contribution from a number of very young people who took that principle cause to heart. We must also remember - again in the context of the Dunnes Stores strikers, it arose directly out of that - that the then Minister for Labour, Ruairi Quinn, decided to extend sanctions in relation to the importation of fruit from South Africa. That was a milestone in the Irish Government taking a stand and being seen to take a stand against the apartheid system in South Africa. I would like also to record the role of the trade union movement in general which has over decades consistently opposed the apartheid system in South Africa. Finally, the Churches which have, unanimously, taken a stand against that unjust and iniquitous system. All of those have collectively contributed to the situation we have at present where we are entering on a new dawn of freedom in South Africa. It is in that context that we must be very careful that the momentum is not lost. That, to my mind, is the crux of the situation at present. What has happened is a ray, a beacon of freedom, but what has yet to happen is the freedom of the people. It is absolutely essential that sanctions be tied up totally

with dismantling of apartheid. Sanctions remain and should remain until that iniquitous system of apartheid is ~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~ dismantled. Nelson Mandela is a free man of this city. It has been an indication of the level of public opinion that we should have been the first capital city in the world to make him a free man and indeed the only and that the Lord Mayor of this city has invited him to come and address us and to receive the free man scroll of the city and to sign the book in the Mansion House. We also, in this House, should invite Nelson Mandela to come and address us here and likewise the same should take place in the second House of the Oireachtas. I think that would be a fine way of honouring the stature and authority of a man who has done so much and suffered so much for his people. When Nelson Mandela is here - and I have every belief that he will be here certainly before this year is out - that we should also point out to him that there are Irish prisoners languishing in prisons across the water and that they too are innocent people who are im prison for their beliefs. We should invite him to cross the water to England and visit the Birmingham Six in jail. That would be a very appropriate thing to ask of him and for him to use his influence to ensure that innocent Irish men who ~~XXX~~ have served 16 years in prison that they be released as there is a total consensus of opinion that they are innocent men. I have already written to Nelsdn Mandela in Soweto asking him on the occasion when he does visit this country that he would do that; that he would visit Britain, visit the men in prison and raise his voice on their behalf for their release. In South Africa there are a number of issues immediately facing the ANC and Nelson Mandela who is a joint leader thereof. I would consider the first matter to be one of internal unity within the black community. While Nelson Mandela and the ANC have achieved a tremendous stature in South Africa as leaders of the bàack community there are other aspects and other areas where there

is a degree of dissention. This has been particularly true because it has been brought about the South African policy of creating homelands for certain sections of the black population, a certain degree of strife has been occurring and we have seen violence in the townships, certain internal violence, black against black and indeed the level of deaths and maimings that have taken place has been quite considerable. There is need for internal unity of all sections of the black community to be established as a first start before negotiations take place as I am sure they will with President de Klerk. In that I would like to mention particularly Chief who is one of the major figures, the leader of and the Pan-African Congress., It is in those particular areas of XXXXXXX leadership that the ANC would immediately seek reconciliation so that the black movement would be an entirely united one in the final negotiations for freedom.

In relation to sanctions these are the critical matters. I would like to applaud the position that has been taken by the Irish Government and particularly in its role as President of the EC and indeed by the other states in the EC with the exception of Britain in nrelation to this matter. What is essential is that the dismantling of apartheid be tied to sanctions. Progress that is made in that area is when we will or should consider the relaxation of sanctions and on no other condition. We must remember that at present the black people have a number of pieces of legisaltion specifically directed to discriminate against them. The Land Act restricts their ownership of land to 15 per cent of the area; the Group Area Act likewise ensures that black people are confined to specific areas and that white people have the best housing and the vast majority of the land and the quality housing. The Population Registration Act registers the population into separate categories based specifically on racial lines, white, coloured, Asians and Africans. We have

seen and we see in our newspapers today a move towards relaxation of the separate amenities Act which provided for segregation on the grounds of colour in public places such as swimming pools, hospitals and so on. We saw a very welcome photograph in today's Irish Times of a black man and a white man in a public place playing a game of chess. It is important that until such iniquitous legislation is removed that sanctions be maintained

Section L Follows

it is until such inequities legislation is removed that sanctions be maintained; until a vote is given to black and white on an equal basis that sanctions be maintained. I would suggest that we should , as Senator Ryan referred to, think of strengthening the sanctions in one or two specific areas. I would refer specifically to the area of coal, where we have coal imports in the order of £45 million coming into this country annually from South Africa and at the same time, two weeks ago in this House, the Labour Party,,in Private Members Time, debated a proposal for the closure of the Arigna colliers before any theological survey had been done to find out what the resources were. It is an absolute scandal on the one hand to think of closing down a coal mine in Ireland and at the same time continuing with the importation of coal from abroad. Coal is an area which we should be thinking less and less of using as a fuel. It would be very much in our interests to continue the importation of bitumenous coal from South Africa.

One final point and that is in relation to the present relaxation of sanctions by the British government. I abhor the decision by the British government to stop out of line with the collective decision of the European Community on this matter.and their decision to lift the ban on investment in South Africa. I have no doubt that that is directly related to their own material interests in terms of trade, the degree to which the trade and the extent to which the trade with South Africa. Secondly, I believe it is directly related to the factthat a considerable number of South African white people have British passports. Approximately 1.5 million people have British passports. We saw what happened in relation to Hong Kong, the problem that existed there

when the Hong Kong people wished to get visas. The British government is going to be concerned that there is going to be a deluge of South African citizens coming into Britain. I think that both the trading interest of Britain and its lack of concern for those who have British citizenship, that that should not be allowed stand against the collective agreement of the EC countries to retain sanctions and that sanctions should be retained in all their fullness.

Professor Conroy: The actual motion which we have in front of us is that Seanad Eireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela and this is an all-party motion.

It is particularly appropriate at the moment that the Irish Government's Foreign Minister will be leading a delegation to South Africa, a delegation of the EC. It is particularly important that we should happen to hold such a position in the European Community at this moment.because this country, which has never, for many years as far as I know, has now diplomatic relations with South Africa. We took that decision many years ago that this country which does not have a colonial past as have all the other European Community nations and that this country which has experienced in its own Island the effects of discrimination of one group against another. It is particular appropriate that we should be going on a fact finding mission, leading a fact finding European Community mission to South Africa and also playing a role in bringing about what Pope John, on his visit here,,described as peace with justice. That is what we want to see in South Africa. I do not think we need to have any apologies to make in this House about our views on apartheid. We have condemned it and rightly condemned it for the vicious and abominable system that it is, that someone should be discriminated against on any grounds, whether

these grounds be race, religion, colour or belief. Speakers from either side have rightly condemend it. We must go a bit further than that, rather than just simply condemning apartheid, rather than just simply welcoming the release of this very heroic man, Nelson Mandela, rather than just rambling on about sanctions, I obviously agree with the Government's policy on this, but sanctions are very much a means to an end and the end is not just simply the abolition of apartheid in itself. That should really be a beginning. It is an abomination which should not exist and the sooner it is got rid of the better. At the end of the day we should be thinking of all the people in South Africa. We should be taking a very responsible attitude towards blacks in South Africa who are indeed by far the major group. We should not forget the other groups. If there is to be peace and prosperity and justice for all races including not least the blacks who have been so appallingly discriminated against, it is necessary that we think of the views and that we have consideration, however difficult it may be, for the attitudes, prejudices and other feelings of the other groups in South Africa. We in Ireland should and are taking the lead now in trying to bring about a peaceful solutionnto a very dreadful situation. We want a peaceful solution there. We do not want it to end up in some form of blood bath. We do not want it to end up in economic chaos in South Africa. We do not want it to end up in discrimination against some other groups We saw the terrible treatment of the Indian community in East Africa. I would not like to see that happening to the two million Indian community in South Africa. I hope it will not.

I think in the stature of someone like Nelson Mandela we have hope that one is going to see a peaceful development in South Africa. I can only echo Mr. Mandela's words about President de Klerk when he referred to President de Klerk

as a man of principle with whom he felt he could do business.

Apartheid, we should also remember is peculiarly Anglo-Saxon and colonial attitude, not just simply colonial at all, you did not get apartheid in the French colonies, you did not get apartheid in the Spanish colonies, it is something peculiarly British, German, and Dutch. Let us, when we are condemning it make sure that we do not in this country at any time show discrimination towards those who may happen to be of a different colour or view. We are anxious to see democracy in South Africa. We really do mean democracy. It would be a sad situation if the failure of democracy which has occurred in so much of Africa were to be repeated in South Africa. We want to see a solution out there in which there will be genuine democracy and genuine development for all the people in South Africa.

Senator Costello has rightly referred to Chief Bathelezi and made the point that there are other groups in South Africa, other very major groups. Chief Bathelezi, his group,, , comprised more people than the entire white group. Let us not oversimplify here and Mr. Mandela himself must not oversimplify. Let us not forget either that there are other groups in South Africa, one group has not been mentioned as far as I know at all this morning and that is the Bushmen who were the actual original inhabitants going back thousands of years in South Africa. The blacks, the Whites, and the Indians are relatively recent comers to South Africa, strange though it may seem. The Bushmen have had

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the blacks the whites the Indians are relatively recent newcomers to South Africa strange though it may seem. The bush men have had particularly appalling time up until 1931 there was still a bounty on the head of a bush man or woman or child . If you shot one you got a bounty. they are foxes or wild animals and pests. Let us remember that there are many groups in South Africa. We would like to see as Irish people discrimination against none of them. The White community divided into afrikaaners and the English speaking community. The English speaking community are now making a great show of liberalism. I find it a little difficult to take that considering that apartheid basically began in the English system and that many of today's would be liberals including I think some leaders of that great party in the past owe their inheritance to such ventures as the slave trade and so on. I must say I found it very difficult to have too much sympathy for the present liberalism of communities there. Nonetheless they are a community and they have now at long last embraced some degree of liberalism. I have great sympathy for the Afrikaaners. Their behaviour over recent years has been appalling and brutal, it has been inexcusable. They have been discriminated pretty severely too. We now perhaps forget that the word "concentration camp" originated in South Africa. It was the Afrikaaner women and children who were herded into these concentration camps in the time of parents or grandparents - it is that close - of the present African population in South African. There they died,

not in tens, not in hundereds, not in thousands but in tens of thousands. Let us not forget that they have this in their background in their psyche. However t unforgiveable their behaviour maybe today let us realise that there is a background to it. They have had their struggles, they have had their cruelties inflicted upon them too.

I agree that sanctions should be maintained. Our Government has taken the right attitude. Let us not over-emphasise it though. I do not think the sanctions themselves have been a crucial feature. I certainly do not think so-called army struggle in South Africa has been the crucial feature. What is happening out there is brutal force ofeconomics driving white South Africans, white industry out there led particularly by the Anglo American corporation, which is the largest corporation in South Africa into a realisation that for the development of their industry and potentially it is already a rich country, potentially it is even richer. Something had to be done about the discrimination against Africans. That maybe a very poort reason for change but economic reasons and economic factors do have extraordinarly powerful effect as indeed we have seen in Eastern Europe wherenthen the economic system broke down the people - and people power has been referred to herr - took it into their own hands to toss out the appalling systems ehich existed in Eastern Europe and particularly the ancient regime of the Soviet Union and they were not above interfering in Africa also. Senator Ryan has referred much to the West and quite rightly so. They were not on their own there.

South Africa at the moment is a rich State. Appalling though the treatment of black Africans is in actual fact the per capitalincome of black Africans in South Africa is far higher than that of any ohter part of Africa. Their education discriminated against though it is, appalling though it is in relation to what is avaialble to the whiles is still of a much higher standerd than that anywhere else in Africa. Let us endeavour to ensure as Mr. Mandela will be endeavouring to assure that that is maintained and developed. It would be a very sad situation if pursuing our liberal consciences werwere in some sense or other to allow or to encourage a situation to arise to which the very people to whom we are trying to help find themselves in an even worse situation than existed beforehand. We in this country have a particular responsibility. I think we are in a very good position to do something to bring about a democratic peaceful South Agrica, a prosperous South Africa where the Africans will get the good ttreatment, the equal treatment, the humane treatment, the opportunity to develop, the opportunity to rule their own country which they deserve. Yet at the same time that one will not have a situation in which the previously dominant community will either leave or a community such as the Indian community will be discriminated against. I think South Africa is extraordinarily lacking to have some one of the stature of Nelson Mandela who is able to go through 27 years in prison, the first 18 months of it in appalling conditions and yet still can come out and show the sort of

tolerant, wise and civilised attitude which gives great hope for the future of South Africa. Let us in this country in so far as we can play some slight role give whatever help we can to Mr. Mandela to indeed also to Dr. de Klerk and to understand as should do from our situation in this country the terrible problems and the terrible difficulties of trying to bring together separate communities.

Mr. hourigan: I am glad of the opportunity of speaking to this motion. At the outset the developments in recent times have marked very distinctly and very clearly a dramatic change in the minds of all reasonable minded people throughout the world which brings to an end the situation where the black majority were for so many years severely and positively downtrodden in South Africa. It was metnioned here earlier this morning and I think it is worthy of comment that Nelson Mandela is a Freeman of Dublin City and that in fact is perhaps a further reason why we should have an interest in this mater. however apart from that I believe that the events that did take place in recent times - I would say that we are only in the starting stages of this whole position now because frankly a start has been made but no real progress can be recorded so far apart from a very encouraging and enlightening start. We have the commencement of a new era replacing the era that has concluded. It was through persistent campaigning under imprisoned conditions by Nelson Mandela of the past 27 years and other members of the African National Congress known briefly as ANC, numbering incidentally about 300 persons

that are still in prison. They have been in prison for varying periods and I see it and I think it is understood generally there is no question of any meaningfull discussions taking place while a number of barriers suchass the retention of these persons in prison remains. It is no harm to reflect that in June 1964 Nelson Mandela was sentencedsto life ~~imxprisxx~~ imprisonment. To all intense and purposes the people of South Africa felt that that was the end of that chapter as the doors closed behind him entering prison for life. ~~Hexwasxpast~~ It was positively the Government's intention to lock Nelson Mandela

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It was positively the Government's intention to lock Nelson Mandela away and to crush positively his liberation movement in the years that followed, but fortunately, Nelson Mandela being the man he was, fighting under very handicapped conditions as a prisoner but with a very loyal and well tightly-knit support group outside continued his fight over all those years. I would like to pay a tribute to the very useful work that the media performed in keeping this campaign alive and running through times perhaps it might otherwise have faded out. The media played no small part in ensuring that the case of South Africa as enunciated by Mandela from outside prison in the first instance, and from with in it subsequently, came to a successful conclusion. In addition, I believe that the trades unions throughout the world have made their very valuable contribution in the whole area of sanctions and related matters. Countries that have engaged themselves in the sanction area have also contributed to this whole very worthwhile movement. While other leaders emeged while Mandela was in prison - many of them are now in exile and perhaps some of them have died - there is no doubt that Mandela remained the supreme and absolute leader of the black movement in South Africa. It is a great tribute to the character of Mandela and a great tribute also to the many persons outside who did not take advantage of its absence from the scene and perhaps cash in on the position.

It is rather significant to know that/President De Clerk, the father of who I would like to commend in this House this morning for the initiative he has taken this far, played a very key role in bringing about the national party to power in 1948 and it was this party that did, in fact, introduce and put into being the whole question of apartheid. Mr. De Klerk had a very fast rise to power but in his earlier years in politics he remained very much in compliance with the party ruling or the party system with regard to apartheid and so on. He was elected a Cabinet Minister in 1977, he was appointed leader in Transvaal in 1982, he was Minister for Home Affairs in national education in 1984 and then we know that on the resignation of President Botha on his getting a stroke, Mr De Klerk became head of the party and President of the country. At all times since his election he adhered very vigorously to try to bring about change. Prior to that, as I mentioned, he was an advocate of apartheid and rode in with his policies with great devotion and dedication. So, I think his conversion, as it were, is all the greater seeing that that was the sort of background from which he came. He has gone very easy on the apartheid issue since becoming president last year. He agreed very much and talked a lot about compromise negotiations and so on, which this whole matter is now about. It was obvious that the economic position of South Africa affected or caused by the major sanctions from countries throughout the world had brought

a serious problem to the country and the economy of the country was not in a good position.

The release of Mandela, was, as we all know, announced on 2 February and then there was a feeling perhaps that he may not be released, but fortunately on 9 June de Clerk did put into effect his announcement made on 2 February. In fact, he is on record as stating that Mandela, now a man of 71 years of age, a much lighter man than he was when he was imprisoned in 1964, he was then a man who weighed over 200 lbs., he is now a slight man, aged, with a good many years of active politics go give to South Africa and to help in many resolutions there. He has been on the record as saying thathe spent many long and lonely wasted years in prison during his time over the last 27 years. Now that the ANC has been legalised/is, in conjunction with the release of Mandela, a step forward. Perhaps these two factors are the greatest highlights of what has happened in recent times in South Africa. There are other objectives and other issues to be talked about, but these are matters of achievement. Mandela has presented himself as a sort of mediator or as was described on the media, as a facilitator between the black majority and the white minority with negotiations which could indeed be very long and varied, but provided that there is progress being made I am quite satisfied that violence can be sustained in South Africa.

I also believe that - de Klerk has gleaned this from his many discussions with Mandela - violence must not play any part whatsoever in the negotiations and in the talks that willgo on in the time ahead.

The position in South Africa, which was the last bastion of white supremecy, was a rather ridiculous where we had five million white persons and approxmately 35 million black persons and where we had the five million ruling entirely and completely the entire population of that country. That was a situation that could not continue and something that has hopefully nearing an end. There are, as I say, a number of things to be got out of the way if we have to have the release of all the political prisoners. We must have the removal of this three and a half year state of emergency that operates there, before meaningful discussions can take place and,in fact, the real role of Mandela is very hard to perceive. Perhaps his most valuable contribution will be

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The real role of Nelson Mandela is very hard to perceive. Perhaps his most valuable contribution will be to act as a laison between the blacks and the whites or there may be a situation where he may become in an official position in a Government in South Africa. We must not forget that the white people are not going to take too easily to a situation where they have enjoyed the total control and running of affairs owning 87 per cent of the land in the country for so many years. For that reason it has to be handled very delicately and it will take outside forces in a supportive fashion in a broad sense and not on one side or another to bring about a meaningful and correct solution.

It is good to know that with very few exceptions - the United Kingdom being done - that the countries are totally behind meaningful negotiations and are prepared to apply sanctions unless there is a realistic outcome to this very worthwhile initial development. When Nelson Mandela was released from prison he refused protection and felt that he was quite safe among the people of Africa. He has negotiated for a long time. He is a man of great experience and he is a centrepiece of any negotiations taking place in the future.

Britain has at present a position of an investment of £10 billion in South Africa and a trading position each way of £3 billion per year. This is unique and does not coincide with the American sanctions and the sanctions of many other countries. The Americans sanctions have cost South Africa many

The real role of Nelson Mandela is very hard to perceive. Perhaps his most valuable contribution will be to act as a laison between the blacks and the whites or there may be a situation where he may become in an official position in a Government in South Africa. We must not forget that the white people are not going to take too easily to a situation where they have enjoyed the total control and running of affairs owning 87 per cent of the land in the country for so many years. For that reason it has to be handled very delicately and it will take outside forces in a supportive fashion in a broad sense and not on one side or another to bring about a meaningful and correct solution.

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I find the motion vague in another way in that it does not specifically mentionxx the fact that neither the ANC nor Mr. Mandela have renounced the use of violence as a way of achieving political ends. That is disconcerting. We have seen in this House time and time again debates about other parts of the world and our own country where the use of violence to achieve political ends has been condemned. This is the right thing to do because we can see from looking at various developments in Eastern Europe and in other parts of the world that there are peaceful means to achieve political ends and that violence is not necessary.

Unless I can receive some assurance from the movers of this motion that they in no way condone the use of violence by Mr. Mandela, the ANC or anybody else to achieve political ends, then I would have to xxkxxxxxxx abstain from voting on this motion. The problem here is that there is a certain hypocrisy. We have seen Governments, statesmen, church leaders, community leaders welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela and I too welcome his release but in the same breath they do not ever condemn x the fact that he has not renounced the use of violence. I would condemn this and I would ask the movers of the motion to make it clear that we do not condone xxxx it. I do not want it to be interpreted that I do not welcome the release of this man because 27 years in prison is enough for anybody. He is moving towards peaceful means and that has to be welcomed. If anybody can xx calm the situation down this man can do it. He is a man of

tremendous personality, intellect and tremendous resolve. I hope he will encourage his party and his people to seek to achieve equality in all aspects of life by peaceful rather than violent means.

Mr. Harte: I should like to agree with Senator Lydon when he said that the motion is vague. There has been so much documentation in the media and through public expression that the general meaning is well put, and it is agreed by all parties. When Senator Lydon was talking about violence he may not have been treating like with like. If I recall what Nelson Mandela said on his release when he was questioned about the arms struggle, he stated that what was happening was that the State was in an armed struggle against the people and still are and that he was resisting that.

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If you add that to the discipline of the ANC which they have shown since Mr. Mandela's release you will see quite a different picture. It is not the same as the North of ireland where you are afraid that they are going to blow the head of somebody every five minutes. That is the context in which I took it and I think that is the way he meant it. The violence of the State is still there.

On this question, I have had a long-term interest in apartheid. I remember putting a picket on the Ivy Grounds in 1960 as a result of a sporting event which was goign on there. In 1961 I wrote a poem which was published in the Buttetin of The Workers' Union of Ireland and was later used by the anti-apartheid movement. I have an interest in this and it has been well documented so I will not go over it.

I welcome the initiative taken by De Klerk. It was a courageous step and I wish him well in his efforts. I would never want to support the struggle against apartheid if I thought it would turn around the other way where the whites would become victims of the system. I want to see a true democracy with full rights and full equality for everybody. The contribution of of what has happened to the nation msut be taken into consideration.

We msut welcome the stand taken by the European Ministers, particularly our Minsiter for Foreign Affairs and the Taoiseach. They have handled this very well indeed. The sanctions must stay because to take the pressure off at this time before getting a foot udder the negotiating table proper would be a big mistake. In the final analysis the thing that brought the people in power in South Africa to their senses was the effects of the worldwide sanctions and also the fact that South Africa is not welcome anywhere. I have met many South Africans white I have never been to Soputh Africa but I was a prisoner of war with white South Africans and I foudn them to be decent and generous. The system of apartheid had not taken hold at that

time so I could not say anymore on that. Virtually sections of the white community in South Africa were deeply infected with this colour prejudice throughout the century and not just from 1948 onward. We must recognise the human cost of the apartheid philosophy. People were uprooted from their homes and it was a very drastic step for any nation to take. The theory of apartheid was produced after a successfon of white governments had failed to live with the influx of Africans into the towns, so they decided that sterner methods would have to be introduced. The blacks were confined to the lands allocated to them and this was done also in order to prevent the whites from indulging in sexual relations with the blacks and to exclude the blacks from the skilled labour force. Dr. Malan's party did that. They promised the whitesthey would deal with the threat of homogenisity and make sure that white domination would survive theoughout their lifetime. Its main policy was that different races live happily when they are separated. We now kinow exactly what that means.

The declaration of Professor Karl Bosching,who was chairman of the Pro Government Bureau for the Study of Race Relations, was, in fact, that acceptance of Africans as permanent residents outside the homelands would in the long-term make the survival of the white state impossible. He believed that it was there to stay and that no way would anybody get outside it. To add to that insertion they went on to say that the Bantu would always be there in order to engage in their economy as they worked for them. They were also of the view that they had no right to live in the towns and they they would have no permanent contact with anybody who lived in the towns. As far as they were concerned they believed that he could receive the same rights as the white labourers in his own homeland. When one considers that all the resources had dried up and there was nothing to develop beyond the Bantu certainly there was no way that people were going to have any meaningful role in their own workplace etc.

The system brought about the massive derangement of African families. They did not realise at that time the future implications of that would be so sinister. The apartheid policyes made sure that they were sinister and that there was not going to be such a thing as permanent urban residence for whites. As far as they were concerned it did not matter whether it disrupted families or not. Twenty million Africans were certainly not going to be given any claim to civil rights etc. and there was no way they could build any genuine state from tghe land they got. They got about 14 per cent of the total land area. They could not exist on this, so they were forced to work abroad. They had neither influence or protection and they were separated from their families. This has been well documented. But it should be put on the record again in the sense that we are talking about people who were pauperised and isolated. We are speaking now in the context of Nelson Mandela who tried to come to their rescue. When we read the history we can see exactly what Mandela stood for and what he was opposed to and what his objectives now are and we must wish him well in that.

At the time they thought that an exclusive white state was somethign that would last forever and they had strategies to beat anythign that might come about to upset that.

Section Q follows

and they had strategies to defeat anything that might come about to upset that. They misrepresented the situation from time to time. Foreexample in 1951 Dr. Verbourg himself introduced the legislation and followed it up in 1959 with the Promotion of the Bantu Self Government Act. This Act actually removed all the rights of the South Africans. One would have thought it would have improved their rights but in fact he was removing what little rights remained to them, particularly where the Bantu might be given representation to the South African Parliament. So the Vorster Government in the declaration of what they called constitutional changes made sure that the Bantu was treated as an area apart and as a possession of the South African Government. They made sure that in those declarations or constitutional movements there was certainly no role for the Africans in the whole development of the white economy. Certainly it ensured that the political rights which they should have had to another 80 per cent of the country were not given. There was a grand design and they were made to stick to this particular design. Is it any wonder that Mandela himself, out of frustration, went the road he went before he was imprisoned. It was sad toosee it. I do not want to go on too much longer on the whole background of what happened in South Africa. It is well documented and I do not want to labour the point to hard here. I just want to put on record that there was a good reason for Mandela's activity, even if I have not gone into it in great detail. It is great to see that after all those years the man is able to walk out of prison and is together. His mind is together and it is great to see it. I hope that he will be a great influence. I think he is playing it right. He cannot opt out of it and get into a singular situation and start taking initiatives. He has got to deal with the

ANC which is a difficult problem with all the divisions and so on that have grown up. I believe he is playing it right and I do not mind admitting that I shed a tear when I saw him walking out. It was great. I hope to God everything will go right for him.

I would finally like to say thank you to the Dunnes Stores strikers who highlighted the situation in greater depth herein Ireland and also to the many trade unions, councils etc. who down through the years have been working very closely with the apartheid movement and all the many rallies they have brought about and through their co-operation with recently formed unions. It is interesting to note that Senator Joe Costello has written to Mr. Mandela. I would like to congratulate Nelson Mandela and, as Joe Costello says, when he comes through Birmingham maybe he will go in and see the Birmingham Six and see what he can do there.

Mrs. Jackman: I am absolutely delighted at the release of Nelson Mandela. We are lucky to live in such eventful times where there are two world leaders coming to the fore in the eighties and nineties. There is Gorbachov and Nelson Mandela, one from what will notlonger, I feel, be referred to as the Second World, and may be we are looking towards the dismantling of the Third World with support from ourselves through the EC and the United Nations.

We awaited with curiosity the emergency of Nelson Mandela. He is a curious blend of simplicity and stateliness , a natural leader who has very quickly adjusted to his new environment. I wondered if it were possible for anybody to live up to the extraordinary image that had evolved of him over three decades of imprisonment and even many years before then. What did we find?

We found a dignified face, peaceful attitude, no rancour, no bitterness. That is the first important lesson for us. We must realise that internation pressure, and particularlythe application of sanctions had begun to have results with Pretoria recognising that it could not effectively maintain apartheid in the face of massive opposition from both inside and outside. Changes announced by President de Klerk will, we optimistically hope, lead in the long term to a democratic non-racial South Africa. We welcome the news that groups that had been campaignin for an end to apartheid will no longer be banned under the new proposals announced by the South African Presidents, and that groups working for years for change are to be legalised, particularly church groups and trade unions and one again they will be in apposition to continue their efforts towards achieving a peaceful solution.

I would like to make a brief reference to the Dunnes Stores workers action at a time when it was not attractive or not popular to be seen to ~~impos~~ oppose importation of fruits and vegetables from South Africa. Their position in the workforce was certainly not enhanced by the stance they took and, even noticing a report in the newspaper the other day, they are still finding it hard to find employment. There appears to be a sort of stigma oon them in theie efforts during those years which was very, very hard towards the dismanteling of apartheid. I would applaud the stance of those young workers. They were banner bearers for Ireland.

We realise that despite the recent changes announced by the South African Government, the fundamental features of the system still remain intact. I will refer to the United Nations declaration on South Africa last December. What they were calling for was first of all the release of political prisoners and detainees

unconditionally and refraining from any positions on them. Lifting all bans and restrictions on all prescribed and restricted organisations and persons - there has been a slight relaxation there. Removing all troups from the townsland, ending the state of emergency, repealing all legislation such as the Internal Security Act, which is designed to circumscribe political activity, and a call to cease all political trials and political executions. Now the recent changes, as I have said, have not fully realised even one of these minimum pre-conditions so, obviously, if there was any call - which there is - for the lifting of sanctions at this stage it would be contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nationa declaration.

I would like to refer again to the system of apartheid which is the Afrikaanses word for separateness, and to refer to the multi racial society of South Africa where is is seven figures, a population of 35 million, 75 per cent Africans, 14 per cent white, 9 per cent coloured of mixed race, and two per cent Asian. The stated aim of apartheid to keep these four groups apart so that they can control separately, the real aim being to enable the country's white minority to retain control and to continue to dominate the political economic and social life of the country. They were able to do this through the introduction and implementation of apartheid policies in five key areas. I will refer to them. Separate development, prevention of black urbanisation, forced removals, black education and crushing anti-Apartheid organisations. As I said, that last one has been lifted. Just looking at the heading of separate development. The creation of independent black homelands within South Africa, the so-called Sovereign States- they are television words at this stage, Transky, Sesky etc. - depriving blacks

offtheir South African citizenship, making them foreigners in their own countr. with the South African Government ~~paying~~ taking little responsibility for the payment of unemployment, old age, or other welfare benefits in these areas. It is very important that we would know the state of what separate development is. The homelands really are labour reserves where Africans are forced to live where they are not needed for work in white areas.

Another point which was part of the policy of apartheid is the prevention of black urbanisation. Again the economy depends on black people living separately but working in the cities, in the mines and in manufacturing industries, but having no rights to establish homes there, their homes being hundreds of miles away in the homelands, and the family separated - husband from wife, children fromm parents.- Forced removals, which is something where they were pushed out into these newly created homelands. I reminds me of Cromwell's comment to us: To Hell or to Connaught, and this is what has happened in South Africa where 13.7 per cent

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it reminds me of Cromwell's comment to us to hell or to Connacht and this is what has happened there where 13.7 per cent of South Africa's total land area was allocated to them like our own Connacht in the past to ourselves, the native Irish. The similarities are uncanny. Looking at black education which is one of the most important aspects for any developments in South Africa. The Ban to Education Act passed in 1955 was designed to ensure that black Africans were educated only for jobs in the lowest run of economic and social ladder, the place assigned to them by the state. That educational policy obviously is unjust and unfair. In a moderning industrial economy it is difficult for those who are illiterate to earn a living and the 1980 censensus disclosed that deliberate state neglect has resulted in nearly 33 per cent of adult black africans being illiterate as compared with less than 1 per cent for whites. I would like to make a brief reference to apartheid and poverty. A survey that was conducted by university researchers from South Africa financed by the United States based Carnegie corporation and the results of that survey in the eighties clearly highlights the extensive injustice of apartheid and it gives the lie to any idea that black people in South Africa receive equal treatment. The study showed that in percentage terms more children under the age of one year die each year in South Africa than in other Third World Countries Mozambique, Cuba or Mexico. One third of black children under 14 are under weight or stunted in growth. More than 90 per cent of the absolute poor are in rural areas. In some towns in the region black people pay 50 times more for water than people in Cape Town. People on the Cape flats without electricity pay three times more for fuel than those with electricity. There are at least 1.43 million

blacks in the homelands have no incomes. A quarter of black women in South Africa are separated from their husbands. Whites constitute 15 per cent of the South African population receive over 70 per cent of its income and 98.1 per cent of all income from property accrues to whites. Only 5.5 per cent of South African doctors are in the rural areas where 50 per cent of the population live but in the homelands the ratio of doctors to people is 1:174,000; 2.9 million children under 15 suffer from first degree malnutrition; pensions for blacks are hopelessly inadequate, radically discriminatory and badly administered and the monthly maximum payment is $57. The Government spends far more on white sbhooling than on black schooling.

That list is appalling and if people really understood this and knew it and if it were circulated widely thebe would be absolutely no call for releasing of any sanctions and it would belie the idea that there equality for blacks in South Africa. I will make one last point and it quotes from Nelson Mandela himself, one word that has been identified with him the whole way through is the word of a moderate, the word compromise and an exact quotation which he makes which should allay white fears: -

> Compromises must be made in respect to every issue as long as that compromise is in the interests, not only of one population group for the country as a whole.

He also stated that the Government opening stance is that while all South Africans should have the vote irrespective of race the Constitution should provide for the protection of whites so that the black majority does not exercise absolute control over Government, when I say he stated it, he is

referring to the Government's opening stance. And as he explained it, the Government's concept of group which we know they mean race, group rights means that they are not ready to accept the principle of one man, one vote but he says we are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand. He has also stated that obviously he will be supportive and protective of the white minority. Nobody could raise one question as regards the integrity of the man. There should be no cause for fear and we in Ireland should execise all our powers particularly within the presidency of the EC to ensure that we support the South Africans in what will be for them for the next while a period of tension, a transition period, they have their leader, he is in the process of consultation but at the end of the day there is absolutely no way that we can relax our interest, our pressure or our sanctions in relation to the ultimate freedom for South Africa which Nelson Mandela has stated that he is ready to die for.

Mr. Norris: I would like first of all to indicate that it is my intention if necessary to share some of my time with Senator O'Toole who I hope is in a position to hear this statement and make himself available to take up this time. I am sure being the man that he is, he will.

I raised some mirth this morning when I mentioned constituents of mine in Australia. I do not wish to raise any more mirth when I say that I feel specially qualified to speak on this debate as the only African born member of this House. But it does give you a particular interest in the affairs of that great Continent. My interest in South Africa, although I was born in central Africa stems from the fact that during the war when my

father was in charge among other things of war production of the allies in central Africa, there was no possibility of coming back to Europe so that they had to holiday in South Africa. They found the experience so unpleasant they did not repeat it. The reason they did they were relatively unsophisticated in terms in the way in which we would see the situation today but they found it distressing to have to witness the way in which people considered as inferior were treated. The way my mother put it to me, and she was very much of the ancient regime was that they simply did not know how to treat servants. This was people from Europe, many of them from Ireland and they elevated themselves, they gave themselves a sense of superiority by mistreating people who were less advantaged in terms of education, social position and finance. That may be a fairly primitive gauge but even at that stage it indicates that people were uncomfortable with the situation that existed in South Africa at the time. Like most other people throughout the globe I watch the release of Nelson Mandela. It was an extra historic moment. It was a moment that we waited for for many years. It does of course raise some questions. This is a man who has been away from the immediate political scene for 27 years. When he went into prison I was a teenager and now a middle aged man and one of the things that occurred to me was how is this man going to deal with certain extraordinary complex political situation as it confronts him. Because it certainly has changed since he went in. It has changed in some ways optimistically. For example the fact that there were distinct groups of white people there to welcome him but it has changed. I must say I was immensely heartened not just by the visual impact of this extraordinary

some concerns I had because as we were going on the motor we passed the college

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dignified figure emaeging from captivity, the thing that struck me most was the amazing imaginative leap of which he showed himself capable because in his first interview he spoke not of injustice, not of the appalling wrongs committed by the white people against his people, he spoke of the need to understand the fears and concerns of the white minority. I salute the moral stature of a man who finds himself capable of this kind of imaginative encompassing. Of course like everybody else I welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. I do not intend to repeat what other people have said. It was a very remarkable thing. I am glad and honoured ~~and~~x to be part of a country that ~~is~~x~~e~~n~~a~~x has consistently supported the anti-apartheid movement. I am proud to be a citizen of a city that has made him a free man and I believe that Nelson Mandela has in fact honoured us by accepting the position of a freeman. I was on the march last weekend which celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela sponsored by the Irish anti-apartheid movement. From that experience certain things struck me. Listening to the people on the platform every single one reiterated the fact that sanctions must be ~~m~~a~~i~~n~~t~~ maintained and this is a message coming not just from that meeting but also coming from South Africa, coming from people like Archbishop Trevor , like Archbishop Tutu.and like Nelson Mandela himself. So if we respect the views of this man and the pepple he represents we must continue sanctions and I was glad that the Taoiseach showed himself again so statesman'àike in dealing with this sitaation because as we have as the Minister knows I am sure better than I do of the exceedingly important role to play at the moment because of our pivotal position inside the European Community. We must respond to this. I would like also to mention some concerns á had because as we wa~~s~~t along on the march we passed the College of

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Senator Norris

I would also like to mention some concerns that I have. As we went along in the march we passed the College of Surgeons. There was a group there demonstrating - Aboriginals from Australia, one of whom claims that the medical specimen of the Aboriginal head inside that college is in fact that of his great grandfather. That is important because it is so easy for us to be tolerant and forward looking when it is 4,000 or 5,000 miles away. I, of course, exhonerate the authorities in the College of Surgeons from direct responsibility as a result of a colonial inheritage and so on. They must be sensitive. I wonder if any of us can imagine what it would be like if it was our great grandfather's head that was involved.

Could I ask will my colleague Senator O'Toole need part of my time so that I can switch? I would like that point to be registered. It will be brought up again. It is not intent on being contentious and I have spoken to a senior member of the Royal College of Surgeons this morning and I gather that this matter may well be speedily and positively resolved.

I would like to say something else arising from that march. I was part of the group that listened to the speeches. On the fringes there were members ofSinn Fein and they were shouting where is Gerry Adams? Sinn Fein and all the rest of it. They were selling magazines - An Poblacht - the front page of which carried a huge picture of Nelson Mandela and the legend the arms struggle continues. They were placing that in the context which suggested a parallel which I completely reject between the situation in Southern Africa and the situation in Northern Ireland. I call upon the Government similarly to reject this attempt to carpetbag on a very important issue.

Finally, I would like to draw intention - because it is important - to two areas of our own hypocrisy in this in terms of human rights. If we feel as we rightly do about South Africa and see it as an issue of principle, let us be aware of the fact that it is an issue of principle on which we can be extremely comfortable. May I ask the Minister to apply the principles of our stance on Mandela to the situation in Tibet where we have somebody of the same moral stature, the Dali Lama, of Nelson Mandela, who not only did not give in easily to the arms struggle but who was consistently and absolutely turned his faith against violence of any kind and what is his reward? His reward is to be ignored in the international fora. We have a situation where in this country we are conspiring collaborating with the Chinese Government in the genocide of the Tibetan people. I call upon the Government to register this in the same way as they now are supporting the situation with regard to Nelson Mandela.

I would like to make a final point and then hand over to my colleague. The Minister for Foreign Affairs in a very impressive statement to the 46th session of the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights said this one sentence:

> An impressive body of international instruments has evolved over the years to protect the rights of the individual through the medium of international law.

What are the Government doing to implement and articulate this in, for example, the case that I brought at the European Court of Human Rights. This does relate to Mandela. It is perfectly easy to be tolerant, civilised, sophisticated and to respect human rights when they are 4,000 miles away. I want to know what is the Government doing in the case of Tibet and in the case of my own action

at the European Court of Human Rights?

Mr. O'Toole: I am thankful to be able to contribute to the debate. I cannot think that I have anything new to offer to the very full and comprehensive arguments which have been offered right through the debate this morning and which I am sure the Minister will take on board. I want to be clearly associated with the remarks, also because we have on many occasions with the Minister of State ŏŏŏŏŏ ŏŏŏŏŏ in our presence often been critical of Government policy. This time we can also say well done to Government. To be even handed in our approach it is fair to say that the Irish Government has been magnificent in this particular area ŏŏŏŏŏ for a long number of years and not just in the short period - that is the impressive part of it.

My own introduction to apartheid was presented to me as an educational system by one of my now dead former professors of education, ŏŏŏŏ Michael Jordan, whose son went on to be a very famous film director. He introduced to me apartheid as a form of education in the same way as the Nazi system is a form of education. I always ŏŏŏŏŏ

circumstances. As a form of shorthand there is no comparison between the situation in South Africa and the situation in Northern Ireland. They are absolutely contrasted.

In the last number of years I had the privilege on a number of occasions to discuss with Donald Woods who was a white victim of apartheid - the stories of a person trying to live a dual role in South Africa has convinced me of the need for the western countries to maintain the sanctions. I have discussed with South Africa's black and white the question of the sanctions. I have listened to the blase arguments of the Thatcherite wing which will say, it is time to lift sanctions and give de Klerk a break. Also on the other side those people will say the sanctions hurt the blacks in South Africa. I have discussed it with the blacks and the representatives of the blacks. I would certainly take my lead from the ANC. They are prepared to suffer for another while under sanctions in order to make the point, to make progress and to finally eliminate from the face of the earth the curse of apartheid.

In Ireland there is much hypocrisy and I would like to dwell on some of those things but I do not have time. It is suffice to say that I have not been to an international rugby match since the springbox tour of 1973. I would certainly feel that that organisation has badly let us down in various ways over the years. I am resisting doing what my colleague Senator Norris did - it raises in my mind some hypocrisies in Irish life, not the same as Senator Norris has referred to but certainly there is a form of double thinking. There is too many of our people who find it as a useful sort of solving of conscience to be opposed to apartheid in South Africa. There are also things in our own country that need to be looked at. Maybe it is inappropriate to mention those so I will not mention

them except to say that if they are there, they do raise the point.

I would also feel that it has been important to put on the record of this House today the views of Members because history will note the action and response of parliamentarians and it has been crucially important that there has been such unanimity of approach and response on this issue. Long may it continue. I would put it clearly on the record that we would be and should be very supportive of the Government's line in this. It also raises one question. It is the only irrelevancy which I will mention. That is the fact that in the Cambodian vote in the UN we did not have the moral courage as a nation to vote against the other members of the European Community. Thatcher did have that courage this week. I disliked it and I disapproved of it. I believe she has also opened up perhaps a little bit of leverage for our Government at times when we do not have a coincidental view with the rest of Europe.

I will finish with those words and thank you a Chathaoirleach for the opportunity of speaking. I wish the Government well on this particular one.

Mr. Neville: I would like to add my word of joy to the release of Nelson Mandela. It was great to see Nelson Mandela walking proudly from his years of mental torture aggrevated by solitary confinement and years of hard labour. He again proved that the abthoritarian state, while it can confine a person physically cannot break a man's spirit or belief in his ideals. Mandela is a symbol of the triumph of moral courage over Jackboot state suppression. He brings to mind the same

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symbol of the triumph of moral courage over jackboot State suppression. It brings to mind the same idealism as we have seen in Ireland throughout the centuries where our people stood firmly and suffered for their ideals and principles and it is because of such heroism that we are here today to compliment the heroism of Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela also highlights how helpless any Government can be when it loses the support of the majority of its people. Without question, the imposition of trade embargo by the industrial world on South Africa was a vital factor in bringing the white rulers to their senses. Naturally Mr. de Klerk deserves to be congratulated in beginning the process of the undoing of apartheid. While he should receive support for his actions from the outside world, it is nonetheless vital that the current trade restrictions should continue to be enforced until the process of dismantling his country's discriminatory economic and legal network is far more advanced. An immediate lifting of the state of emergency and a general amnesty for political prisoners is only a first step in the process.

To suggest that the steps taken to date by Mr. de Klerk as Prime Minister Thatcher does, merits lifting of sanctions, is far off the mark. Mr. de Klerk has only started down the road which must soon include oneman, one vote. I believe it is only when this stage is reached can the western world lift sanctions on South Africa. It is disappointing that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Collins, in his role as chairperson of the Council of Ministers failed in keeping unity within the EC on the sanctions in South Africa. A Lews-Chathaoirleach, the issue facing South Africa is not arms struggle or sanctions, it is their oppression of apartheid. The arms struggle of the ANC is a defensive measure against this. The organisations wants to move from confrontation with the white minority. Nelson

Mandela made it clear that the ANC are prepared to address the fears of the whites. He is looking for a non-racial solution. In the context of South African history, however, colour and culture has played an important part and will affect the situation for many generations to come. The white population is an important section of South Africa. Nelson Mandela has stated and the ANC are keen to ensure that there is no hint that changes will mean domination of whites over blacks.

There is a body of opinion in white South Africa that suggests a partition as a solution to the problem. This will not lead to peace and justice but to continuing conflict and bitterness between the groups. The free world rejoices in the release of Nelson Mandela. He has now a difficult task ahead of him. Fresh elections under one man, one vote, must take place. After this the blacks and whites must sit down together and draw up a constitution for a new South Africa. We in Ireland, deprived of such freedom for so long, must remain in the forefront of the promotion of this and in helping the South African people to end the nightmare of apartheid and the indignity of economic sanctions. Thank you.

Mr. O Cuiv: I would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. We welcome the release in its own right but also as a symbol of progress at last in South Africa in beginning to resolve what appeared to be an intractable problem. Ireland's role in this and our stand in sanctions go along with our history and tradition in international affairs. In this matter we can be very proud of both the standard our Government and the Taoiseach on the matter of sanctions and on the use of this type of method of international opinion to force change in States that are not adhering to democratic principles. Those of us who think that violence is a non acceptable way of bringing about change have to offer the oppressed people of the world alternative methods of achieving change in their country. It has proven in this case that the force of international opinion, the boycotting of sports

events, the imposition of sanctions, that these have been more powerful in bringing about change in South Africa than any type of internal violence could ever have been. It is very important that if we want oppressed people to adopt a non violent method of seeking change in political solutions, that the international communities ensure that they use such methods to bring about change.

The situation in South Africa has changed fundamentally. For the first time the rights of the ANC to represent the coloured people of that country have been recognised. We have to admit that the steps that have taken place are only minor ones and that in itself the release of Nelson Mandela is more a symbol than actual change. As the Minister of State said, the amount of change that is needed in that country before it can be accepted as part of the normal international community, is still very great. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the methods that have been so successful to date would be continued until real dialogue is achieved and until there are guarantees given to the people of South Africa, all the people, that real democratic principles will rule in that country again. It must be noted also that in the statement of Mr. Mandela, that he has quite categorically declared the right of the white minority in South Africa to their position and their rightful position in any future South Africa that will emerge. This is particularly magnanimous and important in the context of this whole problem. Now the majority are willing to state that the minority in that country would, in the event of normal democratic principles being applied, be willing to afford to the minority the rights that they so deserve.

In that spirit of unity and generosity from Mr. Mandela that there is now hope that we are at last seeing a new dawn in South Africa and I would hope that the pressure will be continued to make sure that as has happened in Eastern Europe, that changes would be brought about in the short term rather than in the

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A/S Murphy ..... Letter No. .....

☐ Draft reply please before .....
(Original plus 3 copies of draft reply should be returned to this office)

☐ Direct reply in Section

☑ Any action deemed necessary Ms P. Monaghan.
None

☐ Your information

☐ Any obs. please before .....

If a reply is considered unnecessary please notify this office.

P.S.T. M McCusker

Date 9/2/90

OIFIG AN AIRE GNOTHAI EACHTRACHA
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BAILE ATHA CLIATH 2
DUBLIN 2

9th February, 1990

Drs. Reina R. Steenwijk
Information Centre on South Africa
P.O. Box 70425
1007 KK Amsterdam

Dear Drs. Steenwijk,

On behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gerard Collins T.D., I wish to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter concerning South Africa.

I will bring your letter to the Minister's attention at the earliest opportunity.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN KIRWAN

John Kirwan
Private Secretary

INFORMATION CENTRE on SOUTH AFRICA

P.O. BOX 70425
1007 KK AMSTERDAM
TEL. (0)20-769757

RE
-9 1990
MIN

February 1990

Dear Madam/Sir,

The enclosed Clarion Call describes factors influencing change in South Africa. There are several reasons for optimism.

Firstly, the government has acknowledged changes in the socio-economic sphere.
Apartheid is being eroded by the man in the street; change has happened on the ground before it was translated into law. This process has proven beyond doubt that new opportunities were in existence for bringing about change in a non-violent way.
The change of leadership in the National Party and consequently that of the government was in fact the acknowledgment of the fact that apartheid was out of date and a new era had to be faced.

Secondly, the mood inside South Africa has changed.
Leaders, such as Dr Buthelezi, Mr De Klerk and the leaders of the Democratic Party, have recognised this in an early stage.
But also the 'hard-liners' will have to concede to reality.
The fact that ANC spokesmen have admitted openly for the first time that their movement does not have the capacity to intensify the armed struggle, could bring the discussion on violence to a more realistic level.
The release of political prisoners and the virtual unbanning of unlawful organisations has caused the discussion to shift to the question 'What will be our position in the negotiations?' The enclosed Clarion Call clearly outlines Inkatha's position.

And thirdly, the escalation of changes in Eastern Europe has had major international effects. The peaceful solution of the Namibian conflict is but one demonstration of how powerful the combined force of persuasion of the Soviet Union and the United States can be in Southern Africa.
Therefore, change in South Africa is imminent.
We will keep you informed.

Yours sincerely,

Reina R. Steenwijk

Drs Reina R. Steenwijk
Representative of Dr Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

Volume 3, 1989

Clarion Call

FACTORS INFLUENCING CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Only the first page of this booklet has been copied

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P.08/90

Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

To: H.Q. From: PRB

For: Deady From: Fahey

(please copy immediately to S O hEigeartaigh, D/Taoiseach)

Summary Report of General Affairs Council, 5 February

1. Council, with Minister Collins in the Chair and Minister Geoghegan Quinn as national representative, held major debates on relations with Eastern and Central Europe, Turkey, the US, Japan and the Mediterranean countries. The Presidency indicated its thinking on how EMU might be handled.

Relations with Eastern and Central Europe

2. The Council adopted conclusions on preparations for the Bonn Economic Conference which is taking place next month in the CSCE framework. The Commission advocated a very high Community profile with maximum Twelve coordination. There was general agreement on the importance of the meeting. Chair emphasised this in the light of recent developments in Eastern Europe and concluded that there was a need for good preparation with final Community position to be settled this month.

3. Council debated the action programme for relations with Central and Eastern Europe in the light of the Dublin Informal Ministerial. Commission set out its preliminary views on post Dublin follow up. Andriessen emphasised the need for conditionality relating to the establishment of democracy and human rights as well as the development of economic liberalisation. He outlined the needs of the countries concerned and gave a preliminary view on the contents of possible association agreements as well as on the budgetary consequences of assistance to the countries of Eastern Europe. In the ensuing debate UK, with support from Bg, Nl, Dk and Sp, stressed the need for conditionality with Fr (and It) less inclined to set inflexible conditions and advocating a pragmatic approach. Interestingly Gr, Sp and Port all stressed the need to protect the Community's existing cohesion commitment in reviewing the budgetary perspectives. Concluding the Chair noted the need to continue with existing and projected trade and cooperation negotiations with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. He also noted the need to take account of political and economic reform and the specific requirements of the particular countries in deciding aid needs.

4. Commission took the opportunity to introduce its proposals for the Training Foundation and Third Level Educational Exchanges (TEMPUS). Chair referred the proposals (which would be examined as soon as possible) to COREPER.

Turkey

5. Council held an exchange of views on the Commission's opinion on the Turkish accession application. There was general

agreement with the Commission's conclusion that the time was not ripe for opening negotiations and that the Association Agreement should be strengthened (Greece will still be difficult at the implementation stage). The Commission will quickly submit concrete proposals on this point.

EMU

6. This was discussed over lunch. Ministers reviewed the work in progress. It was agreed that the scope of the Intergovernmental Conference and the role of the European Parliament ~~on EMU~~ would be discussed at the March Council. It was also agreed that the Irish Government would rapidly table a formal proposal under Article 236 to seek the revision of the Treaty on the basis of the Strasbourg European Council conclusions. The Commission and the Parliament would then be in a position to give their formal opinions on the proposal.

Mediterranean

7. Commission outlined the need for Community action to revise agreements with Mediterranean non member countries stressing the demographic dangers (increased illegal immigration) and the rising threat of fundamentalism. It will develop its suggestions into more formal proposals. There was a predictable split in reactions between the Northern member States, advocating trade improvements, and the Southern member States (with whose production Mediterranean imports compete) supporting financial aid.

Colombia

8. Commission signalled its intentions to propose aid and trade measures to assist Colombia in the fight against drugs, which will be examined by COREPER when submitted.

US

9. Andriessen outlined the current position. On soya there was little more the Community could do other than accept outcome of the GATT panel. On hormones in beef there was stalemate with no majority in favour of retaliation. Italy renewed its protests at the consequences - continued losses by Italian producers without any solution (or compensation) in sight - and indicated it intended to contest in the Court of Justice the Commission's acceptance of a blocking vote in the Council to prevent a recourse to GATT which was, in its view, a Commission prerogative. Andriessen argued against compensation on grounds of cost and the implication that Community acquiesced in US action.

Car imports from Japan

10. Council held a second discussion on the future arrangements for car imports from Japan after 1992. Predictably the member

States potentially most likely to suffer - Fr, It, Sp, Port - felt that the Commission's proposals for a flexible negotiating mandate involving a gradual move to free circulation during a transitional period, were unacceptable. By contrast UK, Nl and FRG opposed any lengthy transitional arrangements. Issue referred back to COREPER and Article 113 Committee and to be discussed at the March Council.

Lunch discussion

11. Ministers debated political developments in Eastern Europe. The mood was to speed up preparations for the CSCE Summit and work on the current disarmament negotiations as well as on the internal development of the Community including the post 1992 arrangements. The Community should help to develop the overall framework in which development of German unification (not reunification in Genscher's view as this implied frontier changes) can take place, rather than simply to observe its development. It should create the conditions for unification rather than standing by.

12. On the European Bank there was majority support (nine for with three reserves- UK, Nl and FRG) but no agreement for a capital share of 8.5% for the Community itself (Commission and EIB). The Presidency and Commission will look for a possible compromise on the eligibility of the Soviet Union to avail of loans from the Bank before the next Community coordination meeting in Paris.

13. It was agreed that the Presidency would make a statement on South Africa. The statement welcomes the recent reforms but a reconsideration of the Community position will depend on the progress of dialogue in South Africa.

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FAC 5 FEBRUARY

~~DRAFT~~ STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

[Mr. McGowan.]
services and I do not know what further debate we could have on them. I suggest he uses his party motion in Private Members' time to bring that matter forward.

Senator Shane Ross complained that we do not have the right Minister here very often. The procedure of the House has not changed dramatically. I have been here and have sat on the Opposition benches for years. Any working arrangements must have the full co-operation of all of the parties in the House. If we have a subject on the agenda for discussion and the Minister concerned is called away on some other duty — even with the best intentions and the best made plans — he has to ask a Minister or a Minister of State to stand in for him. That has been the procedure during the years. There is nothing new in it. Any Whip or any Government party leader tries his best to have the appropriate Minister but the Minister in the appropriate Department is not always available. Certainly I could not stand accused of not trying very hard to contribute to this House and to have the appropriate Minister in. It is my intention to continue to offer the utmost co-operation to all the parties in this House.

Mr. Manning: On a point of order, perhaps I have some sympathy with the Acting Leader of the House on this, but there are a number of items raised to which he did not address himself, including the point raised by Senator Ó Foighil and the request made by Senator Cosgrave. These were at least two points to which he did not address himself.

An Cathaoirleach: I take it the Acting Leader of the House has concluded? Is the Order of Business agreed?

Mr. O'Toole: I asked a simple question about Second Stage of the Building Control Bill today. If we do not know what the situation is regarding that Bill, how can we do our business today? With respect, I would say that we need to know whether he intends concluding Second Stage today, or what is the position?

An Cathaoirleach: I want to point out to Senators that I have no control over the replies given by the Leader of the House. When he indicates he has concluded, then I take it that is the position. Accordingly, I ask the question: is the the Order of Business agreed?

Mr. Norris: I am proposing an amendment to the Order of Business.

An Cathaoirleach: I cannot allow any further discussion. It is too late to propose an amendment because the debate is over on the Order of Business.

Pól O Foighil: Chuir mé ceist simplí agus tá mé ag lorg freagra simplí air. Cén mhaitheas domsa é a bheith ag teacht isteach anseo munar féidir liom freagra a fháil ar mo cheist shimplí?

An Cathaoirleach: Tá an Seanadóir as ordú.

Pól Ó Foighil: D'fhiafraigh mé den Cheannaire an mbeadh dáta socraithe ar a mbeidh an córas aistriúcháin ar fáil.

11 o'clock

Tá mé ag teacht anseo lá i ndiaidh lae, seachtain i ndiaidh seachtaine agus níl duine ar bith ag tabhairt airde orm. Ní chuirfidh mé suas le níos mó muna bhfaighim freagra ón gCathaoirleach.

An Cathaoirleach: Tá an Seanadóir as ordú. Is the Order of Business agreed?

Senators: No.

Question put: "That the Order of Business be Items No. 12, Motion 79, and Item No. 1."

The Seanad divided: Tá, 22; Níl, 19.

Tá

Bennett, Olga.	Keogh, Helen.
Bohan, Eddie.	Kiely, Rory.
Cassidy, Donie.	Lydon, Don.
Conroy, Richard.	McCarthy, Seán.
Fallon, Sean.	McGowan, Paddy.
Farrell, Willie.	Mooney, Paschal.
Finneran, Michael.	Mullooly, Brian.
Fitzgerald, Tom.	Ó Cuív, Eamon.
Foley, Denis.	O'Keeffe, Batt.
Honan, Tras.	Ryan, Eoin David.
Hussey, Thomas.	Wright, G. V.

Níl

Cosgrave, Liam.	Neville, Daniel.
Costello, Joe.	Norris, David.
Harte, John.	Ó Foighil, Pól.
Hourigan, Richard V.	O'Reilly, Joe.
Howard, Michael.	O'Toole, Joe.
Jackman, Mary.	Raftery, Tom.
McMahon, Larry.	Ross, Shane P. N.
Manning, Maurice.	Ryan, Brendan.
Naughten, Liam.	Ryan, John.
	Upton, Pat.

Tellers: Tá, Senators Wright and Farrell; Níl, Senators Howard and O'Toole.

Question declared carried.

Order of Business agreed to.

Developments in South Africa: Motion.

Mr. McGowan: I move:

That Seanad Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Mr. O'Reilly: The first point I would make is that there is universal joy at the release of Nelson Mandela and this universal joy, this delight at the release of Mandela, is nowhere more heartfelt than in Dublin, the city of which Mandela is a Freeman. His imprisonment could not have gone on indefinitely, nor could the totally repressive apartheid system, a system that has ostracised the black people of South Africa constitutionally, legally, socially and economically. There are four glaring examples, four glaring manifestations of the apartheid system still in place in South Africa.

The first is the voting system, where the Africans still have no vote in parliamentary elections. The second glaring manifestation of apartheid in South Africa at the moment is the Population Registration Act, which divides the population into four categories — the Whites, the Coloureds, the Asians and the Africans — and that is the hierarchical order of the society as well. The third glaring manifestation of apartheid in South Africa at the moment is the Land Tenure Act, where 87 per cent of the land is designated for the Whites and, coupled with this, the Group Areas Act, where black people are confined to specific areas within white areas — for example, black workers in Johannesburg commute to Soweto in the evenings. The fourth manifestation of apartheid at the moment must be the state of emergency and the general body of repressive and arbitrary laws that exist there. Obviously, this is an horrific society, an unpalatable and unacceptable society, a society that is alien to every value we hold dear in this country.

The first thing that should be said as we get to the specifics of the situation now and in the future is that it is worth pointing out in the Upper House of our Parliament that President De Klerk has

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[Mr. O'Reilly.]
emerged as a significant figure among his people, that he has emerged as something of a visionary there. It can be argued, and is argued, that he is being pushed by international pressure, by factions, etc, and obviously there is a large element of truth in that and we are delighted with that aspect of it. But he did have the courage — and it has been recognised by Mandela himself — to make a move in the right direction.

On the other side of the equation Nelson Mandela is becoming the unquestioned leader of his people, and is emerging as the unquestioned leader of the black people of South Africa. Nelson Mandela has behind him one of the great forces in society, he has people power behind him. Recently, we saw the achievements of people power. People power undid many of the régimes in Eastern Europe. The impact of people power, manipulated and led by Mahatma Gandhi, was extremely significant, so at the moment Mandela has a tremendous weapon in his hands.

I think the challenge that has to be issued to De Klerk at the moment and the challenge that our Parliament, our Government, our society must issue to De Klerk is to go on leading his people towards a non-racial society. We must exhort him to so do, we must encourage him to so do. I would be less than honest if I did not say to this House that I see a certain merit in the opinion which says that we must look at the moment at ways of indicating to the white body politic in South Africa, to the white people in South Africa as led by De Klerk, that we acknowledge what they have done in releasing Mandela and in legalising the ANC.

I am very conscious of the fact that the four essential elements of apartheid remain, that South African society remains horrific. I am totally aware of that but, having said that, I would not go so far as the British position, that we in an arbitrary way lift sanctions. However, I think the time has come when our Government and European countries must look to methods of at least indicating to De Klerk that we appreciate what he is doing. When we look at the position on his right wing, with the conservatives, with the neo-fascists, with the very large public rallies among the whites, he does need some indication of support and approval and he has to be seen to some degree to have brought home the bacon to his people. But that consideration must never be unbalanced; it must be balanced by maintaining the stick approach and by maintaining an effective method of sanctions. All I am saying is that we would need to send him some signals.

I believe that Nelson Mandela has an immense challenge facing him at the moment as well. The challenge facing Mandela and the challenge that we should be presenting to Mandela on behalf of our Parliament, on behalf of our Government, on behalf of our people and within a European context, is that his responsibility, just as it is De Klerk's responsibility, is to go on moving towards a non-racial society. It also is Mandela's responsibility to so do, but it is specifically Mandela's responsibility to lead the ANC away from violence.

I am aware that the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement argue that the violence aspect must be brought to the negotiating table and must be a plank on the negotiating table but, at the same time, it is imperative that international pressure should be suggesting to the ANC and to Mandela that they renounce violence and renounce the violent method as quickly as possible. Never let us forget that the Russian Revolution, which was bred on violence and was a violent revolution, has essentially undone itself and is in a state of disruption 70 years on. Never let us forget that the countries that were conceived in violence, conceived in civil strife and conceived at the barrel of a gun have had very dubious histories afterwards. It is my contention that the great challenge facing Mandela and the black leadership at the moment is to give up the gun and to rely on the tremendous force that is behind the ANC and Mandela. The tremendous force that is behind Nelson Mandela in South Africa is the

35 million blacks who are backing him morally, politically and in every other way. With that people power I believe that Mandela can achieve change without the use of the gun. I believe it is right that our Parliament should be first and foremost in the free world in calling for the renunciation of violence in South Africa at the earliest possible date. Just as we have a responsibility to go on calling on De Klerk, just as we have a responsibility to say to De Klerk and the white ruling bodies in South Africa: it is your moral political international responsibility to give up the racial society and to concede free elections, to concede democracy, to undo apartheid; it is also the responsibility of the black leadership in South Africa to give up the violent methods and to go for true democracy. We have glaring examples on the African Continent of situations where power was received through the barrel of a gun. I would be very concerned that we keep the right kind of pressure on to ensure that true democracy is achieved in South Africa and that, in fact, the result is a truly democratic society, a truly free society, a truly egalitarian society.

That puts us in a position where we must be very even-handed in our approach. It would not be right that we go over the top in our support of violent methods or of the ANC while they hold a violent position and while they still support the use of violence. I do not believe it would be right if we went over the top in that direction. It would not be right if we were to applaud the most minuscule development from De Klerk. What I am saying to the House — and I passionately believe this — is that we must have an even-handed balanced approach, that we must today unanimously and with great enthusiasm and with great vigour welcome the release of Mandela — and that we do with great pride in Dublin where he is a Freeman, and we look forward to his visit to this city. But, as we do that today, we also must unequivocally say to De Klerk that we welcome this development and we must look for methods of recognising what he has done. We must also clearly say to Mandela and to the black people, we believe in non-violence, we believe in the achievement of freedom in a non-violent method through people power. On that basis I rest the case.

Mr. E. Ryan: I, too, would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. As a Dublin man and Irishman, but also as a member of Dublin City Council, I was very happy that Nelson Mandela was freed as we had made him a Freeman of Dublin city. I am happy to say that the Lord Mayor has issued an invitation to him to visit Dublin whenever he can. I also welcome the end of the banning of the ANC. I believe that Mr. De Klerk deserves our congratulations for making these decisions and it would be foolish of us not to see the political problems he and his party will now face both from extreme right wing groups and also from the ANC themselves, who will be a very active and vocal political party within South Africa.

There has been a very heated debate going on over the last week regarding the stand which the European Community should take in response to these measures. I am happy that the majority of our partners have agreed to keep the economic sanctions against South Africa and I am disappointed that Great Britain and Portugal have decided to take an opposing view. The reasons that sanctions were made in the first place were not to release Nelson Mandela or to lift a ban on the ANC. The reasons that sanctions were there was because of apartheid. This is the bottom line and one we cannot let other people forget, both in South Africa and in the rest of the world.

Certainly, I welcome the gestures from Mr. De Klerk, but I have to ask the starting point from which he came. We have in South Africa a system of apartheid known nowhere else in the world. I do not have to go into the details of white only neighbourhoods and the other methods used to divide the community there. The Government are using banning and banishment orders to restrict and silence opponents without having to justify their actions before the courts.

[Mr. E. Ryan.]

Banned people may not communicate with one another in any way, be quoted in public or private, attend any political or social gathering that is a meeting of more than two people from outside the area in which they are restricted, enter any educational institution or factory without special permission. Tens of thousands of people have been arrested and detained without trial over the years. Many have been tortured and many have died in custody. These atrocities and many more are carried out almost exclusively against the black population. Apartheid reaches into every corner of South African society. We have discrimination against the black population in education, jobs, housing in every walk of life.

It is for these reasons I believe that the English and Portuguese have missed the whole point of the sanctions, as the kernel of the problem is apartheid. I am glad that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy Collins, will be visiting South Africa on behalf of the Community on a fact-finding mission. I believe that we should wait until he returns from that to make a decision on what our reaction will be to the De Klerk measures. When he is there I hope he will communicate to the Government and people of South Africa that the vast majority of people in Europe are impressed by Mr. De Klerk's actions and will try and encourage Mr. De Klerk to go even further. I hope that he will emphasise to the South Africans that it is apartheid which is the kernel of the problem and when that is lifted South Africa will be welcomed back into the international community.

I would like to believe that this will happen; and perhaps with the changes in Eastern Europe happening so fast, it will. In case it does not happen, I would like the Minister to take up certain cases of people who are in jail for political reasons and those who have been tried and convicted on the notorious basis of common purpose. If I could take the case of the Uppington Fourteen. On Friday, 26 May 1989, 14 South Africans were sentenced to hang at the end of a trial which lasted three years, one of the largest groups of people sentenced to death at any one time. I am happy now that the South African Government have stopped hanging people, but at the same time they are still imprisoned. On the day after that there were taken to Pretoria Central Prison and they are there on death row. They joined over 60 other political activists already under sentence of death.

Since the nationwide state of emergency was declared in 1986 the apartheid régime has executed 23 political activists for their illegal involvement in offences relating to opposition to apartheid. The 14 sentenced to hang represent a strong section of the community of a township in Uppington, reportedly the most deprived African township in South Africa. It is situated in the remote north-west of the country. Among the 14 is a domestic servant in her late fifties, Evelena Debrun, mother of ten children, the youngest of whom is 12 years. Evelena is illiterate and, according to her lawyer, she is busy dying on death row. She has lost several stone and cannot take exercise because she is crippled with arthritis. Because of this her lawyer applied for bail pending the appeal court hearing this year in an attempt to get her out of jail and save her life. The judge refused on the basis that she may flee the country. This despite her cripping arthritis, her illiteracy, her age and the fact that she has ten children. Therefore, I would appeal to the Minister to take her case up.

The other members of the Uppington Fourteen include a boxer, a schoolteacher, a male nurse working in a Namibian hospital, a labourer and a former treasurer of the town council convicted of killing a policeman on the notorious basis of common purpose. The fourteen from the north-western town of Uppington were among a total of 26 who stood trial. Of the 26, 25 were found guilty of murder, with the 26th being found guilty of attempted murder. Those not receiving the death penalty were given sentences ranging from six to eight years imprisonment on community service orders. The trial arose from the death of a policeman in 1985 at the height of the political unrest that swept South Africa. The events occurred at the Uppington township of Pavello after security forces had broken up a meeting with tear gas. The mass meeting had been held to discuss community grievances including rent increases. Tear gas had never been fired in Pavello before. The meeting panicked and scattered, believing that live ammunition was being fired. Part of the crowd then gathered outside the home of a black municipal policeman. Only days before a pregnant woman had been shot by a municipal policeman in the township. The policeman fired on the crowd, severely wounding a child. He then ran from the house with his gun. Enraged, the crowd then killed him.

Almost all of those sentenced to death were convicted on the basis of common purpose. The judge deemed that by throwing stones at the house of a municipal policeman and chanting outside his house they would be considered to share in the common purpose with those directly responsible for the death. This legal ruling was applied to the trial of the Sharpville Six and other subsequent cases. It has been discredited by the international league of communities as one of the many abuses of the legal system operating in South Africa, a system where the courts are used as part of the machinery for imposing apartheid rule.

At the beginning of July 1989 application for leave to appeal for the 26 against a conviction and by the 14 against their death sentence was turned down by the trial court judge. The trial was then petitioned on the chief justice for leave to appeal. On 8 September 1989 the chief justice granted leave to appeal against conviction for 23 of the 25 trial-less and for all to appeal against sentencing. Although granted leave to appeal, the 14 remain on death row in Pretoria Central Prison. Although the South African Government have put a stop to the death sentence, I believe that the trials of Evelena Debrun and the other people involved in this case deserve to be brought up by the Minister with the South African authorities. I hope that all those who have been convicted under common purpose will be released.

I bring these cases up to highlight the whole situation of people who are imprisoned in South Africa. I am happy with our stand on sanctions and I believe it is an honourable one. I ask the Minister to emphasise to the South African authorities these cases. When he is there I hope he will show to the South African authorities and the South African people that it is only when we get rid of apartheid that we can really bring them back into the international community.

I believe there are great problems politically for Mr. De Klerk and for everybody, I hope that he will urge Mr. Mandela to drop his support for violence. I was very disappointed that he recently accepted that there were acceptable targets in South Africa. I believe the Minister has a very difficult job on his hands, I hope he will be able to bring about a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa. It is a great country, it is enormously rich, I believe blacks and whites can live there peacefully and well together over the years.

Mr. Ross: I am sharing my time with Senator Brendan Ryan, with the agreement of the House. I share the unanimity, which is obviously present in this House today, at the welcome given to the release of Nelson Mandela. Indeed, I note that many Members of this House, including me, signed the welcome to Nelson Mandela which was advertised in all the national newspapers following his release.

I share the points of view which have been expressed by Senator Eoin Ryan and Senator O'Reilly. It is probably wrong that we should at this stage of the proceedings be harping too much on the past. We should be worried about what we can do in this country with our foreign policy to dismantle apartheid in the future. We all know about the horrors and evils of apartheid as it exists at the moment and as it has been practised in the past. I would just like to concentrate in the second half of my very short speech

[Mr. Ross.]

on what the future is in the foreign affairs policy of Ireland *vis-à-vis* South Africa.

I find it disingenuous and hypocritical for members of the Government party in this country and others to continually condemn some of the infringements of human rights in South Africa when we are guilty of infringements of human rights on our own door step. Hanging has for a long time been practised as an evil part of the régime in South Africa, and this Government have been noticeably reluctant to remove hanging from the Statute Book here. It has taken the Coalition with the Progressive Democrats to make them abolish hanging. I have been trying to get hanging off the Statute Book for seven or eight years. It has made me fairly sick to see the refusals of the Government to take it off the Statute Book while at the same time anytime anybody is hanged in South Africa Ministers and members of the Government are happy to stand up here and condemn it as a horrific violation of human rights. We cannot have it both ways and we should not have it both ways.

I stand second to none in condemnation of apartheid, but I wonder have this Government and the last Government found apartheid too easy a whipping boy, too easy a target, because apartheid stands condemned as the most iniquitous system that exists in the international world. There is a consensus about apartheid which is almost impossible to rival anywhere in the world. A lot of that is to do with the tremendous work which was done by the anti-apartheid movement. I accuse the Government of taking such a moral, high-minded attitude to apartheid not because they have any ideological or deep-rooted objections to it, but because they see an international consensus, they find that particular condemnation convenient and comfortable and they know it is safe. I would find it more consistent if the high moral attitude which the Irish Government have adopted towards sanctions in the last few days were taken towards other countries who are perpetrating régimes which certainly rival the South African régime and indeed are worse in what they do.

Has the Minister read the report of Amnesty International on what is happening in Iraq? If he has, why are we still trading with Iraq? Amnesty International very recently condemned out of hand the régime in Iraq not only because of its persecution and its genocide of its own people but also it produced instances as horrific as those produced by Senator Eoin Ryan just now about minors being condemned to death and about torture. Yet in this country we are happy to continue trading with Iraq without a word being said.

I cannot remember — I am open to correction — any protest being issued by the Government to the régime in Iraq about their internal policies. It seems to me totally inconsistent that we can on the one hand rightfully condemn South Africa, but on the other we pick and choose the other régimes in the world whom we condemn. The reason Iran and Iraq, who run much worse régimes than South Africa, are not condemned so wholeheartedly, why the Irish Government are not leading a charge in the European Community to condemn them or to introduce sanctions against them is because we trade heavily with Iraq and Iran. While we protest the appalling evils of apartheid, and so appalling are they that we introduce sanctions against them, we are silent on other régimes. Our silence is in direct proportion to the amount of trade we do with those régimes. It seems to me the answer, unfortunately, is quite simply money.

Everybody knows if they are honest, that when we talk about sanctions against South Africa, it is pretty well meaningless in terms of this country. While we led the European Community in the last six months introducing sanctions against South Africa — and the Minister for Foreign Affairs said this week they will continue because the régime is evil — we are not leading the European Communitiy in initiative condemning other régimes which are worse. While what we are doing may be right and while we must push, should push and will push, towards

an end to apartheid, with that single objective in mind, we are being totally dishonest if we do this from the comfort and security of knowing it will cost us nothing, and from the safety of being one of 11 in the international community. We should clean our own back yard first and then our condemnations would be more convincing.

Mr. B. Ryan: Of course, this is a moment for rejoicing. It is also a moment that deserves some reflection on the past and a fairly hard headed look towards the future. It needs to be said, first, that at least in Africa racism seems to be a particularly white phenomenon. One of the extraordinary things about Africa is the extraordinary non-racism and non-vindictiveness of many of those who have taken power in the various countries that have been liberated in the last 25 years, the extraordinary non-vindictiveness of those who are now free to speak for the first time in almost 30 years on South Africa, their willingness to make it clear that they support a non-racial society and their willingness indeed, to come into conflict with other black organisations in South Africa to insist on the fact that they must have a non-racial South Africa.

Many of those who have led the struggle against apartheid in South Africa are models to most white people about what it means to be non-racist in your language, your values and in your struggle for liberation. There are the occasional sights of brave white people and they welcome the unambiguous welcome they receive from those among the black community who are struggling for liberation. The white community — all of us — have inherited a history of the extraordinary ambivalence of western European "civilisation" towards people whose skin colours happen to be different from our own.

In terms of talking about Africa we need to be very clear, to use clear unambiguous language which does not contain even a hint of racism. That is why I and a number of my constituents were disturbed by the reported remarks of Senator Martin Cullen in this House last week. I want to read what he said onto the record and invite Senator Cullen to make it clear that the ambivalence and ambiguity is not as serious as many people suggested to me. Last week on 14 February at column 1947 of the Official Report, Senator Cullen said:

> I got to know the Africans as they are in reality as opposed to our impressions of them in the hallowed halls of Parliament. Indeed, there can be a great difference between impressions and reality.

Senator Cullen owes it to Africa and to us to clarify that statement. It is the sort of language that is often used by people to signal certain views. I do not believe Senator Cullen meant what many people interpreted. He owes the House a clear and unambiguous explanation.

While it is now extremely fashionable to oppose apartheid, many of us — I would have been a minor participant — will remember the period 20 years ago when every meeting of the anti-apartheid movement would have at least two Special Branch men outside the door because it was seen as being dangerously subversive and dangerously threatening to our national interests. We had a perpetual presence of those who were supposed to protect the security of the State. They have not yet got over that phenomenon because last Sunday in Cork, when I had the privilege to address a small gathering of 100 people to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release, at 3.30 p.m. when other people could find better things to do, there were two of them sitting in their car observing the celebration. May I ask the Minister to ensure that the resources of the State are better used than keeping two policemen occupied watching a celebration of the release of Nelson Mandela. They were not protecting us; they were there to make a particular view known. I will say no more; I was going to say too much.

On the issue of sanctions it needs to be said that there is very little to exceed the crass hypocrisy of western powers and, to a certain extent, ourselves, on this issue of sanctions. Let us remember, for

[Mr. B. Ryan.]

instance, that we slapped sanctions on Poland on the occasion of the suppression of Solidarity, a position I agreed with. Nobody whinged or mutterd then about the suffering of the vast majority of the citizens of Poland. We took off those sanctions, reluctantly and slowly. Long after Lech Wolesa first asked the western powers to end the sanctions against Poland, they continued them. When the people who were leading the struggle for freedom in Poland asked for the release of sanctions the western powers declined to respond. Why? Because our political interests sustained it. Let us remember that there are massive bans still on the sale of all sorts of high technology to the Soviet Union.

There are so many other things. There is the extraordinary ambivalence about violence which gives lectures to a man who has spent 27 years in prison because he does not come out and say "I renounce violence" and does not say a word to the biggest power in the world which has consistently unleashed terrorism against the free democratic state of Nicaragua over the past eight years. What extraordinary hypocrisy. A lot of western hypocrisy is summed up in our attitudes to South Africa, and a lot of it is bluff. Our bluff is being called with the blossoming of freedom in Eastern Europe and in southern Africa.

What should we do for the future of South Africa? I have a very simple view on this. We should listen to those who have suffered. We should listen to those who have carried on the struggle with damn little support from most of the western world until it became extremely fashionable, until western public opinion dragged its governments kicking and struggling into opposition to South Africa. It is easy to forget what was said and done. Up to 20 years ago most of the western powers were happily arming those forces who have repressed the vast majority of South Africans. It was western public opinion which forced governments to change from the position, to say the least of it, of ambiguity and ambivalence. It was western public opinion which forced them to tighten up further, and it is western public opinion that will sustain the pressure. As far as I am concerned, I am very proud to say that I take my lead from the African National Congress. I will support opposition by this country, which is the position of those who have struggled and suffered the brunt of the repression of apartheid and free protest. Those people have asked us for certain things and we should not give them lectures. We should simply do what they ask. We should listen to them, respect them and carry out their wishes.

If we want to do something, not only should we sustain sanctions but we could ban the import of South African coal. It is disgraceful to suggest that when half the world could supply us with coal, when a recently liberated Poland could desperately do with the trade, we buy coal from South Africa. This is a specific demand of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. I invite the Minister to tell us that he personally will encourage Irish people at consumer level to ask their coal suppliers not to supply them with South African coal. That is what the African National Congress have asked us to do — not just to retain the sanctions but to increase them.

We should not be grateful to a minority who have finally recognised that they cannot hang on to power. We should be grateful to a majority who are prepared to be generous, magnanimous and non-racist in their plans for the future of South Africa. That majority is represented by the African National Congress.

Miss Keogh: Senator Ryan is reading something into my colleague Senator Cullen's words. I read this statement in full this morning and it would appear to me quite unambiguous. He has lived in Africa and knows at first hand the difficulties encountered by the people on that continent. I do not think we can read any more or less into this aspect of his statement.

I, too, would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. It is a great tribute to this House that we would allow such a generous amount of time and that

the Minister would allow such a generous amount of time to speak on the subject of his release and of the developments in South Africa. I would like to join with the other comments and statements praising the courage of Nelson Mandela in withstanding the incarceration of the past 27 years. He has shown how a person of great depth of character can survive such an ordeal. I was struck on his release by his dignity and modesty. There was no triumphalism about him. Moreover, he showed little of the signs of stress or trauma that one would expect from one who spent such a long period in jail. That to a great extent, explains why he has been such a source of inspiration to South Africans, both black and white, and to all who despise the apartheid system.

Prior to, and on his release, he showed dignity and graciousness in his dealings with President De Klerk. We have heard they share a mutual trust. It appears that he is a natural leader. He is the right man in the right place at the right time. The calming influence he has exerted on a potentially explosive situation is a tribute to his undoubted charisma. All of this he needs, because so much rests on his shoulders. To a great extent he has been the focus, and the cry to free Nelson Mandela was synonymous with breaking down the entire system of apartheid and all its consequent and attendant evils. We should remember that Nelson Mandela has said that no individual leader can take on the enormous task of creating unity and remaking South Africa on his own and, indeed, that any decisions will be made by the ANC leadership. This wisdom is a measure of the man.

We must also praise the courage of President De Klerk in releasing Nelson Mandela. He must be shown generosity, praise and encouragement. The ANC have said they will send a delegation to meet with him to discuss any issues of structuring the start of negotiations and try to negotiate a suspension of hostilities. We must at this juncture remove any lingering support that one might have towards any campaign of violence in South Africa. We must encourage them to proceed in that direction.

Our generosity of support should not include the diminution of sanctions. I very much support the stand of the EC Foreign Ministers, apart from two, and, in particular, our Government on this whole issue. The release of Nelson Mandela has not changed anything yet, it is merely a symbol. The state of emergency still exists, as does detention without trial and censorship. The homelands policy and various restrictive Acts are still in being and there are many more political prisoners still held.

I fully agree with the Taoiseach's remarks on the unilateral stance taken by the UK Government. It is not new for the UK Government to take a dissenting view. That decision was taken even before the latest meeting of the EC Foreign Ministers. It would be wrong to credit Mrs. Thatcher with a spirit of generosity towards the régime in South Africa. It was not a generous gesture to show solidarity with Nelson Mandela or to encourage the white South Africans to support the undoubted courage of President Klerk. It is a case of economic greed. Unfortunatley it is once again the British Government showing interest rather than principle. Britain is the principal exporter to South Africa. That country is Britain's twelfth largest customer in export terms and there are many thousands of jobs — around 70,000 — directly linked with trade with South Africa in the UK. We should consider reduction of sanctions only on the dismantling of the apartheid system in South Africa. I can only conclude by saying that if Mrs. Thatcher showed the same generosity towards t' : Irish situation as she is now showing towards the Boers of South Africa, perhaps we would be in a better situation in this island of ours today.

Debate adjourned.

Request under Standing Order 29.

Acting Chairman (Mr. R. Kiely): I have notice from Senator Costello regarding a motion which he wishes to move under Standing Order 29. I now

[Mr. R. Kiely.]
call Senator Costello to give notice of the motion and then I will give my ruling.

Mr. Costello: I wish to move a motion for the Adjournment of the Seanad on a specific and important matter of public interest requiring urgent consideration, the matter being that the Minister for Education supply suitable accommodation and treatment facilities for young girls coming before the courts who are in need of same and for whom no such facilities exist at present.

I would like you to allow that particular motion, which is an important matter and which is of immediate public interest, to be debated today in the House. As you know, the matter is once again before the courts and there is urgent need for facilities to be provided which have been lacking for many decades.

Acting Chairman: I have given careful consideration to the matter raised by Senator Costello and I do not consider it to be a matter contemplated by Standing Order 29. I regret, therefore, I have to rule it out of order.

Mr. Costello: What is the purpose of Standing Order 29 if a matter of a pressing nature——

Acting Chairman: The Senator may speak to the Cathaoirleach in his office and he will explain the matter to him.

Mr. Costello: I will be raising the matter again at the earliest moment in this House.

Acting Chairman: We cannot have further debate on the matter; I will ask the Senator to continue on the motion.

Developments in South Africa: Motion (Resumed).

Debate resumed on the following motion:

That Seanad Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela.

—(Senator McGowan).

Mr. Costello: I too, want to express my pleasure at the release of Nelson Mandela. It is a momentous event and it is a milestone in the struggle against apartheid. After 27 years, as the longest serving political prisoner in the world, Nelson Mandela is free. He is a courageous man, a principled man, but it is not so much for the release of the man as a person that we are celebrating here today and debating this motion on South Africa. It is for what he stood, that he was a symbol of his people, of resistance against the apartheid state in South Africa. It is in that context that we can now see South Africa entering into the second phase. Now that the man has got this freedom, we have the second phase, namely, the freedom of a people for whom he was the symbol.

At this time, when we are celebrating his release, we must remember what has contributed so largely to his release. It is, of course, primarily the tremendous struggle that has gone on in South Africa by the black oppressed people there, for their rights as human beings to equality with their white colleagues but, secondly, the very strong line of support has been the international community. The international community, first, in the form of the United Nations which advocated sanctions against South Africa, then, specifically the EC, which collectively decided to impose sanctions on South Africa. Ireland played a specific role in this area and ordinary men and women also played a part, with the result that white South Africa was regarded as a leper among the world community of nations.

I would like to mention, particularly, the enormous impact and role of the Anti-Apartheid Movement through thick and thin, over many long years. As Senator Ryan mentioned, in the early days it was not a popular activity or a popular cause to be engaged in, with

12 o'clock

plenty of attention from the Special Branch in relation to meetings, and so on. I would like to mention also the role that was played by courageous, young trade unionists, the Dunne's Stores strikers, who took to heart the message that was passed at their trade union conference — the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union. They stood up for the principles and the terms of that resolution. They spent 18 months on the picket line in 1985 and 1986. They were on the picket line standing in solidarity with the black people of South Africa.

At this time we must recognise that enormous contribution from a number of very young people who took that principled cause to heart. We must also remember — again in the context of the Dunne's Stores strikers because it arose directly out of that — that the then Minister for Labour, Deputy Ruairí Quinn, decided to extend sanctions to the importation of fruit from South Africa. That was a milestone in the Irish Government taking a stand, and being seen to take a stand, against the apartheid system in South Africa. I would like also to record the role of the trade union movement in general which has, over decades, consistently opposed the apartheid system in South Africa. Finally, the Churches have unanimously taken a stand against that unjust and unfair system. All of those have collectively contributed to the situation we have at present where we are entering on a new dawn of freedom in South Africa.

In that context we must be very careful that the momentum is not lost. That, to my mind, is the crux of the situation. What has happened is a ray and a beacon of freedom, but what has yet to happen is the freedom of the people. It is absolutely essential that sanctions be tied up totally with dismantling apartheid. Sanctions remain and should remain until that iniquitous system of apartheid is dismantled.

Nelson Mandela is a Freeman of this city. It has been an indication of the level of public opinion that we should have been the first capital city in the world to make him a Freeman and indeed, the only one — and that the Lord Mayor of this city has invited him to come and address us and to receive the Freeman scroll of the city and to sign the book in the Mansion House. We also, in this House, should invite Nelson Mandela to come and address us here. The same should take place in the second House of the Oireachtas. That would be a fine way of honouring the stature and authority of a man who has done and suffered so much for his people. When Nelson Mandela is here — and I have every belief that he will be here certainly before this year is out — we should also point out to him that there are Irish prisoners languishing in prisons across the water and that they, too, are innocent people who are in prison for their beliefs. We should invite him to cross the water to England and visit the Birmingham Six in jail. That would be a very appropriate thing to ask of him. It would be appropriate for him to use his influence to ensure that innocent Irishmen who have served 16 years in prison should be released as there is a total consensus of opinion that they are innocent men. I have already written to Nelson Mandela in Soweto asking him on the occasion when he visits this country that he would do that. I asked that he would visit Britain, visit the men in prison and raise his voice on their behalf for their release.

In South Africa there are a number of issues immediately facing the ANC and Nelson Mandela, who is a joint leader. I would consider the first matter to be one of internal unity within the black community. While Nelson Mandela and the ANC have achieved tremendous stature in South Africa as leaders of the black community, there are other aspects and other areas where there is a degree of dissention. This has been particularly true because it has been brought about by the South African policy of creating homelands for certain sections of the black population. A certain degree of strife has been occurring. We have seen violence in the townships — certain internal violence, black against black. Indeed, the level of deaths and maimings that

[Mr. Costello.]

have taken place has been quite considerable. There is need for internal unity of all sections of the black community to be established before negotiations take place, as I am sure they will with President De Klerk. In that I would like to mention particularly Chief Buthelezi who is one of the major figures, the leader of Inkatha and the Pan-African Congress. It is in those particular areas of leadership that the ANC should immediately seek reconciliation so that the black movement would be a united one in the final negotiations for freedom.

In relation to sanctions these are the critical matters. I would like to applaud the position that has been taken by the Irish Government, particularly in its role as President of the EC and, indeed, by the other States in the EC, with the exception of Britain, in relation to this matter. What is essential is that the dismantling of apartheid should be tied to sanctions. When progress is made in that area, that is when we will, or should, consider the relaxation of sanctions, and on no other condition. We must remember that at present the black people have a number of pieces of legislation specifically directed to discriminate against them. The Land Act restricts their ownership of land to 15 per cent of the area. The Group Area Act likewise ensures that black people are confined to specific areas and that white people have the best housing, the majority of the land and quality housing. The Population Registration Act registers the population into separate categories based specifically on racial lines — white, coloured, Asians and Africans. We have seen — and we see in our newspapers today — a move towards relaxation of the Separate Amenities Act, which provided for segregation on the grounds of colour in public places such as swimming pools and hospitals. We saw a very welcome photograph in today's *Irish Times* of a black man and a white man in a public place playing a game of chess. It is important that until such unfair legislation is removed sanctions be maintained.

I would suggest that we should, as Senator Ryan referred to, think of strengthening the sanctions in one or two specific areas. I would refer specifically to the area of coal, where we have coal imports of the order of £45 million coming into this country annually from South Africa. Two weeks ago in this House the Labour Party, in Private Members' time, debated a proposal for the closure of the Arigna collieries before any geological survey had been done to find out what the resources were. It is an absolute scandal to think of closing down a coal mine in Ireland and at the same time continuing with the importation of coal from abroad. We should be thinking less and less of using coal as a fuel. It would be very much in our interests to discontinue the importation of bituminous coal from South Africa.

I have one final point and that is in relation to the present relaxation of sanctions by the British Government. I abhor the decision by the British Government to step out of line with the collective decision of the European Community on this matter and to lift the ban on investment in South Africa. I have no doubt that that is directly related to their own material interests in terms of trade, the degree to which they trade and the extent of their trade with South Africa. Secondly, I believe it is directly related to the fact that a considerable number of South African white people have British passports. Approximately 1.5 million people there have British passports. We saw what happened in relation to Hong Kong, and the problem that existed there when the Hong Kong people wished to get visas. The British Government would be concerned about a deluge of South African citizens coming into Britain. Both the trading interest of Britain and its lack of concern for those who have British citizenship should not be allowed stand against the collective agreement of the EC countries to retain sanctions. Sanctions should be retained in all their fullness.

Professor Conroy: The actual motion we have in front of us is: "That Seanad

Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela." This is an all-party motion.

It is particularly appropriate at the moment that the Irish Government's Foreign Minister will be leading a delegation to South Africa, a delegation of the EC. It is particularly important that we should happen to hold such a position in the European Community at this moment. This country has never — for many years as far as I know — had diplomatic relations with South Africa. We took the decision many years ago that this country, which does not have a colonial past, as have all the other European Community nations, and which has experienced in its own island the effects of discrimination of one group against another, should not have diplomatic relations with South Africa. It is appropriate that we should be going on a fact-finding mission and leading that fact-finding European Community mission to South Africa as well as playing a role in bringing about what Pope John on his visit here described as peace with justice. That is what we want to see in South Africa.

I do not think we need to make any apologies in this House about our views on apartheid. We have condemned it, and rightly condemned it, for the vicious, abominable system it is — that someone should be discriminated against on any grounds, whether these grounds be race, religion, colour or belief. Speakers from either side have rightly condemned it. We must go a bit further than just simply condemning apartheid. We must do more than just simply welcoming the release of this very heroic man, Nelson Mandela, or rambling on about sanctions. I obviously agree with the Government's policy on this, but sanctions are very much a means to an end and the end is not just simply the abolition of apartheid in itself. That should really be a beginning. It is an abomination which should not exist. The sooner it is got rid of the better.

At the end of the day we should be thinking of all the people in South Africa. We should be taking a very responsible attitude towards blacks in South Africa, who are indeed by far the major group. But we should not forget the other groups. If there is to be peace, prosperity and justice for all races, including not least the blacks who have been so appallingly discriminated against, it is necessary that we think of the views and have consideration, however difficult it may be, for the attitudes, prejudices and feelings of the other groups in South Africa.

We in Ireland should take and are taking the lead now in trying to bring about a peaceful solution to a very dreadful situation. We want a peaceful solution there. We do not want it to end up in some form of bloodbath. We do not want it to end up in economic chaos in South Africa. We do not want it to end up in discrimination against some other group. We saw the terrible treatment of the Indian community in East Africa. I would not like to see that happening to the two million Indian community in South Africa. I hope it will not. In someone of the stature of Nelson Mandela we have hope that one is going to see a peaceful development in South Africa. I can only echo Mr. Mandela's words about President De Klerk when he referred to President De Klerk as a man of principle with whom he felt he could do business.

Apartheid, we should also remember, is a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon and colonial attitude. It is not just simply colonial at all. You did not get apartheid in the French colonies. You did not get apartheid in the Spanish colonies. It is something peculiarly British, German and Dutch. Let us, when we are condemning it, make sure that we do not in this country at any time show discrimination towards those who may happen to be of a different colour or view. We are anxious to see democracy in South Africa. We really do mean democracy. It would be a sad situation if the failure of democracy which has occurred in so much of Africa were to be repeated in South Africa. We want to see a solution out there in which there will be genuine democracy and genuine development for all the people in South Africa.

Senator Costello has rightly referred to

[Professor Conroy.]

Chief Buthelezi and made the point that there are other groups in South Africa, other very major groups. Chief Buthelezi and his group comprise more people than the entire white group. Let us not oversimplify here. Mr. Mandela himself must not oversimplify. Let us not forget either that there are other groups in South Africa. One group has not been mentioned, as far as I know, at all this morning, and that is the bushmen, who were the actual original inhabitants going back thousands of years in South Africa. The blacks, the whites and the Indians are relatively recent to South Africa, strange though it may seem. The bushmen have had a particularly appalling time. Up until 1931 there was still a bounty on the head of a bushman or woman or child. If you shot one you got a bounty as if they were foxes, wild animals or pests. Let us remember that there are many groups in South Africa. We, as Irish people would like to see discrimination against none of them.

The white community are divided into Afrikaaners and the English speaking community. The English speaking community are now making a great show of liberalism. It is a little difficult to take that, considering that apartheid began under the English system. Many of today's would-be liberals, including some leaders of that great party in the past, owe their inheritance to such ventures as the slave trade, and so on. I found it very difficult to have too much sympathy for the present liberalism of communities there. Nonetheless, they are a community. They have now, at long last, embraced some degree of liberalism. I have great sympathy for the Afrikaaners. Their behaviour over recent years has been appalling and brutal. It has been inexcusable, but they have been discriminated against pretty severely too. We now, perhaps, forget that the word "concentration camp" originated in South Africa. It was the Afrikaaner women and children who were herded into these concentration camps in the time of parents or grandparents — it is that close — of the present African population in South Africa. There they died, not in tens, not in hundreds, not in thousands but in tens of thousands. Let us not forget that they have this, in their background and in their psyche. However unforgiveable their behaviour may be today, let us realise that there is a background to it. They have had their struggles. They have had their cruelties inflicted upon them, too.

I agree that sanctions should be maintained. Our Government have taken the right attitude. Let us not over-emphasise it, though. I do not think the sanctions in themselves have been a crucial feature. I certainly do not think so-called armed struggle in South Africa has been the crucial feature. What is happening out there is the brutal force of economics, driving white South Africans, and white industry out there, led particularly by the Anglo-American corporation which is the largest corporation in South Africa, into a realisation that for the development of their industry — and it is already a rich country and potentially could be even richer — something had to be done about the discrimination against Africans. That may be a very poor reason for change but economic reasons and economic factors have extraordinarily powerful effects as, indeed, we have seen in Eastern Europe — and people power has been referred to here — the people took it into their own hands to toss out the appalling systems which existed there, and particularly the ancient régime of the Soviet Union. They were not above interfering in Africa also. Senator Ryan has referred much to the West, and quite rightly so. They were not on their own there.

South Africa at the moment is a rich state. Appalling though the treatment of black Africans is, in actual fact, the *per capita* income of black Africans in South Africa is far higher than that of any other part of Africa. Their education, discriminated against though it is and appalling though it is in relation to what is available to the whites, is still of a much higher standard than that available to blacks anywhere else in Africa. Let us

endeavour to ensure, as Mr. Mandela will be endeavouring to do, that that is maintained and developed. It would be very sad if, pursuing our liberal consciences, we were in some sense to allow the very people whom we are trying to help to finish up in a worse situation than existed beforehand.

We, in this country, have a particular responsibility. We are in a very good position to do something to bring about a democratic, peaceful South Africa and a prosperous South Africa where the Africans will get equal treatment, humane treatment, the opportunity to develop and the opportunity to rule their own country, which they deserve. At the same time there should not be a situation in which the previously dominant community will either leave or a community, such as the Indian community, will be discriminated against. South Africa is extraordinarily lucky to have someone of the stature of Nelson Mandela who was able to go through 27 years in prison, the first 18 months of it in appalling conditions and still come out and show the sort of tolerant, wise and civilised attitude which gives great hope for the future of South Africa. Let us in this country, in so far as we can play some slight role, give whatever help we can to Mr. Mandela and to Mr. De Klerk. We must understand from our experience in this country the terrible problems and difficulties of trying to bring together separate communities.

Mr. Hourigan: I am glad of the opportunity of speaking on this motion. The developments in recent times have marked very distinctly and very clearly a dramatic change in the minds of all reasonable people throughout the world. They bring to an end the situation where the black majority were, for so many years, severely and positively downtrodden in South Africa. It was mentioned here earlier this morning that Nelson Mandela is a Freeman of Dublin city. That, in fact, is perhaps a further reason why we should have an interest in this matter. The events that took place in recent times promise an encouraging and enlightening start. We have the commencement of a new era, replacing the era that has concluded. It came about through persistent campaigning under imprisoned conditions by Nelson Mandela over the past 27 years. There are about 300 other members of the African National Congress, known briefly as ANC, still in prison. There is no question of any meaningful discussions taking place while a number of barriers, such as the retention of these persons in prison, remains.

It is no harm to reflect that in June 1964 Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. To all intents and purposes, the people of South Africa felt that that was the end of that chapter as the doors closed behind him entering prison for life. It was the Government's positive intention to lock Nelson Mandela away and to crush positively his liberation movement in the years that followed. But, fortunately, Nelson Mandela, being the man he was, fighting under very handicapped conditions as a prisoner but with a very loyal and tightly-knit support group outside, continued his fight over all those years.

I would like to pay a tribute to the very useful work that the media performed in keeping this campaign alive and running through times in which perhaps it might otherwise have faded out. The media played no small part in ensuring that the case of South Africa as enunciated by Mandela, from outside prison in the first instance and from within it subsequently, came to a successful conclusion. In addition, I believe that the trades unions throughout the world have made their very valuable contribution in the whole area of sanctions and related matters. Countries that imposed sanctions have also contributed to this whole very worthwhile movement.

While other leaders emerged when Mandela was in prison — many of them are now in exile and perhaps some of them have passed on — there is no doubt that Mandela remained the supreme and absolute leader of the black movement in South Africa. It is a great tribute to the character of Mandela, and a great

[Mr. Hourigan.]

tribute also to the many persons outside who did not take advantage of his absence from the scene and perhaps cash in on the position.

It is rather significant to know that the father of President De Klerk — I would like to commend the President in this House this morning for the initiative he has taken this far — played a very key role in bringing the National Party to power in 1948 and it was this party that did, in fact, introduce and put into being the whole concept of apartheid. De Klerk himself had a very fast rise to power but in his earlier years in politics he remained very much in compliance with the party system with regard to apartheid and so on. He was elected a Cabinet Minister in 1977, he was appointed leader in Transvaal in 1982, he was Minister for Home Affairs and National Education in 1984 and then we know that, on the resignation of President Botha following his getting a stroke, Mr. De Klerk became head of the party and President of the country.

At all times since his election he tried very vigorously to bring about change. Prior to that, as I mentioned, he was an advocate of apartheid and rode in with these policies with great devotion and dedication. So, I think his conversion, as it were, is all the greater seeing that that was the sort of background from which he came. He has gone very easy on the apartheid issue since becoming President last year. He agréed very much and talked a lot about compromise negotiations and so on, which is what this whole matter is now about. It was obvious that the major sanctions imposed by countries throughout the world had brought about a serious problem for South Africa and that the economy was not in a good position.

The release of Mandela was, as we all know, announced on 2 February. There was then a feeling that perhaps he might not be released; but, fortunately, on 9 June De Klerk put into effect his announcement of 2 February. Mandela is now a man of 71 years of age, a much lighter man than he was when he was imprisoned in 1964. He was then a man who weighed over 200 lbs. He is now a slight man, aged, hopefully with a good many years of active politics to give to South Africa to help to resolve the many problems there. He is on record as saying that he spent many long and lonely wasted years in prison during his time there over the last 27 years.

The legalisation of the ANC, in conjunction with the release of Mandela, represents a step forward. Perhaps these two factors more than anything else highlight what has happened in recent times in South Africa. There are other objectives and other issues to be talked about, but these are matters of achievement. Mandela has presented himself as a sort of mediator or, as he was described on the media, a facilitator between the black majority and the white minority in negotiations which could indeed be very long and varied. But, provided progress is being made, I am quite satisfied that violence can be avoided in South Africa. I believe — and De Klerk has gleaned this from his many discussions with Mandela — that violence must not play any part whatsoever in the negotiations and in the talks that will go on in the time ahead.

The position in South Africa, which was the last bastion of white supremacy, was rather ridiculous. We had five million white persons ruling approximately 35 million blacks, almost the entire population of that country. That was a situation that could not continue and is, hopefully, nearing an end. There are, as I say, a number of things to be got out of the way. We have to have the release of all the political prisoners. We must have the removal of this three and a half year old state of emergency. These things must happen before meaningful discussions can take place.

The real role of Nelson Mandela is very hard to perceive. Perhaps his most valuable contribution will be to act as a liaison person between the blacks and the whites, or there may be a situation where he may hold an official position in a Government in South Africa. We must not forget that the white people are not going to take too easily to a change in the

situation where they have enjoyed total control of the running of affairs and owning 87 per cent of the land of the country for so many years. For that reason the matter has to be handled very delicately. It will take outside forces in a supportive fashion, in a broad sense and not on one side or another, to bring about a meaningful and correct solution.

It is good to know that with very few exceptions, the United Kingdom being one, the various countries are totally behind meaningful negotiations and are prepared to apply sanctions unless there is a realistic outcome to this very worthwhile initial development. When Nelson Mandela was released from prison he refused, we understand, protection and felt he was quite safe among the people of Africa. He has negotiated for a long time. He is a man of great experience and I believe he will be the centrepiece of any negotiations taking place in the future.

Britain has at present an investment of £10 billion in South Africa and a trading position each way of £3 billion per year. This is unique. It is not the same as the American sanctions and the sanctions of many other countries. The American sanctions have cost South Africa many millions of pounds each year.

I have already referred to the peaceful approach and attitude of Nelson Mandela. That has been stated by President De Klerk after his discussions with him — that he was satisfied Mandela was adopting a peaceful approach. It is important that he get that vital message through to his people. Pretoria worried from the day Nelson Mandela went into prison that he should ever come out again. There was serious and major concern in Pretoria and among all the whites in South Africa when he was released.

The whites have indicated that they are prepared to be siphoned off to an area in the country and to live separately from the blacks; but that is not the answer. The country must be governed as a single country with its millions of people. The imbalance is there, but accommodation must and will be found. I am very pleased with the release of Nelson Mandela and I should like to compliment President De Klerk on the stance he took.

Mr. Lydon: I find this motion rather vague. It says "That Seanad Éireann welcomes the recent developments in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela." Some of the recent developments in South Africa I would not welcome. On television we have seen pictures of neo-Nazi parties, people waving swastikas and that kind of thing. Anything that contributes to the breakdown of apartheid, which is one of the greatest crimes ever was perpetrated upon a people, will be welcomed. I also welcome the release from prison of this great revolutionary leader. However, I find that motion vague in another way in that it does not specifically mention the fact that neither the ANC nor Mr. Mandela have renounced the use of violence as a way of achieving political ends. That is disconcerting. We have had in this House time and time again debates about other parts of the world, and our own country, where the use of violence to achieve political ends has been condemned. This is the right thing to do, because we can see from looking at various developments in Eastern Europe and in other parts of the world that there are peaceful means to achieve political ends and that violence is not necessary.

Unless I can receive some assurance from the movers of this motion that they in no way condone the use of violence by Mr. Mandela, the ANC or anybody else to achieve political ends, then I would have to abstain from voting on this motion. The problem here is that there is a certain hypocrisy. We have seen Governments, statesmen, Church leaders, community leaders welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela — and I, too, welcome his release — but in the same breath they do not ever condemn the fact that he has not renounced the use of violence. I would condemn this and I would ask the movers of the motion to make it clear that we do not condone it. I do not want it to be interpreted that I do not welcome the release of this man, because 27 years in prison is enough for

[Mr. Lydon.]
anybody. He is moving towards peaceful means and that has to be welcomed. If anybody can calm the situation down, this man can do it. He is a man of tremendous personality, intellect and tremendous resolve. I hope he will encourage his party and his people to seek to achieve equality in all aspects of life by peaceful rather than violent means.

Mr. Harte: I should like to agree with Senator Lydon when he said that the motion is vague. However, generally I think its meaning is clear and it is agreed by all parties. When Senator Lydon was talking about violence he may not have been treating like with like. If I recall what Nelson Mandela said on his release when he was questioned about the armed struggle, he stated that what was happening was that the State had been in an armed struggle against the people, and still is, and that he was resisting that. If you consider also the discipline of the ANC, which they have shown since Mr. Mandela's release, you will get quite a different picture. It is not the same as the North of Ireland, where you are afraid that they are going to blow the head off somebody every five minutes. That is the context in which I took it and I think that is the way he meant it. The violence of the State is still there.

I have had a long term interest in apartheid. I remember putting a picket on the Iveagh Grounds in 1960 as a result of a sporting event which was going on there. In 1961 I wrote a poem which was published in the Bulletin of the Workers' Union of Ireland and was later used by the anti-apartheid movement. I have an interest in this. It has been well documented so I will not go over it.

I welcome the initiative taken by De Klerk. It was a courageous step and I wish him well in his efforts. I would never want to support the struggle against apartheid if I thought it would turn around the other way and that the whites would become victims of the system. I want to see a true democracy with full rights and full equality for everybody.

We must welcome the stand taken by the European Ministers, particularly our Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Taoiseach. They have handled this very well indeed. The sanctions must stay, because to take the pressure off at this time before coming to the negotiating table proper would be a big mistake. In the final analysis the real thing that brought the people in power in South Africa to their senses was the effects of the worldwide sanctions and also the fact that South Africans were not welcome anywhere. I have met many white South Africans. I have never been to South Africa but I was a prisoner of war with some white South Africans. I found them to be decent and generous — there was good and bad among them. The system of apartheid had not taken hold at that time, so I could not say any more on that. Virtually every section of the white community in South Africa were deeply infected with this colour prejudice throughout the century and not just from 1948 onwards. We must recognise the human cost of the apartheid philosophy. People were uprooted from their homes. It was a very drastic step for any nation to take. The theory of apartheid was produced after a succession of white Governments had failed to live with the influx of Africans into the towns, so they decided that sterner methods would have to be introduced. The blacks were confined to the lands allocated to them and this was done also in order to prevent the whites from indulging in sexual relations with the blacks and to exclude the blacks from the skilled labout force. Dr. Malan's party did that. They promised the whites they would deal with the threat of homogenity and make sure that white domination would survive throughout their lifetime. Its main philosophy was that different races live happily when they are separated. We now know exactly what that means.

The chairman of the pro-Government Bureau for the Study of Race Relations declared that acceptance of Africans as permanent residents outside the homelands would in the long term make the survival of the white state impossible. He believed it was there to stay and that no

way would anybody get outside it. They went on to say that the Bantu would always be there in order to engage in the white's economy, that they worked for them. They were also of the view that the blacks had no right to live permanently in the towns and they would have no permanent contact with anybody who lived in the towns. They believed they could receive the same rights in their Bantu homelands as the white labourers in their homeland. I ask you. When one considers that all the resources had dried up in the Bantu homelands certainly there was no way those people were going to have any meaningful role in their own workplaces, etc.

The system brought about the massive derangement of African families. They did not realise at that time that the future implications would be so sinister. But the apartheid policies made sure that they were sinister and that there was not going to be such a thing as permanent urban residence for blacks. As far as they were concerned, it did not matter whether it disrupted families or not. Twenty million Africans were certainly not going to be given any claim to civil rights etc. and there was no way they could build any genuine state from the land they got. They got about 14 per cent of the total land area. They could not exist on this, so they were forced to work abroad. They had neither influence nor protection and they were separated from their families. All this has been well documented. But it should be put on the record again in the sense that we are talking about people who were pauperised and isolated. We are speaking now about Nelson Mandela, who tried to come to their rescue. When we read the history we can see exactly what Mandela stood for, what he was opposed to and what his objectives now are; and we must wish him well in that. At the time they thought that an exclusive white state was something that would last forever and they had strategies to beat anything that might come about to upset that.

They misrepresented the situation from time to time. For example, in 1951 Dr. Verwoerd introduced the legislation and followed it up in 1959 with the promotion of the Bantu self-government Act which actually removed all the rights of the South Africans. One would have thought it would have improved their rights but he was removing what little rights remained to them, particularly where the Bantu might be given representation on the South African Parliament. The Vorster Government, in the declaration of what they called constitutional changes, made sure that the Bantu was treated as an area apart and as a possession of the South African Government. They made sure that in those constitutional movements there was certainly no role for the Africans in the development of the white economy. Certainly it ensured that the political rights, which they should have had, to another 80 per cent of the country were not given. There was a grand design and they were made to stick.

Is it any wonder that Nelson Mandela, out of frustration, went the road he took before he was imprisoned? It was sad to see it. The whole background of what happened in South Africa is well documented and I do not want to labour the point too much here. I just want to put on record that there was a good reason for Nelson Mandela's activity. It was great to see that after all those years the man was able to walk out of prison. I hope he will be a great influence. I believe he is playing it right. He cannot opt out. He has to deal with the ANC which is difficult, with all the divisions and so on that have grown up. I do not mind admitting that I shed a tear when I saw him walking out of prison. I hope everything will go right for him.

1 o'clock

I would like to say thanks to the Dunnes Stores strikers who highlighted the situation in greater depth here in Ireland and also to the many trade unions, councils etc, who through the years have been working very closely with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in all the many rallies they held. I would like to congratulate Nelson Mandela and, as Senator Joe Costello says, when he goes to Birmingham maybe he will go to see

[Mr. Harte.]
the Birmingham Six and see what he can do there.

Mrs. Jackman: I was delighted at the release of Nelson Mandela. We are lucky to live in such eventful times where there are two world leaders coming to the fore in the 1980s and 1990s. We have Gorbachev and Nelson Mandela; one from what will no longer, I feel, be referred to as the Second World, and perhaps we are looking towards the dismantling of the Third World with support from ourselves through the EC and the United Nations.

We awaited with curiosity the emergence of Nelson Mandela. He is a curious blend of simplicity and stateliness, a natural leader who has very quickly adjusted to his new environment. I wondered if it were possible for anybody to live up to the extraordinary image that had evolved of him over three decades of imprisonment and even many years before then. What did we find? We found a dignified face, peaceful attitude, no rancour, no bitterness. That is the first important lesson for us.

We must realise that international pressure, and particularly the application of sanctions, had begun to have results with Pretoria recognising that it could not effectively maintain apartheid in the face of massive opposition from both inside and outside. Changes announced by President De Klerk will, we hope, lead in the long term to a democratic non-racial South Africa. We welcome the news that groups that had been campaigning for an end to apartheid will no longer be banned under the new proposals announced by the South African President and that groups working for years for change are to be legalised, particularly church groups and trade unions and once again they will be in a position to continue their efforts towards achieving a peaceful solution.

I would like to make a brief reference to the Dunnes Stores workers' action at a time when it was not popular to be seen to oppose importation of fruit and vegetables from South Africa. Their position in the workforce was certainly not enhanced by the stance they took. I even noticed in a newspaper report the other day that they are still finding it hard to find employment. There appears to be a sort of stigma on them for their efforts during those years, which was very hard, towards the dismantling of apartheid. I applaud the stance of those young workers. They were banner bearers for Ireland.

We realise that, despite the recent changes announced by the South African Government, the fundamental features of the system still remain intact. I will refer to the United Nations declaration on South Africa last December. They were calling for first, the release of political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons — there has been a slight relaxation there — removing all troops from the townlands, ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation such as the Internal Security Act, which is designed to circumscribe political activity. There was also a call to cease all political trials and political executions. The recent changes, as I have said, have not fully realised even one of these minimum preconditions so, obviously, if there is a lifting of sanctions at this stage it will be contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations declaration.

I would like to refer again to the system of apartheid, the Afrikaans word for separateness, and to refer to the multiracial society of South Africa where, according to the 1987 figures, it had a population of 35 million. This comprised 75 per cent Africans, 14 per cent whites, 9 per cent coloured of mixed race, and 2 per cent Asian. The stated aim of apartheid is to keep these four groups apart so that they can develop separately, the real aim being to enable the country's white minority to retain control and to continue to dominate the political economic and social life of the country. They were able to do this through the introduction and implementation of apartheid policies in five key areas. They are separate development, prevention of black

urbanisation, forced removals, black education and crushing anti-apartheid organisations. As I said, that last one has been lifted.

Separate development involves the creation of independent black homelands within South Africa, the so-called sovereign states. They are television words at this stage; the Transkei, the Ciskei etc. These deprive blacks of their South African citizenship and make them foreigners in their own country. The South African Government take little responsibility for the payment of unemployment, old age, or other welfare benefits in these areas. It is very important that we would know what is separatist development. The homelands really are labour reserves where Africans are forced to live when they are not needed for work in white areas. Another point which was part of the policy of apartheid is the prevention of black urbanisation. The economy depends on black people living separately but working in the cities, in the mines and in manufacturing industries but having no rights to establish homes there, their homes being hundreds of miles away in the homelands, and the family separated, husband from wife, children from parents.

Forced removals is where they were pushed out into these newly created homelands. It reminds me of Cromwell's comment "to hell or to Connaught." This is what has happened there — 13.7 per cent of South Africa's total land area was allocated to them, like Connaught in the past was allocated to the native Irish. The similarities are uncanny.

Black education is one of the most important aspects for any developments in South Africa. The Bantu Education Act passed in 1955 was designed to ensure that black Africans were educated only for jobs on the lowest rung of the economic and social ladder, the place assigned to them by the State. That educational policy obviously is unjust and unfair. In a moderate industrial economy, it is difficult for those who are illiterate to earn a living. The 1980 census disclosed that deliberate State neglect resulted in nearly 33 per cent of adult black Africans being illiterate compared with less than 1 per cent of whites.

I would like to make a brief reference to apartheid and poverty. A survey conducted by university researchers from South Africa was financed by the United States Carnegie Corporation. The results of that survey in the eighties clearly highlight the extensive injustice of apartheid and give the lie to any idea that black people in South Africa receive equal treatment. The study showed that in percentage terms more children under the age of one year die each year in South Africa than in other Third World countries, Mozambique, Cuba or Mexico; one-third of black children under 14 are underweight or stunted in growth, more than 90 per cent of the absolute poor are in the rural areas, in some towns in the Karoo region, black people pay 50 times more for water than people in Cape Town, people on the Cape flats without electricity pay three times more for fuel than those with electricity, there are at least 1.43 million blacks in the homelands who have no incomes; a quarter of black women in South Africa are separated from their husbands; whites, who constitute 15 per cent of the South African population, receive over 70 per cent of its income and 98.1 per cent of all income from property accrues to whites; only 5.5 per cent of South African doctors are in the rural areas where 50 per cent of the population live, but in the homelands the ratio of doctor to people is 1:174,000; 2.9 million children under 15 suffer from first degree malnutrition; pensions for blacks are hopelessly inadequate, racially discriminatory and badly administered and the monthly maximum payment is $57; and the government spends far more on white schooling than on black schooling. The list is appalling. If people really understood this and if it were circulated widely there would be no call for releasing any sanctions and it would belie the idea that there was equality for blacks in South Africa.

I will make one last point, a quotation from Nelson Mandela himself: two words that have been identified with him are "moderate" and "compromise." An

[Mrs. Jackman.]

exact quotation he made which should allay whites' fears is as follows:

> Compromises must be made in respect to every issue, as long as that compromise is in the interest not only of one population group but for the country as a whole.

He also stated that the government's opening stance is that while all South Africans should have the vote irrespective of race, the constitution should provide for the protection of whites so that the black majority do not exercise absolute control over government. When he stated that, he was referring to the government's opening stance, and, he explained the government's meaning of "group" is race, and "group rights" means they are not ready to accept the principle of one man, one vote but he says: "we are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand." He has also stated that he will be supportive and protective of the white minority. Nobody could raise one question regarding the integrity of the man. There should be no cause for fear. We in Ireland should exercise all our powers, particularly within the Presidency of the EC, to ensure that we support the South Africans in what will be for them a period of tension, a transition period. They have their leader, he is in the process of consultation but at the end of the day there is no way we can relax our interest, our pressure or our sanctions in relation to the ultimate freedom for South Africa which Nelson Mandela has stated he is ready to die for.

Mr. Norris: I would like, first, to indicate that it is my intention to share some of my time with Senator O'Toole who I hope, is in a position to hear this statement and make himself available to take up this time. I am sure, being the man he is, that he will.

I raised some mirth this morning when I mentioned constituents of mine in Australia. I do not wish to raise any more mirth when I say that I feel especially qualified to speak on this debate as the only African born Member of this House, but it gives me a particular interest in the affairs of that great Continent. My interest in South Africa, although I was born in central Africa, stems from the fact that during the war, when my father was in charge, among other things, of war production for the allies in central Africa, there was no possibility of my parents coming back to Europe so they had to holiday in South Africa. They found the experience so unpleasant they did not repeat it. They were relatively unsophisticated in terms of the way we see the situation today but they found it distressing to have to witness the way people they considered as inferior were treated. The way my mother put it to me — she was very much of the ancien regime — was that they simply did not know how to treat servants. These were people from Europe, many of them from Ireland. They gave themselves a sense of superiority by mistreating people who were less advantaged in terms of education, social position and finance. That may be a fairly primitive gauge but even at that stage it indicated that people were uncomfortable with the situation in South Africa at the time.

Like most other people throughout the globe I watched the release of Nelson Mandela. It was an extraordinary historic moment. It was a moment that we waited for for many years. It does, of course, raise some questions. This was a man who had been away from the immediate political scene for 27 years. When he went into prison I was a teenager, and now I am a middle aged man. One of the things that occurred to me was how will this man deal with the extraordinary complex political situation which confronts him. It certainly has changed since he went in, it has changed in some ways optimistically. For example, there were groups of white people there to welcome him. I was immensely heartened not just by the visual impact of this dignified figure emerging from captivity, but by the amazing imaginative leap of which he showed himself capable. In his first interview he spoke not of injustice, not of the appalling wrongs committed by the white people against his people, but of the need to understand the fears and concerns of the white minority. I salute the moral stature of a man who finds himself capable of this kind of imaginative encompassing. Like everybody else, I welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. I do not intend to repeat what other people have said. It was a very remarkable thing. I am glad and honoured to be part of a country that has consistently supported the anti-apartheid movement. I am proud to be a citizen of a city that has made him a freeman. I believe that Nelson Mandela has, in fact, honoured us by accepting the position of a Freeman.

I was on the march last weekend which celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela sponsored by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. From that experience certain things struck me. Listening to the people on the platform everyone reiterated the fact that sanctions must be maintained. This is a message coming not just from that meeting but also coming from South Africa, from people like Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop Tutu and Nelson Mandela himself. If we respect the views of this man and the people he represents, we must continue sanctions. I was glad that the Taoiseach showed himself again so statesmanlike in dealing with this situation. We have, as the Minister knows I am sure better than I do, an exceedingly important role to play at the moment because of our pivotal position in the European Community. We must respond to this.

I would also like to mention some concerns I have. As we went along in the march we passed the College of Surgeons. There was a group there demonstrating, Aboriginals from Australia, one of whom claims that the medical specimen of the Aboriginal head inside that college is, in fact, that of his great-grandfather. That is important, because it is so easy for us to be tolerant and forward looking when it is 4,000 or 5,000 miles away. I, of course, exonerate the authorities in the College of Surgeons from direct responsibility as the result of a colonial inheritance and so on. They must, however, be sensitive. I wonder if any of us can imagine what it would be like if it was our great-grandfather's head that was involved? I would like that point to be registered. It will be brought up again. It is not my intention to be contentious. I have spoken to a senior member of the Royal College of Surgeons this morning and I gather that this matter may well be speedily and positively resolved.

I would like to say something else arising from that march. I was part of the group that listened to the speeches. On the fringes of the crowd there were members of Sinn Féin and they were shouting: "Where is Gerry Adams?" "Sinn Féin" and all the rest of it. They were selling magazines — *An Poblacht* — the front page of which carried a huge picture of Nelson Mandela and the legend "The Armed Struggle Continues." They were placing that in a context which suggested a parallel, which I completely reject, between the situation in Southern Africa and the situation in Northern Ireland. I call upon the Government similarly to reject this attempt to carpetbag on a very important issue.

I would like to draw attention, because it is important, to two areas of our own hypocrisy in this in terms of human rights. If we feel as we rightly do about South Africa and see it as an issue of principle, let us be aware of the fact that it is an issue of principle, on which we can be extremely comfortable. I would like to ask the Minister to apply the principles of our stance on Mandela to the situation in Tibet, where we have somebody of the same moral stature, the Dali Lama, of Nelson Mandela, who not only did not give in easily to the armed struggle but who has consistently and absolutely turned his face against violence of any kind. What is his reward? His reward is to be ignored in the international fora. We have a situation where in this country we are conspiring, collaborating, with the Chinese Government in the genocide of the Tibetan people. I call upon the Government to register this in the same way as they now are supporting the situation with regard to Nelson Mandela.

I would like to make a final point and

[Mr. Norris.]
then hand over to my colleague. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a very impressive statement to the 46th session of the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights, among other things said this one sentence:

> An impressive body of international instruments has evolved over the years to protect the rights of the individual through the medium of international law.

What are the Government doing to implement, to articulate this, in, for example, the case that I brought at the European Court of Human Rights. This relates to Mandela. It is perfectly easy to be tolerant, civilised, sophisticated and to respect human rights when they are 4,000 miles away. I want to know what are the Government doing in the case of Tibet and in the case of my own action at the European Court of Human Rights?

Mr. O'Toole: I am thankful to be able to contribute to the debate. I cannot think that I have anything new to offer to the very full and comprehensive arguments which have been offered right through the debate this morning and which I am sure the Minister will take on board. I want to be clearly associated with the remarks, also because we have on many occasions, with the Minister of State in our presence, been critical of Government policy. This time we can say well done to the Government. To be even handed in our approach, it is fair to say that the Irish Government have been magnificent in this particular area for a number of years.

My introduction to apartheid was presented to me was by one of my now dead former professors of education, Michael Jordan, whose son went on to be a very famous film director. He introduced to me apartheid as a form of education in the same way as the Nazi system is a form of education. I always looked upon it like that ever since. Everything I have learned about it has shown to me that it is a state of oppression. One of the things that has annoyed me more than anything else over the last few weeks — I rarely criticise any political group in this country — is the hypocrisy of the Sinn Féin head office flying the ANC flag for the last three weeks and trying to pretend that the armed struggle was the same in both countries, I have given a lot of thought to this over the years.

It is important to say that the armed struggle can only be justified in the case where all democratic roots and rights to vote have been suppressed, oppressed and wiped out. It is the only time it can ever be justified; and I am not saying that it can always be justified in those circumstances. As a form of shorthand there is no comparison between the situation in South Africa and the situation in Northern Ireland. They are absolutely contrasted.

In the last few years I had the privilege on a number of occasions to discuss apartheid with Donald Woods, who was a white victim of apartheid. The story of a person trying to live a dual role in South Africa has convinced me of the need for the western countries to maintain the sanctions. I have discussed with South Africans, black and white, the question of the sanctions. I have listened to the blasé arguments of the Thatcherite wing, who say "It is time to lift sanctions and give De Klerk a break." Also, on the other side, there are those people who will say the sanctions hurt the blacks in South Africa. I have discussed it with the blacks and the representatives of the blacks. I would certainly take my lead from the ANC. They are prepared to suffer for another while under sanctions in order to make the point, to make progress and to finally eliminate from the face of the earth the curse of apartheid.

In Ireland there is much hypocrisy. I would like to dwell on some of those things but I do not have time. Suffice it to say that I have not been to an international rugby match since the Springbok's tour of 1973. I certainly feel that that organisation have let us down badly in various ways over the years. I am resisting doing what my colleague, Senator Norris, did, I call to mind some of the hypocrisy in Irish life, not that

referred to by Senator Norris but certainly there is a form of double thinking. Too many of our people find it a useful salving of conscience to be opposed to apartheid in South Africa. There are also things in our own country that need to be looked at. Perhaps it is inappropriate to mention those, so I will not mention them, except to say that, if they are there, a point can be made.

I also feel it has been important to put on the record of this House today the views of Members, because history will note the action and response of parliamentarians. It has been crucially important that there has been such unanimity of approach and response on this issue. Long may it continue. I put it clearly on the record that we should be very supportive of the Government's line on this. It raises one further question, however. It is the only irrelevancy which I will mention. In the Cambodian vote on the UN we did not have the moral courage as a nation to vote against the other members of the European Community. Prime Minister Thatcher had that courage this week. I disliked it and I disappoved of it, but I believe she has also opened up a little bit of leverage for our Government at times when we do not have a coincidental view with the rest of Europe. I wish the Government well on this matter.

Mr. Neville: I would like to add my word of joy on the release of Nelson Mandela. It was great to see Nelson Mandela walking proudly from his years of mental torture aggravated by solitary confinement and years of hard labour. He again proved that the authoritarian state, while it can confine a person physically, cannot break a man's spirit or belief in his ideals. Nelson Mandela is a symbol of the triumph of moral courage over jackboot state suppression. He brings to mind the same idealism as we have seen in Ireland throughout the centuries, when our people stood firmly and suffered for their ideals and principles. It is because of such heroism that we are here today to compliment the heroism of Nelson Mandela.

Nelson Mandela also highlights how helpless any Government can be when it loses the support of the majority of its people. Without question, the imposition of a trade embargo by the industrial world on South Africa was a vital factor in bringing the white rulers to their senses. Naturally, Mr. De. Klerk deserves to be congratulated on beginning the process of the undoing of apartheid. While he should receive support for his actions from the outside world, it is nonetheless vital that the current trade restrictions should continue to be enforced until the process of dismantling his country's discriminatory economic and legal network is far more advanced. An immediate lifting of the state of emergency and a general amnesty for political prisoners is only a first step in the process.

To suggest, as Prime Minister Thatcher does, that the steps taken to date by Mr. De Klerk merits the lifting of sanctions is far off the mark. Mr. De Klerk has only started down the road, which must soon include one man, one vote. I believe it is only when this stage is reached that the western world can lift sanctions on South Africa. It is disappointing that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy Collins, in his role as chairperson of the Council of Ministers, failed to keep unity within the EC on the question of sanctions on South Africa.

The issue facing South Africa is not the armed struggle or sanctions. It is the question of apartheid. The armed struggle of the ANC is a defensive measure against this. The organisation wants to move from confrontation with the white minority. Nelson Mandela made it clear that the ANC are prepared to address the fears of the whites. He is looking for a non-radical solution. In the context of South African history, however, colour and culture have played an important part and will affect the situation for many generations to come. The white population is an important section of South Africa. Nelson Mandela has stated, and the ANC are keen to ensure, that there is no hint that changes will mean domination of whites by blacks.

There is a body of opinion in white

[Mr. Neville.]
South Africa that suggests partition as a solution to the problem. This will not lead to peace and justice but to continuing conflict and bitterness between the groups. The free world rejoices in the release of Nelson Mandela. He has now a difficult task ahead of him. Fresh elections under one man, one vote, must take place. After this the blacks and whites must sit down together and draw up a constitution for a new South Africa. We, in Ireland, deprived of such freedoms for so long, must remain in the forefront of the promotion of this and help the South African people to end the nightmare of apartheid and the indignity of economic sanctions.

Eamon O Cuiv: I would like to welcome the release of Nelson Mandela. We welcome the release in its own right but also as a symbol of progress at last in that South Africa is beginning to resolve what appeared to be an intractable problem. Ireland's role in this and our stand in sanctions go along with our history and tradition in international affairs. In this matter we can be very proud of both the stand of our Government and the Taoiseach on the matter of sanctions and on the use of this method of international opinion which forces change in states that are not adhering to democratic principles.

Those of us who think that violence is an unacceptable way of bringing about change have to offer the oppressed people of the world alternative methods of achieving change in their countries. It has proven in this case that the force of international opinion, the boycotting of sports events and the imposition of sanctions have been more powerful in bringing about change in South Africa than any type of internal violence could ever have been. It is very important that if we want oppressed peoples to adopt a non-violent method of seeking change in political solutions the international communities must ensure that they use such methods to bring about change.

The situation in South Africa has changed fundamentally. For the first time the rights of the ANC to represent th coloured people of that country hav been recognised. We have to admit tha the steps that have taken place are onl minor ones and that, in itself, the releas of Nelson Mandela is more a symbol tha an actual change. As the Minister of Stat said, the amount of change that is neede in that country before it can be accepte as part of the normal international com munity is still very great.

Therefore, it is of the utmost import ance that the methods that have been s successful to date would be continued until real dialogue is achieved and until there are guarantees given to the people of South Africa — all the people — that real democratic principles will rule in that country again.

It must be noted also from the statements of Mr. Mandela that he has quite categorically declared the right of the white minority in South Africa to their position and their rightful position in any future South Africa that will emerge. This is particularly magnanimous and important in the context of this whole problem. The majority are willing to state that the minority in that country would be willing, in the event of normal democratic principles being applied, to afford to the minority the rights they deserve.

In that spirit of unity and generosity from Mr. Mandela there is now hope that we are at last seeing a new dawn in South Africa. I hope that the pressure will be continued to make sure, as has happened in Eastern Europe, that changes would be brought about in the short term rather than in the long term.

Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs (Mr. Calleary): First, may I say that from the number of Senators who were anxious to join in the debate — indeed many more could have spoken if the time had allowed — it is quite obvious that there is general unanimity in the House in relation to the motion and in relation to the feeling of joy that swept right through the country at the release of Nelson Mandela. Senator Harte confessed that he unashamedly shed a tear. There were

many other people who would have joined him in that particular act. Therefore, it is with great pleasure that I can say that the Government joins with the Members of the Seanad in welcoming recent developments in South Africa and especially the release of Nelson Mandela.

Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. He has demonstrated by his indomitable courage throughout the years that the human spirit can never be vanquished. Statements he has made since his release have added to his international stature, since they show that he is without rancour and is adopting a highly constructive approach to the task of creating, through dialogue, a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. This is a point that was made by very many Senators, including Senator Norris, and many others who have spoken about the man.

In the Government's view, the release of Nelson Mandela and the other measures announced by the South African Government constitute a major and very welcome contribution to creating a climate in South Africa in which a national dialogue can take place aimed at the early and complete abolition of the apartheid system. However, the South African Government have yet to take all the necessary steps to create the climate for dialogue. In particular, it must lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners. I, myself, have stated that at the UN, speaking on behalf of the Government. Indeed, that has been stated by very many of the Senators who have spoken here today. It is, of course, also important that all sides renounce violence — a point made very strongly by Senators O'Reilly, Lydon, Norris, O'Keeffe and many others.

It is also particularly important to remember that the measures taken to date by the South African Government leave fully intact the structures of apartheid. Such pillars of the apartheid system as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remain fully in force. There were many other points raised by Senators O'Reilly, Costello, Brendan Ryan, Eoin Ryan, Conroy, particularly Senator Jackman and Senator Neville. The majority in South Africa continue to live under this entirely unjust and inhuman system, which is an insult to the dignity of the human person. The majority continues to have no say in how the country is run and to suffer systematic discrimination on racial grounds in the political, economic and social spheres. While President De Klerk has indicated that he intends to abolish apartheid, what exactly he means by this is far from clear. There are some disturbing indications in his statements that he and his Government still cling to the discredited idea of group rights whic has been the basis on which the white majority has excluded the black majority from political and economic power.

Senator Ross was, I suppose, Senator Ross. In his very strident condemnation of apartheid he also went on to say that the whole Irish population suffers from hypocrisy. Apartheid is a constitutionalised form of systematic abuse of human rights. If Senator Ross had been able to listen to the explanation of Senator Harte, who gave a very detailed description of the workings of this very obnoxious system, he would probably have been less strident. He also pointed the finger at this Government and the last Government in relation to Iraq. Could I remind the Senator — it is unfortunate he is not here — that at the UN Commission on Human Rights last year Ireland not only supported but sponsored a draft resolution condemning human rights abuses in Iraq.

Senator Norris spoke about the situation in Tibet and questioned, as he saw it, the Government's lack of concern in the case of Tibet. I would like to say to Senator Norris that, as recently as this month, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission for Human Rights, explicitly referred to our concern at the human rights situation in Tibet.

Senator Brendan Ryan raised the question of coal again and felt that Ireland and, indeed, the Community could introduce sanctions on coal. I have already

[Mr. Calleary.]
said — and, indeed, many Senators have agreed — that while this is not the time to lessen pressure on South Africa, I feel, however, that to increase pressure would also send the wrong signal. We would like to encourage the South African Government to continue down the path of reform, as suggested by many Senators. If they fail to do so, we could certainly consider increasing pressure there.

Senators Ryan, Norris and Ross failed to realise that the Irish Government are one of the few Governments in the world that have no diplomatic relations with South Africa. Senator Eoin Ryan referred to the Uppington 14 and appealed to the Minister to take up their case. The Minister, with the Twelve, has regularly taken up this and other cases and will continue to do so in the future.

Senator O'Toole spoke about the problems of Cambodia, while agreeing with the motion and congratulating the Government on their stance. I am a little disappointed that the Senator did not seem to have read my explanation to this House on Cambodia. I explained clearly that we had voted for the resolution because we supported the principles set out in it including the right — and this, I think, is extremely important — of the Cambodian people to decide in free elections who should govern them. Our Ambassador delivered an explanation of our vote to the UN in which he made clear our total rejection of the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge regime.

It is against this background that the issue of international pressure on South Africa, and particularly economic sanctions, must be considered. As Senators will be fully aware, it is the view of the Government — a view shared by the great majority of our Community partners — that the measures taken to date by the South African Government, while welcome, do not justify any relaxation of pressure. As I have already stated, the measures taken to date do not even meet the traditional demands of the international Community, including the Twelve, for creating the conditions for national dialogue. Furthermore, they in no way touch the fundamentals of the apartheid system.

I find Senator Neville's remarks somewhat strange. He appears to blame the Minister, Deputy Collins, for the position taken by the UK on easing sanctions at the meeting of Community Foreign Ministers this week. I would like to say to Senator Neville that Minister Collins could not force the UK to accept the path taken by the rest of the Twelve in relation to their aims to keep the sanctions.

It is the Government's view very ably put by Deputy Collins, that pressure, including economic pressure, should be maintained on South Africa until action is taken to abolish the apartheid system and to replace it with a united, democratic and non-racial society. If major steps are taken in this direction, then we could look again at the types of pressure we maintain on the South African Government. However, to talk about relaxing sanctions and pressure at this stage is to give a totally wrong signal to the South African Government. This point has been made forcefully by Nelson Mandela, among others. I am sure we would all agree that the representatives of the majority in South Africa deserve the full support of the international community as they embark upon the difficult task of achieving a negotiated end to the apartheid system. Their argument that international pressure is one of the few bargaining counters they have when dealing with the might of the South African Government is, I believe, a persuasive one. In heeding this argument we here are paying attention to what Nelson Mandela and the other leaders are saying — a point raised by Senator Brendan Ryan.

I might add that in my travels throughout the African Continent I have found that in all of the frontline states that is a point that is very strongly made to me every time I talk to representatives of government.

The representatives of the majority in South Africa also need positive support to help them overcome the gap that has been created between them and the privileged white minority. The Twelve are committed to reinforcing the programme of positive measures which they have been implementing in favour of the majority community. These positive measures aim to provide direct and practical assistance to the majority community in South Africa to help them overcome years of discrimination and neglect. Such measures are increasingly important in the new situation that is now emerging in South Africa. The problems raised by these years of neglect were covered very fully by Senator Jackman, Senator Ryan and Senator Conroy, among others.

As Senators will be aware, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, accompanied by representatives of Italy and France, is due to travel to South Africa in the near future on behalf of the Twelve. Their mission will be to promote national dialogue and to carry out an assessment of the current situation. They will report back to Ministers of the Twelve on the results of their mission. It is the Government's hope that the mission will further advance the prospects of dialogue in South Africa.

In conclusion, let me thank Seanad Éireann for giving me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Government in this important debate. I join fully with Senators in welcoming recent developments in South Africa and in particular in welcoming the release of Nelson Mandela. I also look forward to the day when we can welcome back into the international community a new South Africa which is united, non-racial and democratic. There is, however, a very long way to go before that stage is reached. While welcoming the developments that have taken place, the message that I would like to leave with you is one of vigilance. As Senator Costello has said, it is important that the momentum is not lost. We certainly welcome the developments that have taken place. Let us not also be under any illusion as to the need to keep up pressure on the South African Government until the total dismantlement of the abhorrent apartheid system has been achieved and, in the words of Nelson Mandela, a new united, non-racial, fully democratic South Africa, where every citizen will have equal rights and opportunity is established.

Question put and agreed to.

Sitting suspended at 1.55 p.m. and resumed at 2 p.m.

Building Control Bill, 1984: Second Stage.

Minister of State at the Department of the Environment (Mr. Connolly): The purpose of this Bill is to provide a revised framework for the making and administration of building regulations. At present, the power to make building regulations is contained in section 86 of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963. The purposes for which regulations may be made under that Act relate to matters of public health and safety. However, since the enactment of the 1963 Act, the need to provide for energy conservation and for more flexible systems of building control have led to the situation where the 1963 Act is not adequate. The Bill, therefore, expands the purposes for which regulations may be made to include not just public health and safety but also the welfare of persons in and about buildings. The regulations may also provide for the special needs of the disabled, for energy conservation, for the efficient use of resources and for the encouragement of good building practice.

I will deal with the individual sections of the Bill in greater detail later on but first I would like to refer briefly to the background to building regulations and to the history of this Bill. The 1963 Planning Act conferred an enabling power on the Minister for Local Government to make building regulations to replace the building by-laws which were too rigid and not capable of adjusting to changes in building methods and technology. A draft of building regulations in accordance with the 1963 Act was completed in

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BRIEFING BY PRESIDENT ICRC

1. CORNELIO SOMMARUGA, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS ADDRESSED THE HUMANITARIAN LIAISON WORKING GROUP HERE ON 19 JANUARY. (THE GROUP IS COMPOSED OF THE WESTERN DONORS). HE BEGAN BY STRESSING THE GROWING PROBLEM OF ICRC DELEGATE SECURITY IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WORLD INCLUDING THE TWO HOSTAGES BEING HELD IN LEBANON. HE ALSO INFORMED THE MEETING THAT TWO RC DELEGATES HAS JUST BEEN KILLED IN MINDANAO IN THE PHILIPPINES (ONE FROM GENEVA ICRC, THE OTHER LOCAL RED CROSS).

2. SOMMARUGA SAID ICRC HAD FACED A FINANCIAL CRISIS WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN 1989. RESTRUCTURING WITHIN THE ORGANISATION WAS ONGOING. HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD PERSUADED THE ICRC TO APPOINT THE NEW DIRECTOR GENERAL GUY DELUZ WHO WOULD DEAL WITH ADMINISTRATION WHILE HE (SOMMARUGA) WOULD OPERATE AT THE ''POLITICAL LEVEL''. (THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDINGS THE APPOINTMENT OF DELUZ WOULD BE REGARDED SCEPTICALLY HERE). SOMMARUGA GAVE THE FOLLOWING FIGURES FOR ICRC STAFF : 640 AT GENEVA HQ, 600 SWISS PLUS 152 OTHER NATIONALITIES IN THE FIELD AND 4500 LOCAL EMPLOYEES. HE GAVE AS POSITIVE ASPECTS OF 1989 THE ICRC AGREEMENT WITH THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES, FURTHER STATE RATIFICATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION'S DECISION TO HAND OVER AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMP RECORDS. REGARDING THE AGREEMENT, HE HOPED THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO BETTER CO-OPERATION IN THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT BUT ADDED THAT ''THE SIGNS ARE NOT ALWAYS GOOD''.

3. SOMMARUGA SPOKE AT LENGTH ABOUT THE NEXT RED CROSS CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO BE HELD AT CARTAGENA, COLOMBIA IN OCTOBER 1991. HE SAID THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS(THE CONFERENCE IS THE ONE FORUM OF THE RED CROSS WHERE GOVERMENTS DIRECTLY PARTICIPATE) WERE CASTING DOUBT ON THE PLANNED LOCATION BECAUSE OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN COLOMBIA (SUCH DISCUSSION AS THERE HAS BEEN HERE AMONG TWELVE PARTNERS SO FAR INDICATES A DISPOSITION TO GO AHEAD WITH CARTEGENA PRECISELY TO DEMONSTRATE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR COLOMBIA). IF THE CONFERENCE IS GO AHEAD IN OCTOBER 1991 INVITATIONS WILL HAVE TO ISSUE BY END 1990. THE MATTER WILL BE CONSIDERED AT THE APRIL MEETING OF THE RED CROSS STANDING COMMITTEE (9 MEMBERS INCLUDING SOMMARUGA, DELUZ, THE LEAGUE PRESIDENT AND 5 NATIONAL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES -FRG FROM TWELVE). SOMMARUGA URGED GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN TO THE ICRC BEFORE THE APRIL MEETING SO THAT THE COMMITTEE WOULD BE ABLE TO TAKE AN INFORMED DECISION. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN TOO ABOUT POLITISATION OF THE CONFERENCE (SOUTH AFRICA, PLO ADHESION ETC). COMMENT : THE AMBASSADOR WILL RAISE SOMMARUGA'S REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON CONFERENCE LOCATION / SCHEDULING AT TWELVE HOMS MEETING HERE 24 JANUARY. GRATEFUL FOR ANY INSTRUCTIONS BY THEN.

4. SOMMARUGA THEN OFFERED AN EXHAUSTIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE ICRC REGIONAL INVOLVEMENTS. SOME OF THE MAIN POINTS :

. CENTRAL AMERICA : CONCERN THAT ICRC APPEALS NOT BEING HEEDED ALWAYS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES. ICRC WAS ACTIVE IN RELATION TO A NUMBER OF PRISONERS IN U.S. HANDS IN PANAMA.

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. SOUTH SUDAN : ICRC OPERATION IS ''IN TROUBLE''. THERE IS SERIOUS CONCERN FOR DELEGATE SAFETY. SOMMARUGA REFERRED TO EFFORTS OF SECRETARY GENERAL TO RESUME LIFELINE OPERATION. HE SAID THE ONLY HOPE OF HUMANITARIAN ACTION AT PRESENT WAS FROM ICRC. NEGOTIATIONS IN KHARTOUM HAD SHOWN SPLA AGREED ICRC CONDITIONS -PROBLEMS WAS WITH KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT. SOMMARUGA APPEALED TO HLWG MEMBERS TO ASK THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO HELP IN THIS SITUATION.

. SOMALIA : ICRC WAS BEING ASKED TO TAKE OVER REFUGEES - IF THEY DO THEY WILL HAVE TO ASK FOR MORE MONEY. SOMMARUGA SAID ICRC ''DOES NOT UNDERSTAND'' WHY UNHCR LEAVING.

. ETHIOPIA : ICRC UNABLE TO OPERATE IN NORTH SITUATION DESPERATE AND SOME DELEGATES SAY IT IS AS BAD AS 84/85. GOVERNMENT WILL NOT AGREE ICRC OPERATING CONDITIONS NOR WILL TIGRE FRONT.

. CHAD : THERE IS A MAJOR VIOLATION OF 3RD GENEVA CONVENTION. BETWEEN 2-3 THOUSAND LIBYAN POWS HAVE BEEN HELD FOR 2 YEARS WITH NO ICRC ACCESS. DESPITE SOMMARUGA MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NO PROGRESS. ICRC IS ABOUT TO PUBLICISE THIS SITUATION WITH CONVENTION PARTIES.

. OTS : ICRC IS ''VERY PRESENT'' (HE ADDED NOTHING ELSE)

. WESTERN SAHARA : PRISONERS ON BOTH SIDES, SOME HELD FOR TEN YEARS, MANY NOT REGISTERED. POLISARIO RECENTLY ANNOUNCED RELEASE OF 200 ELDERY ETC. PRISONERS BUT MOROCCO REFUSED TO TAKE THEM.

. IRAN/IRAQ : ''COMPLETE LACK OF PROGRESS'' ON POW ISSUE. VIOLATION OF 3RD GENEVA CONVENTION. NOT ONLY IS THERE NO REPATRIATION BUT VISITS ARE NOT POSSIBLE. SOMMARUGA DESCRIBED THE POW TRANSFER THE DAY BEFORE (50 FROM IRAN, 20 FROM IRAQ) AS A ''MINISTEP'' AND THEN AS ''NOTHING''.

. LEBANON : ICRC DOES NOT KNOW WHO IS HOLDING ITS TWO DELEGATES. THERE ARE STILL 20 DELEGATES ACTIVE. IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS THERE HAD BEEN A LARGE NUMBER OF VISITS TO PRISONERS.

. THAILAND/CAMBODIA : MAJOR PROBLEMS IN CAMPS. 5 ICRC HOSPITALS IN AREA WITH LARGESCALE FIGHTING LAST FEW WEEKS.

. AFGHANISTAN : LARGEST ICRC OPERATION. 3 HOSPITALS,20 ORTHOPAEDIC CENTRES,25 MOBILE FIRST AID POSTS ON BORDER AND IN KABUL ETC. ICRC IS VISITING THOUSANDS OF DETAINEES ON BOTH SIDES AND , WHILE KEEPING ITS INDEPENDENT ROLE, CO-ORDINATING WELL WITH UN AGENCIES.

. PHILIPPINES : REFERRED AGAIN TO LOSS OF TWO DELEGATES.

. ROMANIA : ICRC OPERATION BEGAN 22/23 DECEMBER. IT HAD NOT BEEN EASY TO CO-ORDIANTE NATIONAL SOCIETY EFFORTS. SOMMARUGA IS , HOWEVER , HAPPY WITH RESULTS. THE EMERGENCY ICRC ACTION ENDED TWO WEEKS AGO AND THAT DAY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES WERE MEETING IN BUCAREST TO SET UP A MEDIUM TO LONG TERM PROGRAMME. ICRC WORK IN FUTURE WILL INCLUDE PRISONER VISITS AND EDUCATION OF ARMED FORCES. THE LEAGUE WILL , WITH THE ROMANIAN RED CROSS, DO WORK NOT DIRECTLY LINKED TO THE RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES.

SOMMARUGA CONCLUDED HIS LENGTH ADDRESS BY RETURNING TO THE ICRC FINANCIAL SITUATION. FOR THE 1989 FIELD BUDGET OF 289 MILLION SWISS FRANCS , 257 MILLION HAD BEEN RECEIVED TO DATE. HE APPEALED TO GOVERNMENTS WHO HAD NOT DONE SO TO PAY THEIR PLEDGED AMOUNTS FOR 1989 BY END THIS MONTH AS LATER PAYMENTS COULD NOT BE CREDITED TO 1989 ACCOUNTS. TRANSFERS FROM THE HQ BUDGET MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO BALANCE THE FIELD ACCOUNT. SOMMARUGA EMPHASISED THAT THE ICRC WAS STARTING 1990 WITH ''EMPTY BOOKS''. HE APPEALED TO GOVERNMENTS TO CONSIDER THE HQ AND FIELD APPEALS OF DECEMBER 1989 (ALREADY SENT TO YOU WITH LETTER TO MINISTER) VERY URGENTLY. HE ALSO DESCRIBED AS A PROBLEM THE INCREASING TENDENCY OF GOVERNMENTS TO EARMARK CONTRIBUTIONS, SAYING THAT LED TO DEFICITS IN SOME ACTIONS AND SURPLUSES ELSEWHERE (E.G. LEBANON AND AFGHANISTAN) WHICH HAD TO BE CARRIED OVER.

6. SOMMARUGA TOOK LARGE NUMBER QUESTIONS. SOME POINTS :

. ROMANIA : IN RESPONSE TO IMPLIED FRG CRITICISM OF ICRC STATEMENT SOME WEEKS AGO THAT EMERGENCY OVER, SOMMARUGA CLAIMED THAT EMERGENCY NEED ACCORDING TO ICRC PARAMETERS, INCLUDING MEDICAL SUPPLY NEEDS, HAD FINISHED BY END 1989. THE LOW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT IN ROMANIA WAS NOT A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF RECENT UPHEAVAL. THERE WERE MANY OTHER UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND HE WOULD ASK WHY ROMANIA'S NEEDS IN THIS RESPECT SHOULD BE SINGLED OUT. THE LEAGUE (NOT ICRC) WOULD TAKE UP DEVELOPMENT NEEDS NOW IN ROMANIA. (COMMENT :THIS RESPONSE WOULD NOT HAVE DISPELLED FEELING HERE THAT RECENT ICRC STATEMENT CALLING OFF EMERGENCY IN ROMANIA WAS A MISTAKE AND ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF SOMMARUGA'S PUBLICITY SEEKING).

. IRAN/IRAQ : AN ICRC COMMUNIQUE OF 18 JANUARY 1990 APPEALED TO BOTH PARTIES TO OBSERVE 3RD CONVENTION OBLIGATIONS. THE PRIORITY IS TO REGISTER POWS. IN MANY CASES FAMILIES NOT AWARE IF THEY ALIVE.

. HOSTAGES IN LEBANON : ON ARAFAT'S REPEATED CLAIM THAT ABU NIDAL HOLDS THEM (REPORTED IN SWISS PRESS THAT DAY) SOMMARUGA SAID ICRC NOT READY TO SPECULATE,. ICRC DOES NOT CARE WHO HOLDS THEM AND SOMMARUGA SAID THEY WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE AND ONLY ACCEPT LIBERATION WITHOUT CONDITIONS (BOTH FRG AND IRELAND REFERRED TO NATIONALS ALSO HELD HOSTAGE LEBANON).

. RED CROSS CONFERENCE : CANADA ASKED IF GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO PARTICIPATE. SOMMARUGA SAID YES ACCORDING TO R.C. STATUTES APPROVED BY GOVERNMETNS.

. ICRC FINANCE : IRELAND ASKED IF THERE WERE PROCEDURES IN PLACE FOR INFORMING GOVERNMENTS WHEN AN APPEAL HAD BEEN FILLED, PARTICULARLY GIVEN SOMMARUGA'S REFERENCE TO LEBANESE 1989 APPEAL BEING IN SURPLUS. SOMMARUGA SAID THAT EARLY WARNING ON STATE OF APPEALS WOULD COME THROUGH CONTACT WITH EXTERNAL RESOURCES DIVISION OF ICRC AND ICRC SITUATION REPORTS RECEIVED ROUTINELY BY GOVERNMENTS. HE WOULD , HOWEVER, ALERT HIS STAFF TO NEED TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH MISSIONS ON THIS POINT (HIS RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTION WAS WEAK). HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT SEVERAL LARGE NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES WERE GIVING SUBSTANCIAL UNEARMARKED CONTRIBUTIONS AND THAT 5-6 PER CENT OF ICRC FINANCE CAME FROM SWISS PRIVATE SOURCES AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

R·S·A UPDATE

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NELSON MANDELA RELEASED

Mr Nelson Mandela, an African National Congress leader, was released from the Victor Verster Prison, near Cape Town, on 11 February. His wife Winnie and members of his family were in Cape Town to greet him.

The following is the full text of the statement by State President F W de Klerk, DMS, on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela:

"In pursuance of my opening address to Parliament, I am now in a position to announce that Mr Nelson Mandela will be released at the Victor Verster Prison on Sunday, 11 February 1990 at about 15h00.

Yesterday evening I met with Mr Mandela in Cape Town, together with Ministers Viljoen and Coetsee. During the meeting Mr Mandela was informed of the Government's decision regarding his release.

We would all like Mr Mandela's release to take place in a dignified and orderly manner. To attain this, Government officials are at the moment involved in discussions with parties concerned in order to afford them the opportunity to make suitable arrangements.

Two issues were also raised during the discussions between me and Mr Mandela, namely the State of Emergency and the position of persons serving sentences for politically motivated crimes as well as those who have committred such crimes and who are now outside the country.

I stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable me to lift the State of Emergency without jeopardising the maintenance of law and order. Regarding the position of persons involved in politically motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiation, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime.

I want to emphasise that there can no longer be any doubt about the Government's sincerity to create a just dispensation based on negotiations. I call upon Mr Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contribution towards a positive climate for negotiations.

The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans. All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa".

Some reactions:

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: The world should now pressure the ANC into negotiations with the same intensity it previously applied to the South African Government, Dr Buthelezi said.

"President FW de Klerk's Government was doing what the world wanted it to do, he told British officials, but the ANC was not".

"There has been a kind of reversal which should lead to the immediate stripping of all assistance to the previous armed-struggle tactics and confrontationist tactics that the ANC, the UDF and COSATU mounted together".

The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President was speaking at a luncheon for Mr Nick Mitchell, Executive Director of the British Industry Committee on SA, and Mr Alan Holmes, the UK Consul in Durban.

Dr Buthelezi said that sanctions, even added to the armed struggle, would have been impotent were it not for the ongoing struggle inside South Africa where the real battles against apartheid were being fought.

All international energies and pressures must now be directed at supporting those forces inside the coutry "which are now entering the arena which Mr De Klerk has stepped into".

He knew that the ANC had by no means abandoned its determination to become the sole contender to take over power from the Nationalist Party.

A multi-party democracy was now within reach, but it could be jeopardised by some naive assumption on the part of the West that it need concern itself only with the eradication of apartheid.

He called on international big business to "mobilise massive inputs" to provide blacks favouring multi-party democracy with the means needed to counter the multi-million rand endeavour the ANC was going to make to establish its supremecy and introduce the kind of economy envisaged in the Freedom Charter Formulations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha: The outside world would only harm South Africa and its neighbouring states by prolonging sanctions against the Republic after last week's announcement by the State President.

Mr Botha said in debate on Mr De Klerk's address that he wanted to thank the leaders of all parties in Parliament except the Conservative Party for the solidarity they had shown on the sanctions issue.

"It's this type of solidarity that South Africa will need... not so much against the outside world but to persuade the outside world that we are indeed entering a new era.

"We hope there will be a fast growing tendency on the part of responsible

Continued on Page 2.

Following his release Mr Mandela said, in a BBC programme, a peaceful settlement was possible within five years - as long as black rights were assured. In his first major face-to-face interview, he told BBC television reporter James Robbins the ANC was sensitive to white fears, however irrational, and prepared to compromise with Government on the key issue on one man, one vote. The attitude of President De Klerk, a "flexible man of integrity", made a peaceful settlement possible.

Governments to regard the season of sanctions as being over".

"If South Africa was to succeed in its goals of job creation, training and provision of more housing for lower income groups, it would certainly need economic growth and funds".

Later Mr Botha said it made no real difference what colour the future State President was if he headed a constitutional structure approved by the majority of South Africans.

At a briefing of foreign and local press, Mr Botha was asked about his controversial statement some years back that a future State President could be black.

It was clear that any new constitutional order would have to be negotiated and would have to have the support of the majority of South Africans.

"One cannot be more democratic than that", he said.

"How that majority approval was achieved was South Africa's affair.

"It is for us to decide, the best means to achieve a result is not a debate to be conducted by other Governments or the United Nations".

It was up to the Government, the ANC, Inkatha and other parties to negotiate a new constitution.

"As far as I am concerned if a central Government emerges, than what does it matter who's heading it as long as all South Africans can identify with it and its structure enjoys the support of the majority of South Africans?"

The Mayor of Soweto: The people of Soweto "wholeheartedly" supported the "bold step" taken by President F[illegible]e Klerk, the Mayor of Soweto, Mr S Mkhawanazi, said.

He said in a statement that the organisation for African Unity (OAU) declaration in Lusaka called for negotiations which would result, not in the amendment of apartheid reform, but in its total abolition.

"We believe that the constitutional principles put forward in the declaration will lay the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution to apartheid and will hence enable our country to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African states, and indeed, within the world community. □

Why Sanctions Must Cease

South Africa's extreme right-wingers - Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Eugene Terre Blanche's neo-Nazi AWB - are happy about the continuation of sanctions by most Western countries after the release of Nelson Mandela and legalization of the ANC. If enough of De Klerk's followers desert him, disappointed that his concessions to the blacks have brought not one benefit to the whites, then apartheid may yet be saved.

It is true that De Klerk's concessions, while huge by South African standards, meet only some of the ANC's demands. Very well, would not a *partial* relaxation of sanctions be an appropriate response to *partial* concessions? "No", says the ANC, "the pressures must be kept up" - a cry echoed by the British Opposition.

Mrs Thatcher may have been unparliamentary when she said this week that Labour was "taking instructions from the ANC", but she was right. Messrs Kinnock and Kaufman had no reasoned answer to the well-reasoned case presented by William Waldegrave, Foreign Office Minister of State. All they could say was: "The ANC says so, so it must be done". Mr Kinnock invoked Mandela's name in tones which implied that rational argument on the subject of South Africa has become irreverent as well as irrelevant.

The problem with "keeping up the pressure" is that it is falling on the wrong people. The whites who are hurt by it, politically, are those who want to move away from apartheid; those who want to keep apartheid are delighted with the line Labour is following.

Supporters of "Keep up the pressure" reply - it is their only argument - that the ANC knows best. The ANC is indeed the leading authority on the hopes and demands of South African blacks but, collectively, has no particular expertise about white politics; and for the few individual members who may possess such expertise, it would be political suicide to express concern about the future of any white politician. "Keep up the pressure" - whether it makes sense or not - is a mandatory position for the ANC just now.

Yet it remains true that the political survival of those National Party MP's who accept De Klerk's lead is essential if the transition to non-racial elections is to be carried out relatively peacefully and at an early date. It is not a question of "rewarding" De Klerk but of preventing the loss of so many of his followers to the Conservatives that he could no longer deliver his policy of getting away from apartheid. Although Mandela's position is also fraught with difficulties, it is De Klerk - Mandela's indispensable partner if apartheid is to be ended peacefully - whose position is endangered. Mandela is adored by the great majority of the blacks. De Klerk is, at best, tolerated by a majority - if it is still a majority - of the whites, and he is hated by a substantial, and perhaps a growing minority of them.

Mandela's statements since his release will certainly have disappointed many of De Klerk's followers. Mandela could not, without gravely compromising his political authority, have attempted, at this stage, to call off the armed struggle. He had to confirm that it goes on. But many of the simpler folk who reluctantly went along with De Klerk did so with a vague hope that Mandela's release would be followed by the end of violence and of sanctions. Those hopes are now dashed (with Mrs Thatcher and her government the one bright spot on the international horizon). De Klerk, to do him justice is making the most of what reassurance Mandela has been able to offer (which is more reassurance than some of Mandela's political colleagues care for).

As I watch so many well-intentioned-people rush to keep up the pressure on De Klerk, I am reminded of an ominous precedent from Northern Ireland. In 1974, Brian Faulkner, then leader of the Unionists, went further towards conciliating the Roman Catholics than any or his predecessors had done. He agreed to a power-sharing executive, proportionately representative of the two communities. The response was to "keep up the pressure", obliging Faulkner to take a long step towards the unification of Ireland through the acceptance of a Council of Ireland, complete with "three tiers" and "executive powers" and anything else anybody could think of that would add to the Unionists' distress. Then the hardliners in his own community destroyed him and his power-sharing executive together. Not a single Faulkner Unionist was returned in the ensuing general election.

I hope that Labour people, before applying any more pressure on De Klerk, will ponder the fate of Brian Faulkner and his policy. If De Klerk fails, the consequences for South Africa are likely to be far worse than they were in the Northern Ireland case - possibly military rule and armed repression eclipsing the memory of Tiananmen Square.

Mandela is aware of the dangers and anxious to save De Klerk. But Mandela in the days immediately following his release has little room for manoeuvre. Neil Kinnock spoke as if Mandela *personally* was calling for the continuation of sanctions, but Mandela make it plain that this was the policy of the ANC. What he said was: "It is too early for anybody to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions." That does not debar anyone else from calling for it.

Mandela genuinely wants reconciliation - not only between blacks and white, but between blacks and blacks; between the ANC and Buthelezi, for example. But there are those in the ANC who don't want any of that, and who secretly oppose Mandela. Once Mandela has overcome that opposition and is free to shape ANC policy in his own magnanimous image, things will get easier for De Klerk. But the danger is that, before that can happen, de Klerk will have fallen, the soldiers will be in charge, and Mandela will be back in jail.

That is the direction in which the "keep up the pressure" school of thought is pushing South Africa.

This article, by Conor Cruise O'Brien, appeared in **The Times** *of 15 February 1990.* © **The Times,** *1990.* □

The Director of the **Endangered Wildlife Trust,** Dr John Ledger, recently told the Wildlife Society of Namibia in Windhoek that emotional pressure in the northern hemisphere was threatening wildlife conservation in Africa.

Dr Ledger said the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species was politically and emotionally motivated in its recent decision to ban ivory trade.

He said a practical and unique African approach to wildlife conservation would help sustain wildlife on the continent.

The ivory ban is opposed by countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana, which all have stable and protected elephant population, yielding a very valuable quantity of ivory during normal culling operations.

Dr Ledger said wildlife managment required greater co-operation between rural population, government officials, non-governmental organisations and the private sector.

The era of **mailship cruises** between Cape Town and Southampton is to return in limited form with the announcement by Safmarine in Cape Town on Friday March 2 that passenger accommodation will be made available on four container vessels serving Europe.

Five double cabins on each of the vessels will be made available to members of the general public between the ports of Cape Town and Southampton, providing approximately 32 voyages per year in each direction.

"The fare structure and other relevant conditions were being reviewed and would be released shortly", Safmarine said, stating that it was anticipated that the service would be available by mid-May.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, indicated South Africa is prepared to act as mediator in attempts to end the civil war raging in **Angola,** but will do so only if asked, SABC Radio News reported on Thursday.

Addressing a news conference in Luanda after a one-day visit, Mr Botha said South Africa regarded the conflict as an internal matter, which it believed could be resolved only by Angolans.

He said the countries of southern Africa were aware of the futility of conflict and the value of co-operation.

During his visit, Mr Botha held talks with his Angolan counterpart, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem, and paid a courtesy call on President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

President Dos Santos congratulated South Africa on its recent reforms, and offered Angola's support for State President F W de Klerk's initiatives, the radio said.

President's F W de Klerk's actions were on a par with those of President Abraham Lincoln, the **Rev Jesse Jackson** said.

Addressing a Cape Town press club breakfast, Rev Jackson said:

"There comes a rare moment in time when one person, through sheer force of will, sense of human dignity and love for his country, can rise above the status quo to do a magnificent thing.

Abraham Lincoln did such a thing, Both men rose above history and tradition at the risk of losing themselves".

He said President De Klerk's move was a special and rare moment. He had chosen the moral option above the party political or popular option.

NEWS IN BRIEF

A full bench of the **Pretoria Supreme Court** ruled on Friday that the National Party candidate in the Gezina constituency in last year's election, Mr Karel Swanepoel, must retain his seat, but reduced his majority to four, reports SABC's radio news.

Initially, he had a majority of seven votes.

The Deputy Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice CF Eloff, rejected the application by the Conservative Party candidate, Mr Daan van der Merwe, who contested the result.

The applicant was also ordered to pay Mr Swanepoel's legal costs.

ESKOM (Electricity supply commission) has started construction on a **powergrid** of more than 2,000 km on the Botswana border in the northern Cape.

The estimated cost of the project is R60 million, and on completion it will have over 560 supply points available.

In terms of cost and distance, Project Molopo could be considered the largest in the South African desert area.

With the building of the powergrid many of the indigenous thorn trees are being destroyed but "every possible plan is being made to protect these trees and the ecology in this area", an ESKOM spokesman said.

A CLEANER SOUTH AFRICA

The most comprehensive investigation into the disposal of hazardous waste to be conducted in South Africa has been launched in Cape Town by the Foundation for Research Development (FRD) of the CSIR.

At the request of the Department of Environment Affairs, the FRD's investigation will deal with all aspects of the processing and disposal of such waste through the establishment of an ecologically acceptable strategy and action plan.

The Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr G J Kotze, said the investigation would help South Africa to "avoid the same mistakes as have been made elsewhere in the world in dealing with hazardous waste".

He added there was "serious concern for the disposal of hazardous waste in the future, especially whith the malpractices concerning the international transport of this type of waste".

Disposal was likely to become one of the major environmental issues worldwide throughout the coming decade, and South Africa needed to draw up a thorough strategy to deal with this before any major problems arose.

The investigation will be led by Dr Graham Noble, Manager of the FRD, and reliable information on the amounts and types of waste will be sought by his team from industrialists, individuals and concerned bodies.

The team also plans two workshops on the problem during the year, and findings will be discussed with interested parties.

Any persons or bodies interested in participating are urged to contact Dr Noble at (012) 841-3807/2071; investigation liaison officer Claire McKinnon at (012) 841-3781, or Mr Morkel Steyn of the Department of Environment Affairs at (012) 310-3580.

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FULL, EQUAL FRANCHISE

The new South Africa the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was creating would ensure all its citizens a full and equal franchise in an undivided multi-party democracy, the Minister of constitutional development and national education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said.

In the debate on the presidential opening address he said the Government had taken a risk in making its announcements. Outstanding and unresolved problems could now be straightened out through negotiation.

"It would be petty to make further demands in terms of a 'shopping list'. To respond with an all or nothing approach would be fault-finding and cowardly", he said.

It would demonstrate that the ANC was not seriously pursuing negotiation and he challenged the organisation to relinquish violence unequivocally and to make its influence felt in the public domain of peaceful politics.

Dr Viljoen said President De Klerk's Government had set itself the task of transforming the country into a new South Africa.

"This new South Africa is no mere sweet-sounding rhetoric", he said. "The outlines and essential traits of this initially vague concept are becoming clearer and more sharply defined".

It formed the essence of the vision with which the Government was inviting all South Africans to join it in entering the future.

"This new South Africa broadens the basis of democracy so as to ensure to all its citizens full and equal franchise and other political rights within an undivided, multi-party democratic state.

"It binds together all its people into one nation composed of a diversity of recognised minorities, with emphasis on national-building and on common patriotism and loyalty to our nation, but without prejudicing the protection of the rights of minorities against domination.

"The new South Africa was committed to the removal of the remainders of discrimination and apartheid and guaranteed all its inhabitants equal rights and opportunities through constitutional protection of human rights and of groups and minorities.

"It also sought to identify and extend the common values and ideals uniting its people to form the basis of nationhood, wished to meet the requirements of fairness, justice and human dignity and to allow freedom of association to take its natural course without statutory prescriptiveness.

"One of the most important shifts in emphasis of the policy of the National Party has been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided South Africa".

The process of nation-building had been long and often painful and tended to be exclusive before becoming inclusive. First come the growing together of Afrikaans and English-speakers. A sense of National unity amongst whites only came about after the coming of the Republic.

Only after the 1983 constitution did the South African nation become multi-racial with the inclusion of the coloured and Indian communities.

"Now the final step is to replace the constitution with a new one which in all repects completes the broadening of our nationhood to comprise all South Africans irrespective of race or ethnic origin".

The concept of minority or group protection would have to comply with democratic and non-discriminatory requirements, otherwise it would obviously not pass the test of the negotiation process, Dr Viljoen said.

The recent developments in Eastern Europe made it possible for the Government to take bold steps which it could not have contemplated a year ago.

It acknowledged that all forms of communism were not dead but it now had the courage to face it politically and contain communism as an insignificant minority party.

Discussing the fundamental dilemma facing the country he said that both sides had to be seen and understood to act responsibly.

On the one hand was the legitimate claim of all the coutry's citizens, and in partivular its Black population, to full voting rights up to the highest level of Government and therefore a full share in the Government of the Country.

"On the other hand there was the justifiable need and demand of minor[illegible] in particular the whites, for constitutional protection against domination and for guarantees of a meaningful share in political decision-making.

And between these two aspects through peaceful negotiation, by give and take, an acceptable compromise and balance must be achieved by reconciliation".

The problem was compounded by demands for black majority rule in a unitary state and this was unacceptable to the National Party.

It had been repeatedly pointed out, even by the left, that a mere exchange of White minority domination for Black majority domination was simply not attainable or acceptable.

"The practical realities of our country demands and effective form of minority protection as a component of the new power-sharing", the Minister said.

The Minister of constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has predicted today that in 10 years' time South Africa would have "some kind of coalition of parties", with the National Party no longer in sole control.

Answering questions ar a briefing session for local and foreign journalists, he said he would, however, not rule out that the NP would still have a "meaningful" role.

He acknowledged that the NP had a "tough job ahead" to orientate its supporters to the changes it was bringing about.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, had, however, established himself as a man willing to take political risks, not the least of which was the new approach to public protests and demonstrations.

There was an appreciation from National Party supporters for this willingness to take risks.

South Africa's situation had changed fundamentally following recent events in Eastern Europe ... which had resulted in communism becoming less of a political threat.

On groups, Dr Viljoen said the Government would like to negotiate a position for those who wanted free association (such as an "open" group), but, as this matter was under investigation, he preferred not to elaborate. □

The items used in RSA Update are derived from South Africa Press Association, the South African and UK media and do not necessarily reflect the view of the editor or the South African Embassy.

R·S·A UPDATE

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FAX COVER SHEET

94

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Table 1. Basic indicators

		Population (millions) mid-1987	Area (thousands of square kilometers)	GNP per capita: Dollars 1987	GNP per capita: Average annual growth rate (percent) 1965–87	Average annual rate of inflation (percent): 1965–80	Average annual rate of inflation (percent): 1980–87	Life expectancy at birth (years) 1987
Low-income economies		2,822.9 t	37,183 t	290 w	3.1 w	8.9 w	8.6 w	61 w
China and India		1,866.1 t	12,946 t	300 w	3.9 w	2.9 w	5.5 w	65 w
Other low-income		956.9 t	24,166 t	260 w	1.5 w	18.2 w	13.3 w	54 w
1	Ethiopia	44.8	1,222	120	0.1	3.4	2.6	47
2	Bhutan	1.3	47	150	..	..	..	48
3	Chad	5.3	1,284	150	−2.0	6.0	5.3	46
4	Zaire	32.6	2,345	150	−2.4	24.9	53.5	52
5	Bangladesh	106.1	144	160	0.3	14.9	11.1	51
6	[illegible]	3.9	118	160	1.4	7.0	12.4	46
7	Nepal	19.6	141	160	0.3	7.9	010	51
8	Lao PDR	3.8	237	170	..	..	46.5	48
9	Mozambique	14.6	802	170	..	..	26.9	46
10	Tanzania	23.9	945	180	−0.4	9.9	24.5	52
11	Burkina Faso	8.3	274	190	1.6	8.2	4.4	47
12	Madagascar	10.9	587	210	−1.8	7.9	17.4	50
13	Mali	7.8	1,240	210	..	..	4.2	47
14	Burundi	5.0	28	250	1.6	8.5	7.9	49
15	Zambia	7.2	753	250	−2.1	6.4	28.7	53
16	Niger	6.8	1,267	260	−2.2	7.5	4.1	45
17	Uganda	15.7	236	260	−2.7	21.2	95.2	48
18	China	1,068.5	9,561	290	5.2	0.0	6.2	69
19	Somalia	5.7	638	290	0.3	10.5	37.8	47
20	Togo	3.3	57	290	0.9	6.9	6.6	51
21	India	797.5	3,288	300	1.8	7.6	7.7	58
22	Rwanda	6.4	26	300	1.6	12.4	4.5	49
23	Sierra Leone	3.8	72	300	0.2	8.0	50.0	41
24	Benin	4.3	113	310	0.2	7.4	8.2	50
25	Central African Rep.	2.7	623	330	−0.3	8.5	7.9	50
26	Kenya	22.1	583	330	1.9	7.3	10.3	58
27	Sudan	23.1	2,506	330	−0.5	11.8	31.7	50
28	Pakistan	102.4	796	350	2.5	10.3	7.3	55
29	Haiti	6.1	28	360	0.5	7.3	7.9	55
30	Lesotho	1.6	30	370	4.7	8.0	12.3	56
31	Nigeria	106.6	924	370	1.1	19.7	10.1	51
32	Ghana	13.6	239	390	−1.6	22.8	48.3	54
33	Sri Lanka	16.4	66	430	3.0	9.4	11.8	70
34	Yemen, PDR	2.3	333	430	..	..	5.0	51
35	Mauritania	1.9	1,031	440	−0.6	7.7	9.8	46
36	Indonesia	191.4	1,905	450	4.5	34.2	8.5	60
37	Liberia	2.3	111	450	−1.6	8.3	1.5	54
38	Afghanistan	..	648	..	..	6.9	..	..
39	Burma	39.3	677	..	..	..	..	60
40	Guinea	6.5	246	..	..	2.9	..	42
41	Kampuchea, Dem.	..	181	..	..	..	..	..
42	Viet Nam	65.0	330	..	..	..	..	66
Middle-income economies		1,038.8 t	36,118 t	1,810 w	2.5 w	20.4 w	62.3 w	68 w
Lower-middle-income		689.6 t	14,781 t	1,300 w	2.2 w	16.9 w	86.7 w	64 w
43	Senegal	7.0	196	520	−0.6	6.5	9.1	48
44	Bolivia	6.7	1,099	580	−0.5	15.7	601.8	53
45	Zimbabwe	9.0	391	580	0.9	6.4	13.4	58
46	Philippines	58.4	300	590	1.7	11.7	16.7	63
47	Yemen Arab Rep.	8.5	195	590	..	..	11.4	51
48	Morocco	23.3	447	610	1.8	6.1	7.3	61
49	Egypt, Arab Rep.	50.1	1,002	680	3.5	7.3	9.3	61
50	Papua New Guinea	3.7	462	700	0.8	7.5	4.4	54
51	Dominican Rep.	6.7	49	730	2.3	6.8	16.3	66
52	Côte d'Ivoire	11.1	322	740	1.0	9.5	4.4	52
53	Honduras	4.7	112	810	0.7	5.6	4.9	64
54	Nicaragua	3.3	130	820	−2.5	8.9	86.6	63
55	Thailand	53.6	514	850	3.9	6.3	2.8	64
56	El Salvador	4.9	21	860	−0.4	7.0	16.5	62
57	Congo, People's Rep.	2.0	342	870	4.2	6.6	1.8	59
58	Jamaica	2.4	11	940	−1.3	12.8	19.4	74
59	Guatemala	8.4	109	950	1.3	7.1	12.7	62
60	Cameroon	10.9	475	970	3.8	8.9	8.1	56
61	Paraguay	3.9	407	980	3.4	9.6	21.0	67
62	Ecuador	9.9	284	1,040	3.3	10.9	29.5	65
63	Botswana	1.1	582	1,050	8.9	8.1	8.4	59
64	Tunisia	7.6	164	1,180	3.6	6.7	8.3	65
65	Turkey	52.8	781	1,210	2.8	20.7	37.4	64
66	Colombia	29.5	1,139	1,240	2.7	17.4	23.7	66
67	Chile	12.5	757	1,310	0.2	129.9	20.6	72

Note: For data comparability and coverage, see the technical notes. Figures in italics are for years other than those specified.

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		Population (millions) mid-1987	Area (thousands of square kilometers)	GNP per capita		Average annual rate of inflation (percent)		Life expectancy at birth (years)
				Dollars 1987	Average annual growth rate (percent) 1980–87	1965–80	1980–87	1987
68	Fiji	20.2	1.285	1,470	0.2	20.5	101.5	61
69	Mauritius	1.0	2	1,490	3.2	11.4	8.1	67
70	Jordan	3.8	98	1,560	...	...	2.8	66
71	Costa Rica	2.6	51	1,610	1.5	11.3	28.6	74
72	Syrian Arab Rep.	11.2	185	1,640	3.3	9.3	11.0	65
73	Malaysia	16.5	330	1,810	4.1	4.9	1.1	70
74	Mexico	81.9	1,973	1,830	2.9	13.0	68.9	69
75	South Africa	33.1	1,221	1,890	0.6	10.0	13.8	60
76	Poland	37.7	313	1,930	...	...	29.2	71
77	Lebanon	...	10	...	...	9.3	...	...
	Upper-middle-income	433.1 t	20,395 t	2,710 w	3.9 w	23.2 w	86.8 w	67 w
78	Brazil	141.6	8,512	2,020	4.1	31.3	166.3	65
79	Uruguay	3.0	176	2,190	1.4	57.8	54.5	71
80	Hungary	10.6	93	2,240	3.8	2.6	5.7	70
81	Panama	2.3	77	2,540	2.4	5.4	3.3	73
82	Argentina	31.1	2,767	2,390	0.1	78.2	298.7	71
83	Yugoslavia	23.4	256	2,490	3.7	15.3	57.2	71
84	Algeria	23.1	2,382	2,680	3.2	9.8	5.6	63
85	Korea, Rep.	42.1	98	2,690	6.4	18.8	5.0	69
86	Gabon	1.1	268	2,700	2.1	13.7	2.6	52
87	Portugal	10.2	92	2,830	3.2	13.5	20.8	73
88	Venezuela	18.3	912	3,230	−0.9	10.4	11.6	70
89	Greece	10.0	132	4,020	3.1	10.5	19.7	76
90	Trinidad and Tobago	1.3	5	6,210	1.3	14.0	6.2	70
91	Libya	4.1	1,760	6,460	−2.2	15.4	0.1	61
92	Oman	1.3	212	6,810	8.0	19.6	−6.5	55
93	Iran, Islamic Rep.	47.0	1,648	...	...	13.8	...	63
94	Iraq	17.1	435	...	...	...	...	64
95	Romania	22.9	238	...	...	...	...	70
	Low- and middle-income	3,861.6 t	73,138 t	760 w	2.7 w	18.5 w	43.8 w	61 w
	Sub-Saharan Africa	442.7 t	20,999 t	330 w	0.6 w	12.3 w	13.5 w	52 w
	East Asia	1,512.7 t	16,813 t	470 w	5.1 w	5.8 w	8.8 w	68 w
	South Asia	1,080.9 t	5,181 t	280 w	1.8 w	8.4 w	7.6 w	57 w
	Europe, M. East, & N. Africa	380.6 t	11,408 t	1,960 w	2.8 w	15.1 w	23.7 w	64 w
	Latin America & Caribbean	403.5 t	20,506 t	1,790 w	3.3 w	28.3 w	109.3 w	66 w
	†Highly indebted	582.3 t	31,213 t	1,430 w	2.0 w	26.6 w	91.2 w	63 w
	High-income economies	777.3 t	33,757 t	14,480 w	2.3 w	7.9 w	5.2 w	76 w
	OECD members	748.6 t	31,685 t	14,670 w	2.1 w	7.8 w	5.0 w	76 w
	†Other	30.4 t	2,073 t	7,880 w	3.6 w	18.9 w	13.3 w	78 w
96	Spain	38.8	505	6,010	2.3	12.9	10.7	77
97	Ireland	3.6	70	5,120	2.0	12.0	10.2	74
98	†Saudi Arabia	12.6	2,150	6,200	4.0	17.2	−2.8	63
99	†Israel	4.4	21	5,900	2.5	35.2	159.0	76
100	New Zealand	3.3	269	7,750	0.9	10.2	11.5	75
101	†Singapore	2.6	1	7,960	7.2	4.9	1.3	73
102	†Hong Kong	5.6	1	8,070	6.2	8.1	6.7	76
103	Italy	57.4	301	10,550	2.7	11.2	11.5	77
104	United Kingdom	56.9	245	10,630	1.7	11.2	5.7	75
105	Australia	16.2	7,687	11,100	1.8	9.2	7.8	76
106	Belgium	9.9	31	11,680	2.6	6.7	5.1	75
107	Netherlands	14.7	37	11,860	2.1	7.3	2.3	77
108	Austria	7.6	84	11,940	3.1	5.8	4.3	74
109	France	55.6	547	12,760	2.7	9.0	7.9	77
110	Germany, Fed. Rep.	61.2	249	14,400	2.5	5.2	3.9	75
111	Finland	4.9	337	14,670	3.2	10.5	7.2	76
112	†Kuwait	1.9	18	14,610	−6.0	16.3	−4.6	73
113	Denmark	5.1	43	14,930	1.9	9.3	5.8	75
114	Canada	25.9	9,976	15,160	2.7	7.1	5.0	77
115	Sweden	8.4	450	15,330	1.8	8.0	7.9	77
116	Japan	122.1	378	15,760	4.2	7.8	1.4	78
117	†United Arab Emirates	1.9	84	15,830	...	...	−0.3	71
118	Norway	4.2	324	17,190	3.5	9.7	6.1	77
119	United States	243.8	9,373	18,530	1.5	6.5	4.2	75
120	Switzerland	6.5	41	21,330	1.4	5.3	3.9	77
	Total reporting economies	4,638.6 t	106,895 t	3,010 w	1.5 w	9.8 w	13.7 w	65 w
	Oil exporters	578.4 t	17,308 t	1,520 w	2.1 w	15.0 w	20.1 w	61 w
	Nonreporting nonmembers	371.6 t	28,648 t	...	...	...	...	69 w

Note: For countries with populations of less than 1 million, see Box A.1. † Economies classified by the United Nations or otherwise regarded by their authorities as developing. a. See the technical notes. b. GNP data refer to GDP.

28. 03. 90 19:02 *REPRES D IRLANDE P07

IRELAND
1990

94

i) Ms Hawkes
The SA Ambassador to the EC appeared on 21 March before the EP Political Committee. The attached is a short report thereon. The appointment with our Minister is fixed for 2 April in Luxembourg (0915 - 0930).
2) ~~Ms Baxter~~ CB 28/3
3) Ms Briscoe
SA Desk.

TO : POLITICAL DIVISION

FOR : P. MURNAGHAN

FROM : C McGrady
PERMANENT REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND
TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
AVENUE GALILEE 5
1030 BRUSSELS

TEL : (...322) 218 06 05

FAX : (...322) 218 13 47 (All Sections)

1145 du 21/3/90

2. COMMISSION POLITIQUE
Présidence : M. Giovanni GORIA
(PPE, I)/M. Peter CRAMPTON (Soc., UK)
Réunion des 20 et 21 mars 1990.

Afrique du Sud : la question des sanctions.

Après avoir eu un échange de vues avec le Président de la Commission, la commission politique a fait un premier point, le 21 mars, sur les aspects politiques des relations entre la CE et l'Afrique australe, sur la base notamment des exposés de son rapporteur, M. Antonio CAPUCHO (LDR, P), et de l'ambassadeur d'Afrique du Sud auprès des Communautés européennes, M. Bhadra Galu RANCHOD, et des nombreuses questions qui leur ont été posées.

Evoquant les élections en Namibie, M. CAPUCHO a souligné que celles-ci démentaient l'axiome selon lequel certaines cultures africaines n'étaient pas compatibles avec le suffrage universel. Il a souligné l'ouverture du gouvernement namibien actuel, dont certains dirigeants étaient tout à fait étrangers à la SWAPO, de même qu'il a fait allusion au vent de réforme politique qui souffle en Mozambique. Il a ensuite commenté les mesures courageuses prises par le Président DE KLERK, qui ont culminé dans la libération de Nelson MANDELA, et il a rappelé les revendications avancées par le PE, qui demande notamment que les Douze maintiennent leurs sanctions, dont l'impact, en tout cas psychologique, auprès des autorités sud-africaines, a été certain.

L'ambassadeur d'Afrique du Sud : les sanctions suscitent les extrémismes.

L'ambassadeur, M. RANCHOD, a souligné avec force que le but de l'actuel gouvernement sud-africain était de mettre en place une nouvelle démocratie : Etat multipartite, élimination de l'apartheid, protection des minorités, système de plus en plus fédéral.

Son but est de réunir toutes les parties autour de la table pour qu'elles négocient dans les meilleurs délais possibles. Selon lui, "toute notion d'apartheid doit être abolie".
Mais la suppression de l'apartheid" ne conduira pas l'Afrique du Sud au nirvana". Encore faudra-t-il "agrandir le gâteau économique". Aussi a-t-il plaidé pour un soutien de la communauté internationale au processus en cours. Or, "les sanctions n'écrasent pas seulement des structures, elles écrasent aussi des êtres humains". Elles ont pour conséquence de susciter l'apparition de groupes d'extrême-droite dangereux et de groupes de jeunes Noirs qui veulent tout détruire"

La Communauté et l'Europe centrale et de l'Est : l'ébauche du rapport PENDERS.

Une première discussion a eu lieu sur le projet de rapport de M. Jean PENDERS (PPE, NL) sur le rôle de la Communauté européenne à l'égard de l'évolution d'un pays de l'Europe centrale et de l'Est. Parmi les très nombreux sujets évoqués dans ce projet, notons qu'il préconise de nouvelles négociations CFE lorsque celles-ci auront abouti, des doctrines militaires conçues sur une base purement défensive, la création, dans le cadre de la CSCE, d'un centre de règlement des conflits et, le cas échéant, d'un corps de maintien de la paix (pour l'instant, les alliances militaires devraient être conservées, avec un rôle politique renforcé); s'il réclame une structure institutionalisée pour la

CSCE, il souligne que celle-ci, de par son caractère intergouvernemental, ne pourra cependant jamais se substituer à une union supranationale comme la CE.

Pour plus d'informations : Jacques HINCKXT - tél. 234.24.85

Stabex.

Briefing, for info. 23/3 94.

Note of Luncheon Discussion with Mr Peter Sullivan, Deputy Editor, The Pretoria News - 20 March 1990

1. Lunch was arranged by Press Section, with whom Mr Sullivan had been in contact.

2. Mr Sullivan is in Europe on a 3-month bursary from Harvard University/United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program to study "Europe 1992" and its significance for South Africa (see attached letter to the Minister). Sullivan's interest in meeting someone from the Department was to discuss South Africa but on the whole he seemed more interested in presenting his own views than being informed of Irish/Twelve attitudes.

3. The Pretoria News is an evening English-language newspaper, generally regarded as independent with a readership of about 28,000.

4. He said that having devoted his working life to criticising the policies of the National Party and Government, he now found himself in the light of recent developments in the strange position of perhaps appearing as an apologist for the Government, but he firmly believed that things were changing and that de Klerk, whom he had interviewed shortly before leaving South Africa for Europe, was sincerely determined to end apartheid.

5. Sullivan said he felt things would move rapidly; de Klerk had told him clearly that the elections last September had been the last white elections in South Africa. He was committed to establishing a new moral basis in South Africa; that meant the end of apartheid. On the "group rights" question, Sullivan implied that the Government was thinking in terms of groups (however defined) only in an upper house (certain parallels with the Irish Senate?). De Klerk had remarked that he had not mentioned the Conservative Party in any of his public statements since September; he considered it marginalised. It was a right-wing group of a right-wing group (Afrikaners) of a right-wing group (white population).

6. The undersigned briefed Mr Sullivan on Government/Twelve policy.

P. Murnaghan
22.3.1990

The
PRETORIA NEWS

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Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

22 February 1990

RECEIVED
- 5 MAR 1990
MINISTERS OFFICE

The Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr Gerard Collins
Dept of Foreign Affairs
80 St Stevens Green
DUBLIN 2
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Dear Mr Collins,

INTERVIEW: ARGUS GROUP NEWSPAPERS, SOUTH AFRICA

As part of a three-month visit to Europe, I will be in Ireland for a week from March 16 to March 22, as the Harvard University/United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program (USSALEP) Nieman Travel Bursar. The bursary is for three months' travel to examine "Europe 1992" and its significance for South Africa in particular.

During the three months my articles will be published in the newspapers of the Argus Group, South Africa's biggest, which publishes nine independent and objective newspapers, all opposed to apartheid since 1948. These include the country's two biggest dailies, The Star (Johannesburg) and Sowetan, plus my own newspaper which is not without influence as our Capital city's biggest daily.

I would be most grateful if you could find time to see me for either an off-the-record conversation or an on-the-record interview, obviously the latter being preferable. As this is the week shortly before you are due to leave on your fact-finding tour for the EC, I would hope that a meeting could prove mutually beneficial. My CV is enclosed.

Unfortunately I will be travelling in Europe until then, but your office can get hold of me by phoning Dr Mannhardt of the West German government's visitors section (International) in Bonn on tel 208-4260 from March 4 to 12, or the next week by telephoning Caroline Bower of the Foreign Office Visitor Section in London on 217-2316. From March 16 to 22, your tourist office has booked accommodation for me with Mrs Dunne, Aaronmar, 1C Sandymount Ave, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4, tel 68-7927 and fax 68-2377. Any message left should reach me.

Naturally, any time you have available would be much appreciated. I do hope we will be able to meet each other for an interview or exchange of views.

Yours sincerely

Peter Sullivan
DEPUTY EDITOR

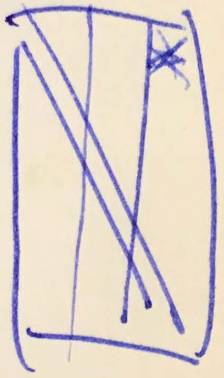
Directors: P.W. McLEAN, R.J.R. GITTINS, S. MULHOLLAND.

The
PRETORIA NEWS
The Capital's Independent Daily

PETER SULLIVAN
Deputy Editor

216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, 0002
☎ 325-5382 Telex 3-22174SA Fax 325-7300

712244



FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NO. 370

DATE: 21/3/90

To: DH

For: P Murnaghan

From: G. Cox

i) Mr Hamilton
To see, for info. This reflects a changed tone by SA but also a useful propaganda effort.
2) ~~Mr Boxer~~ 28/3
3) Mrs Briscoe

Time: Pls pg Intl Day ag Racial Discr.

mm 23/3

3 14 18 24 3

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 2

Brief description of material: S. Africa - statement sent by FM Botha

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91 Jan 9 Mulroney Kohl

S Africa

Statement sent by FM Botha

This annual observance of the Day of Solidarity for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination affords a renewed opportunity to focus attention on an issue that continues to be of concern to the international community. For South Africa, it constitutes an occasion to reiterate the commitment to creating a new South Africa based on an equitable and free political, social and economic system, which was outlined by State President F W de Klerk in his speech of 2 February 1990 on the occasion of the opening of the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament.

South Africans are working together towards the adoption of a constitution which will provide for a non-discriminatory state with equal rights and opportunities regardless of colour, race, sex or creed. Every effort will be made to eliminate discrimination between groups of people or between individuals.

While the present constitution does not provide for universal franchise, at central government level, this will be a fundamental theme of a new constitution to be negotiated by all parties.

To lend substance to these ideals, the South African Government is committed to:

- a new, democratic constitution based on universal franchise;
- no domination by any group of any other group or groups;
- equality of all before an independent judiciary and equal access to the protection of the courts;
- the protection of individual rights as well as of minorities;
- freedom of religion;
- a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise;
- dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

President de Klerk pledged on 20 September 1989 to work urgently with regard to the handling of discriminatory legislation. The continued removal of discrimination remains an important objective. With this in view all restrictions on organizations and individuals inhibiting their political activity have been lifted. No political organisation or party is banned in South Africa.

Political actors and organisations may, and do, hold and propagate substantially differing political viewpoints provided they do so without violence. Similar commitments by other Member States would contribute to the relevance of today's meeting.

Issued by the South African Permanent Mission to the United Nations

John Deasy confirmed mtg on 2 April 0915–0930 in Presidency rooms in Kirchberg, Luxembourg.

fm 2093

94

CODED MESSAGE
IMMEDIATE URGENT
CONFIDENTIAL
DATE 12/3/90 TIME 1755
INITIALS SB Barley

12TH MARCH'90
TO PR BRUSSELS FROM HQ
FOR PERM REP FROM B HAWKES

SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTER HAS AGREED TO MEET THE SOUTH ARICAN AMBASSADOR, AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST, EN MARGE OF THE FAC IN LUXEMBOURG ON 2-3 APRIL. REQUEST CAME THROUGH AMB JANUZZI OF EPC SECRETARIAT. HE HAS BEEN ASKED TO CONVEY THE MINISTER'S RESPONSE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR AND TO REQUEST THE LATTER TO CONTACT YOUR OFFICE RE ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEETING.

READ WELL SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR, ETC.

FROM: IRISH PRESIDENCY

TO: EPC SECRETARIAT (Fax: 0032-2- 234-6059)
(Enquiries: 234-8040/41)

FOR THE ATTENTION OF: Ambassador Januzzi

ORIGINATOR: Pol. Director **TELEPHONE**

SUBJECT S. Africa

FOR: INFORMATION

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
1.1.1990 - 30.6.1990

SECURE TELEFAX

PRESFAX NO: 42

DATE: 12-3-90

TIME: 17.45

PAGES 2

UNCLASSIFIED (RESTREINTE) CONFIDENTIEL

ROUTINE PRIORITY DESKBY_____

FROM: IRISH PRESIDENCY

TO: EPC SECRETARIAT (Fax: 0032-2- 234-6059)
(Enquiries: 234-8040/41)

FOR THE ATTENTION OF: Ambassador Jannuzi

ORIGINATOR: Pol. Director TELEPHONE_____

SUBJECT S. Africa

FOR:- INFORMATION

(ACTION)

YOUR COMMENTS (BY_____)

Comments:_____

Receipt of Fax confirmed by Brussels.

12/3/90

AN ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 2
DUBLIN 2

12 March 1990

Mr. Giovanni Januzzi
Head of the Secretariat of European Political Cooperation
Brussels

Dear Gianni

Thank you for your letter of 9 March, enclosing the interesting report of your meeting with the South African Ambassdor to the EC.

The Minister would be happy to meet the Ambassador en marge of the Foreign Affairs Council in Luxembourg on 2-3 April. I would appreciate it if you would convey this to the Ambassador and suggest that his office contact the office of the Irish Permanent Representative to the Communities so that a mutually convenient time can be arranged.

With kindest personal regards

Yours sincerely

Pádraig

Pádraig Murphy

Dear Hawkes

Ans 12.3.

PROPOSED MEETING MINISTER/S. AFRICAN AMB. TO EC

Political Director

Draft reply to Mr Januzzi attached as requested.

When you have signed it, I would propose to send it by secure fax to the EPC Secretariat with a copy to our EC Perm Rep.

Billy Hawkes
12-3-90

AN ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 2
DUBLIN 2

12 March 1990

Mr. Giovanni Januzzi
Head of the Secretariat of European Political Cooperation
Brussels

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With kindest personal regards

Yours sincerely

Pádraig

Pádraig Murphy

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
1.1.1990 - 30.6.1990

SECURE TELEFAX
0032-2-234-6859

ENQUIRIES
234-6840/6841

SECFAX NO: 73
DATE: 09.3.90
TIME: 17'0
PAGES 4

UNCLASSIFIED (RESTREINT) CONFIDENTIEL

(ROUTINE) PRIORITY DESKBY

FROM: EPC SECRETARIAT

TO: IRISH PRESIDENCY

FOR THE ATTENTION OF: MR. PADRAIG MURPHY

COPY TO: EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION SECTION

ORIGINATOR: ANB. JANNUZZI TELEPHONE 0032-2-2348830.

SUBJECT SOUTH AFRICA

FOR:- (INFORMATION)

ACTION

YOUR COMMENTS (BY)

Comments:

Secretariat of European Political Cooperation
Secrétariat de la Coopération Politique Européenne

Head of Secretariat
Chef du Secrétariat

Mr Haughey
I spoke Commissioner,
when agreed ours draft
Luxembourg
yes draft reply
Ok
12.3.

Brussels, 9 March 1990

Mr Pádraig Murphy
Political Director
Department of foreign Affairs
DUBLIN

Dear Padraig,

The South African Ambassador to the EC, Mr B. G. Ranchod, has visited me this morning. He has just returned from Cape Town, where he was summoned, together with other South African Ambassadors, in order to be briefed on the new policies of President De Klerk's government.

Ambassador Ranchod made a number of interesting points, which you will find in the attached note. You may be interested to know that he is of Indian origin and sincerely believes in the need to dismantle apartheid.

He showed interest in the forthcoming visit by the Troika to South Africa and expressed the wish to meet Foreign Minister Mr Collins on the occasion of one of his next visits to Brussels or Luxembourg. I replied by noting the request and explaining that it would be up to the Presidency to decide whether such a meeting would be appropriate(or even useful').

Please believe me
Yours

Giovanni Jannuzzi

Rue de la Loi, 170
1048 Bruxelles
Tel. (02) 234 30 30

Restricted
09.03.89

CONVERSATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE EC

South African Ambassadors abroad have been recently summoned to Cape Town in order to be briefed on the new policy of President De Klerk's government.

The assessment of the South African Ambassador to the EC is the following :

- President De Klerk is firmly committed to the reforms announced in his speech on 2 February.

- There has been a change of approach within the South African government concerning the protection of minorities. President De Klerk has abandonned the idea of "racial group protection" and advocates at present the principle of protecting the minorities, whether linguistic, cultural, religious, etc., on a non-racial basis.

- There is a very good personal relationship between President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, which is the key for the success of any negotiations.

- President De Klerk reiterated to the South African Ambassadors his committment to lift the state of emergency "immediately". However, the security situation in the homelands, in particular Ciskei, makes it difficult to carry out the decision at present.

- Mr De Klerk is also firmly committed to the idea of a Bill of Rights.

- The SAG is prepared to discuss the release of political prisoners with the representatives of the black population. This could be an item on the agenda of the negotiating table. Discussions, however, could not take place on the basis of a general amnesty. An independent personality from the judiciary should be appointed to examine which cases are political and which others involve criminal offences.

- The return of exiled members of the ANC (especially of those accused of committing offences) could also be a matter for discussion at the negotiating table.

- The SAG is flexible as far as the homelands are concerned. If they wish to "rejoin" South Africa, Pretoria would be prepared to discuss this with the leadership of the homelands, provided that they have a mandate from their people.

- All South Africans will be allowed to vote in the next elections, although the modalities have yet to be worked out.

- The general feeling is that in 5 years time the white community will relinquish the leadership of South Africa. This does not mean, however, an automatic transfer of power to the ANC, since there are many other parties and groups involved.

- Mr De Klerk is facing very serious problems with the white community and has alienated himself from his power-base. This explains the need he has to be cautious in the implementation of the measures announced.

- The South African civil service (with the exception of the foreign service) seems to be against President De Klerk's policy.

- The far right is considering the following strategy to force a change in the SAG policy ; their MPs would resign their seats and provoke by-elections so as to show that the National Party no longer enjoys the support of the white population.

Presidency Press Office
Permanent Representation
of Ireland

IRELAND
1990

Avenue Galilée 5 (Rte 22)
1030 Bruxelles
Tel: 218 06 05
Direct: 219 43 83
Fax: 219 43 61

Mrs Cassidy
Please cc Mr. Hawkes, Mrs. Donoghue, PSS.

K.T.
5/3

TO : D/FA, Political

FOR : K. Thompson

FROM : Press Office, Colin Wrafter 5/3/90

PERMANENT REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND
TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

TEL : (... 32.2) 219.43.83 (DIRECT)
218.48.72 (DIRECT)
218.06.05 EXT.233/232

FAX : (... 32.2) 219.43.61

NO. OF PAGES 3

FOLLOW(S)

Minister's Meeting with South African Ambassador

Luxembourg, 2 April, 1990

Ambassador Ranchod spoke of the ANC-SAG meeting as having been "postponed" (later specified as "postponed sine die"). He said this was regrettable. He thought Mandela's standing with the white Community was slipping. The situation in the eastern Cape was a real problem. Buthelezi "thought he was king of Natal".

The Minister said negotiations had to be got under way quickly. Anything else was fiddling while Rome burned.

The Ambassador referred to de Klerk's seriousness of purpose: he had announced in Parliament that apartheid was politically unacceptable and would have to be eliminated. A Bill of Rights was going through which would enable Sought Africa to sign the UN Human Rights Convention; this would be "one hell of an advance".

South Africa was important. The scrapping of apartheid would not bring Nirvana.

On what the Twelve might do, he had the following suggestions:-

- Look at the positive measures programme when in South Africa. Should the Community still be funding newspapers when the ANC was acquiring one? Would it not be better to help education, a nightmare in Soweto, with breakdown of discipline and absence of facilities? Apartheid was certainly one of the problems here. [After the Minister had left, I explained to the Ambassador the rationale of the positive measures programme as the counterpart of the Twelve's sanctions. They were aimed at helping the black population overcome their disabilities imposed on them. If the SAG moved away from apartheid, we would expect South Africa as a rich country to devote its resources in a more even way. In these circumstances, it was not to

be depended on that the Community would attach importance to providing assistance to South Africa. He said he was not necessarily thinking of cash, but, e.g. training assistance for black teachers, advice on organisation.]

- South Africa at present has fourteen different education administrations.

- Increasing the role of blacks in the S.A. economy. The Mandela call for nationalisation had been more harmful to South Africa than any sanctions.

- Land reform had to be seriously addressed. The Group Areas Act was a disaster and had to go.

The Minister said in reply to this question that, as of 2 April, the Troika was still planning to go to South Africa on 12 April. The Group would consist of about 16 persons in all. As President de Klerk had been told, the Troika would aim at promoting dialogue aimed at bringing about the end of apartheid.

The Ambassador said the advancing of a peaceful settlement would be a useful objective to pursue with all sides. He suggested one day for contacts with the South African Government, one day with the opposition, and one day with NGOs, universities, churches, trade missions. He recommended particularly a meeting with the Chairman of a new trust fund for blacks, Jan Steen.

After the Minister's departure, I drew to the Ambassador's attention the seriousness with which the recent events in Sebokeng had been viewed, against the background of scenes down the years where South African blacks had been killed by police.

He said President de Klerk had expressed deep regret at what had happened in Sebokeng and elsewhere where violence had occured, had asked for a full report on it and would be making a statement on it in Parliament today. He had previously imposed restraints on the police.

He said there were problems about ending the state of emergency in a situation where violence continued and had increased since Mandela's release.

The South African Government, he said, had declared as the objective the abolition of the four pillars of apartheid.

On release of prisoners, de Klerk was open to the same system as used in Namibia. The Chief Justice of South Africa might go through the list with the ANC.

On homelands, de Klerk was open to a reversal of this policy.

I told him that a move away from apartheid to "group rights" would not be acceptable. He said this was no longer South African Government policy, but measures to protect minority rights would be necessary. I said any such provisions could not amount to entrenchment of advantages acquired through discrimination.

On a personal basis, I told him that my evaluation was that if the Twelve could see:

- the end of the state of emergency
- release of political prisoners
- a commitment to abolish the four pillars of apartheid.

their attitude to South Africa would begin to change.

Padraig Murphy
2 April, 1990

c.c. PSM
PSS

Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

PO BOX 1974 • FOXROCK • DUBLIN 18 • TELEPHONE 01-895035 • FAX 01-895697

PRESS STATEMENT

18th February 1990

PRESS CONFERENCE

Taoiseach Meets Archbishop Trevor Huddleston
on Eve of European Council of Ministers Meeting on South Africa

A delegation from the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee led by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR will meet the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey TD, on Monday 19 February.

The other members of the delegation will be Mr. Mendi Msimang, Chief Representative of the ANC in Ireland and the UK; Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, Director, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (both members of the secretariat of the Committee); and Mr. Kader Asmal, chairman, Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Archbishop Huddleston, who is the Convenor of the International Reception Committee, decided to seek the meeting with the Taoiseach in advance of the Council of Ministers meeting in Dublin on 20 February, which is due to consider whether the European Community should relax its sanctions against the apartheid regime as unilaterally proposed by the British Prime Minister. Archbishop Huddleston will be stressing to the Taoiseach the warning from Nelson Mandela that

> *"to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete abolition of apartheid".*

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee was launched on 8 January 1990 and co-ordinates the activities of some thirty national reception committees which have been established throughout the world to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela, to campaign for the release of all South African political prisoners and to intensify support for the on-going struggle against apartheid.

The Press Conference will take place at
1.15 pm Monday 19 February
Buswell's Hotel, Molesworth Street, Dublin

Please send a reporter and photographer

For further information
contact Louise Asmal, IAAM, 01-895035
or Sipho Pityana, International Nelson
Mandela Reception Committee, 031-278-6478

FAX NO 605221

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 18.2.90 Time: _____

To: Dept Tourism

For: Ian B McCaskill

From: Ms G Mumaghan

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 6

Brief description of material: Tourism meeting on Thursday with Arabian Gulf Ambassadors

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FAX N° 603281

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 18. 2. 90 Time: 1630

To: Dept. Taoiseach

For: Mr B McCarthy

From: Ms P. Murnaghan

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 6

Brief description of material: Taoiseach's meeting on 14 February with Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Any special instructions: I believe you have other relevant background material (Private Notice Question last week, Kinnock/Thatcher correspondence etc).

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Taoiseach's Meeting with Archbishop Trevor Huddleston
Dublin, 19 February 1990

Speaking Points

The Taoiseach might like to draw on the following:

- Welcome and appreciation of the work the Archbishop has done over the years for the cause of a free and democratic society in South Africa.

- This is a crucial time for the future of South Africa.

- The recent measures by President de Klerk constitute important contributions to the establishment of that climate the Twelve believe is essential so that genuine negotiations with the black community can get under way.

- While welcoming these reforms, the Twelve have also stated that they expect further measures leading to their objective which remains the complete abolition, by peaceful means, of apartheid.

- Foreign Ministers on 20 February will exchange views on recent developments and their significance.

- We appreciate the Archbishop's concern on the sanctions issue.

- His position is similar to our own and we shall be voicing our opinion at the meeting.

- Our main task as Presidency, however, is to work for consensus among the Twelve; in our role as Presidency, we shall be guided by the position of the Twelve adopted by the European Council last December.

Department of Foreign Affairs
18 February, 1990

Taoiseach's Meeting with Archbishop Trevor Huddleston
Dublin, 19 February 1990

Briefing Notes

1. Archbishop Huddleston has requested the meeting in his capacity as Convener of The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, of which the Taoiseach is a Patron. Archbishop Huddleston is a former Archbishop of Johannesburg and has been a prominent figure in British anti-apartheid circles for many years. His purpose in coming to Dublin in advance of the EPC Foreign Ministers meeting on 20 February is essentially to "strengthen our resolve" on the sanctions issue.

2. In his statement on 2 February President de Klerk announced a number of positive and encouraging measures, which certainly go some way towards creating a climate in which negotiations with the black community on a new South Africa could take place.

3. The significant points in the statement were:

- the legalisation of the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party as well as the lifting of restrictions under the emergency regulations on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the trade union movement, COSATU;

- a moratorium on executions, greater judicial discretion in the imposition of the death penalty, and an automatic right of appeal for those sentenced to death;

- the release of political prisoners, excluding, however, persons sentenced for murder, terrorism or arson; the limiting of the period of detention without trial to six months and the granting of a right to legal representation to detainees;

- the repeal during the current session of Parliament of the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

4. These measures, together with release of Mandela on 11 February, meet some of the basic demands which Ireland and the Twelve have long stated to be necessary for the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations.

5. They should not, however, cloud the fact that other steps have not so far been taken and that the fundamentals of apartheid still remain firmly in place. The state of emergency, for example, has not been lifted; the Twelve demand the release of <u>all</u> political prisoners. Also, President de Klerk took no action on the repeal of such fundamental apartheid legislation as the Population Registration Act, 1950 or the Group Areas Act, 1966.

6. The Twelve have set as their objective the complete abolition of apartheid. They agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December

"to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained."

7. It is against this background that Ministers for Foreign Affairs issued their statement on 5 February welcoming the reforms announced by de Klerk. They indicated that "to the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position" in accordance with the European Council statement.

8. A list of Twelve restrictive measures against South Africa introduced in 1985 and 1986 are attached. The main economic sanctions introduced in 1986 were: a ban on new direct investment in South Africa; a ban on the import of gold coins from that country; and a ban on imports of iron and steel.

9. Mrs Thatcher argues that the steps already taken by de Klerk constitute "profound and irreversible changes" and require a concrete Twelve response in the form of the lifting of sanctions.

10. She has called publicly for the lifting of the 1986 Twelve ban on new direct investment in South Africa; in her letter of 10 February to the Taoiseach she said Foreign Ministers should also consider lifting the other 1986 measures. Since then there have been media reports that the UK is prepared to go it alone if the rest of the Twelve do not agree to relax sanctions at next Tuesday's meeting - though there has also been some speculation that Foreign Secretary Hurd and Mrs Thatcher may not be ad idem on the sanctions issue.

11. Mrs Thatcher has described the ban on new direct investment as "voluntary"; she appears to base this on the fact that the form of the Twelve decision (a Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council) left it up to Member states to take the necessary measures to implement it.

12. Our national position has been made very clear in the Taoiseach's replies to correspondence from Mr Kinnock and Mrs Thatcher. It is that the time is not yet ripe for a relaxation of pressure. We attach importance to Mr Mandela's views in this regard, which are firm on the maintenance of sanctions.

13. In our role as Presidency, we shall be guided by the position of the Twelve agreed last December in Strasbourg. Our primary function, however, will be to work for consensus among the Twelve on what are very delicate issues.

Africa Section
Department of Foreign Affairs
18 February, 1990

European Political Cooperation
Secretariat

08.02.90

SOUTH AFRICA : RESTRICTIVE MEASURES OF THE TWELVE

1. A rigorously controlled embargo on exports of arms and para-military equipment to the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

2. A rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and para-military equipment to the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

3. Refusal to cooperate in the military sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

4. Recall of military attachés accredited to the RSA and refusal to grant accreditation to military attachés from the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

5. Discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

6. Freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

7. Freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the security sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

8. Cessation of oil exports (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

9. Cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

10. Prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

11. Ban on new direct investment in South Africa (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, 21 October 1986, OJ Nr L 305, 31 October 1986).

12. Ban on the import of iron (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Repesentatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, entry into force 27 September 1986, OJ Nr L 268, 19 September 1986).

13. Ban on the import of steel (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Repesentatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, entry into force 27 September 1986, OJ Nr L 268, 19 September 1986).

14. Ban on the import of gold coins (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by Council Regulation, entry into force 31 October 1986, OJ Nr L 305, 31 October 1986).

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 15. 2. 90 Time: _____

To: Taoiseach's Dept.

For: Dermot Nally

From: Padraig Murphy

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 4

Brief description of material: _____

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Spoke to Mr. Nally 15/2
Taoiseach had informed him that he (Taoiseach) had met Archbishop Huddleston on Mon 19/2 at 1200.

So informed S. Farrell (Ldn 15/2

Archbishop Huddleston to be accompanied by Mandi Mpimang, ANC Rep UK & IRL Horst Kleinschmidt IDAF Ldn & Kadali Appiah

faxed to D Nally
15/2/90

I attach copy of a letter from the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee asking the Taoiseach to receive Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Convenor of the Committee.

Although Archbishop Huddleston is also prominent in the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the meeting would tend to extend the internal British debate on sanctions to Ireland, I think the Taoiseach might if he has time receive him in his capacity as Convenor of the Committee. It would provide an occasion for making clear our national position that now is not the time to relax sanctions and to re-emphasise the importance we attach to Mandela's views which are firm on the sanctions issue, but generally strikingly conciliatory.

the NELSON MANDELA
INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE

40 Bowling Green Lane, London, EC1R 0NE, United Kingdom
Telephone: 01-278 0333 Fax: 01-837 7612 Telex: 267247

13th February 1990

Mr Charles J Haughey TD
An Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
Ireland

Dear Mr Haughey,

Re: REQUEST FOR URGENT MEETING

I am writing on behalf of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston who is away today, to thank you for agreeing to be a Patron of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee (IRC). I am enclosing a list of Patrons who like you have already agreed to serve on the committee.

We are all overjoyed at the news of Mr Mandela's release. The Archbishop is writing a letter on behalf of the IRC, its Patrons and National Reception Committees to congratulate him on his release.

The IRC is aware that the EEC Council of Ministers' Meeting of the 20th February will be discussing the issue of Sanctions against South Africa. We were particularly encouraged by your positive remarks on this matter. The meeting assumes special importance in the light of Mr Mandela's call to the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime, and his warning that "to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete abolition of apartheid".

The Archbishop would particularly welcome an opportunity to discuss these issues with you before Tuesday's meeting. He will be available to come to Dublin for this purpose in any working day before the 20th, with two or three colleagues from the International Reception Committee.

I hope this will be possible and look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Pityana

Sipho Pityana
Co-ordinator IRC

CONVENER Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR

the NELSON MANDELA
INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE
40 Bowling Green Lane, London, EC1R 0NE, United Kingdom
Telephone: 01-278 0333 Fax: 01-837 7512 Telex: 267247
FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS & DETAINEES

PATRONS

1. Chief Emeka Anyaoku - Commonwealth Secretary General Designate
2. General Ibrahim Babangida - President of Nigeria
3. Dr. Willy Brandt - Former Chancellor FRG
4. Mr. Jimmy Carter - 39th President of USA
5. Mr. Jerry Dammers - Musician
6. Fr. Miguel d' Escoto - Foreign Minister of Nicaragua
7. Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich - Primate of all Ireland, Archbishop of Armagh
8. Rt. Hon Malcolm Fraser - Former Prime Minister of Australia
9. Mr Ruud Gullit - European Footballer of Year 1987 Netherlands
10. Mr. Charles Haughey - Prime Minister of Ireland
11. Rt. Hon Bob Hawke - Prime Minister of Australia
12. Rt.Hon.Dennis Healey - Former Labour Chancellor of Exchequer Britain
13. Rev Jesse Jackson - Founder and President of Rainbow Coalition USA
14. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda - President of Zambia
15. Mr. Michael Manley - President of Jamaica
16. Madame Danielle Mitterand - Danielle Mitterand Foundation France
17. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere - Former President of Tanzania
18. Mrs Lisbet Palme - UNICEF Sweden
19. Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa - Secretary General NUM(SA),Chairman NRC(SA)
20. Sir Shridath Ramphal - Secretary General Commonwealth
21. His Excellency Salim Ahmed Salim - Secretary General OAU
22. Mr. Walter Sisulu - Former Secretary General ANC
23. Archbishop Desmond Tutu - Archbishop of Cape Town

In. Murphy,
Our conversation the other day, following a call from Embassy London on the same subject, refers.
[illegible]
14/2

FAX No: 0349

DATE: 13-02-1990

TO: HQ

FOR: Phil Murnaghan, Africa Section

FROM: Sean Farrell, Embassy London

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: 3 Pages

Brief description of material:

List of Patrons for Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee

Any special instructions:

sent from fax phone number: 245 6961

the NELSON MANDELA
INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE

40 Bowling Green Lane, London, EC1R 0NE, United Kingdom
Telephone: 01-278 0333 Fax: 01-837 7612 Telex: 267247

13th February 1990

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Government Buildings
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Dubliln 2
Ireland

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Co-ordinator IRC

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Telephone: 01-278 0333 Fax: 01-837 7612 Telex: 267247
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20. Sir Shridath Ramphal - Secretary General Commonwealth
21. His Excellency Salim Ahmed Salim - Secretary General OAU
22. Mr. Walter Sisulu - Former Secretary General ANC
23. Archbishop Desmond Tutu - Archbishop of Cape Town

CONVENOR Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR • all correspondence to be sent to the CO-ORDINATOR Sipho Pityana

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Commonwealth Secretary-General Designate
Mr Willie Brandt
Former Chancellor of the FRG
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39th President of the USA
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(The Netherlands)
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National Rainbow Coalition (USA)
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Secretary-General of the OAU
Mr Walter Sisulu
Former Secretary General of the ANC
Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Archbishop of Cape Town

R·S·A UPDATE

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION · FEBRUARY 1990 · ISSUE No. 11

STATE PRESIDENT OPENS PARLIAMENT

The South African general election of 6 September 1989 had placed the country irrevocably on the road of drastic change, underlying which was the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population would be able to ensure lasting peace, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said on 2 February.

Opening the second session of the ninth Parliament, Mr De Klerk called on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution taking place in South Africa.

The full text of the State President's address appears as a supplement to this issue of **RSA Update.**

The speech was very well received by the media. The following extracts from both English and Afrikaans-language papers:

Sowetan (Johannesburg, daily): The shock waves from Mr F W de Klerk's speech are still reverberating around the world.

To South Africans who had become conditioned to receiving only bad news, De Klerk's courage and inventiveness came over like a bucket of cold water - both shocking and invigorating.

After three days of excitement and debate we should now wake up to the grim realisation that we are faced with a great deal of hard work. The ringing of the bells will come to an end. The gruelling work has to start.

The Star (Johannesburg, daily): Mr De Klerk has shown great courage, going far beyond the central support of his own party. He deserves one; two; all three cheers. He also deserves support from moderates everywhere in the world. The MDM, the UDF, the ANC might consider showing equal courage by taking him at his word.

Rapport (Johannesburg, Sunday): Let's put aside our old prejudices and wait in faith and hope for the new dawn. This is no time to be timid - our country is not to be torn apart by "the tide of violence" after all. The South Africa of apartheid, built with such dedication and fervour, made prisoners of us all. The non-whites were prisoners of a system, while the whites were prisoners of their own fears and prejudices.

The Argus (Cape Town, daily): In powerful fashion President De Klerk has whacked the ball squarely into the court of those groups - driven underground or into exile - who thusfar have never faced the responsibility of laying their plans before a constituency.

Sunday Times (Johannesburg): The De Klerk speech also places a heavy burden on the leadership of the newly unbanned organisations. The Government has now done what they have demanded for so long.

The speech was strongly criticised by the official Opposition in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party, whose spokesman said the President had no mandate from the white electorate to announce what he did.

The following are among the many plaudits that followed the speech.

The President of the South African Chamber of Mines: We look forward to a positive response from the international community, including the lifting of sanctions. Together with President De Klerk, we also look forward to the end of decades of tensions and conflict.

The South African Chamber of Business (the largest employer organisation in South Africa): The initiatives will undoubtedly create a positive political climate for business confidence, bearing in mind the close interdependence between economics and politics.

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies: The steps will create an atmosphere for the establishment of genuine democracy for the benefit of the country and all its peoples.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: If there were ever any who doubted State President FW de Klerk's sincerity, they can now be assured that they were wrong.....South Africa is thrust into the last decade of the 20th century in which apartheid will be scrapped and the peoples of South Africa will be given the opportunity of deciding the future through the politics of negotiation. If blacks now fail to bring about the radical change they have struggled for so long through non-violent means, they will have only themselves to blame.

PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH: PRESS STATEMENT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

We warmly welcome the decision to release Mr Mandela. This is an historic landmark on the road to a new South Africa. We have long urged the South African Government to set him free. President De Klerk is to be congratulated on his decision.

Mr Mandela will have a major role to play in shaping his country's future. His release will give an opportunity for all parties in South Africa to make progress towards a peaceful solution, through negotiations on a constitution fair to the whole population. We encourage them to do so.

The South African Government has taken major steps to open the way to start negotiations in accordance with the negotiating concept proposed by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group. We look to the ANC and other groups to respond positively and peacefully to the offer now being made to join in negotiations to work out a new constitution for South Africa.

The changes now taking place in South Africa vindicate a policy of contact rather than isolation. We do not see that cultural, scientific or academic boycotts make sense or contribute to the weakening of apartheid. In future we shall not discourage artists, scientists and academics from going to South Africa or from joining in meetings with South Africans. We hope that individuals will take advantage of such opportunities to promote dialogue among South Africans. We shall consider further positive steps as soon as Mr Mandela is released.

The Prime Minister looks forward to having an early opportunity of discussing these encouraging developments with both President De Klerk and Mr Mandela. She has invited President De Klerk to an early meeting at Chequers. She will similarly invite Mr Mandela to make a visit to the United Kingdom when he is free.

"Cautious Optimism" - Dr David Owen in SA

South Africa's President F W de Klerk was genuinely committed to an open agenda in any future reform negotiations and there was great potential for a far-reaching settlement in the country, visiting British Social Democratic Party Leader David Owen told media at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, on January 12.

Having spoken to a number of anti-apartheid leaders as well as to the State President, Mr Owen said on departure his attitude was one of "cautious optimism".

"The problems are there but the potential to solve them is also there, and I can't say I have ever known that potential in my entire life".

Dr Owen, who believes his relatively small SDP should join forces with the Labour Party in the next British election, visited South Africa in 1979 as British Foreign Secretary. The change in the political climate since then was extremely significant, he said.

"Is Mr De Klerk serious (about reform)? I have a suspicion he doesn't know himself. Negotiations often develop their own momentum, however.

"He said to me he was a man in a hurry, but he also talked like a man who wants to jump his fences one by one. I have no problems with that, actually".

Dr Owen said he did not believe the relaxation of the Separate Amenities Act was in itself indicative of genuine commitment to reform, which would, he pointed out, be best demonstrated by an open voting roll.

An end to the Group Areas Act would indicate this, however. The veteran politician said he believed Mr De Klerk was planning to scrap the Group Areas Act - a cornerstone of the old apartheid ideology - but he remained sceptical about the terms in which this was being discussed.

"He is still talking in terms of groups being able to voluntarily associate together. I think behind that concept lies a very serious problem. I don't think you can have anything (in) a consitiution which is permanently based on racial discrimination".

Turning to the participation of the African National Congress in any future settlement, Dr Owen said he believed the movement had virtually been unbanned. The release of Mr Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders last year had been a testing of the water by the South African Government.

Mr Sisulu, especially, he said, had handled himself "with consummate skill", considering the pressure on him from both his followers and the State.

He said he believed Mr Mandela still had a substantial role to play in any future settlement. "I would put my shirt on the fact that he'll be released before Namibian Independence (mid-March)".

Visit to Namibia

There was a new realism in both South Africa and Namibia which boded well for future co-operation between the two countries. Dr Owen said in Windhoek earlier.

Dr Owen was speaking at the end of a short visit to Namibia, where he met President-in-waiting Sam Nujoma, other senior Swapo leaders and the UN officials.

He said he had detected a new realism on the part of Mr Nujoma about the future relationship between Namibia and its economically powerful southern neighbour.

During talks with President De Klerk and Foreign Minister RF Botha, he had also been given the impression SA was serious about allowing Namibia to make a success of its independence, Dr Owen said.

If independence in Namibia worked - if it raised living standards for the disadvantaged without destroying the prosperity of the private sector - it would make change in SA much easier, he said.

Dr Owen, who was Foreign Secretary in the Labour government when Resolution 435 was negotiated in the late 70's, said he was very glad the settlement plan had eventually been implemented, since he had at times despaired about its chances of success.

Asked how he thought changes in eastern Europe would affect Namibia, Dr Owen said the time for "anti-capitalist rhetoric" was over and he hoped forces on the left and the right of the political spectrum would realise stability and economic progress were far more important than ideological conficts.

He said SA had to accept genuine democracy was an essential prerequisite for stability in southern Africa, but he was much more hopeful that a negotiated settlement was possible very soon.

With the ANC virtually recognised by the NP Government and the release of Nelson Mandela a definite possibility in the near future, he believed serious negotiations could get underway before the end of the year.

Dr Owen said he was glad SWAPO had toned down its socialist rhetoric and accepted a market economy and foreign investment were crucial components of breaking economic dependence on SA.

There were good prospects for foreign investment after independence, he said, adding the new government would have to be patient in breaking ties between Namibia and SA, because too rapid a break could damage the newly-emerging state.

He said he was very optimistic about Mr De Klerk's approach to change. Unlike former President P W Botha, Mr De Klerk, seemed to be committed to open-agenda negotiations instead of prescribed solutions.

He believed SA would, or had already, stopped destabilisation of Mozambique and other neighbouring states, leaving Unita in Angola as the main problem to be resolved.

Rapid evolutionary change in SA was the key to progress in southern Africa, once SA started playing a positive and constructive role in the sub-continent, its skills could transform the entire region, he said.

The draft constitution for Namibia was a fine document, Dr Owen said, adding he wished some aspects - such as the bill of rights and proportional representation - could be incorporated into the British constitution.

These elements were hallmarks of deep democracy, he said. He said Britain would be very supportive of independent Namibia and would welcome it into the Commonwealth, while also providing military and police trainers, who would be arriving in the country shortly.

About the SA-held harbour enclave of Walvis Bay, Dr Owen said it had been left out of Resolution 435 deliberately to give the peace plan a chance of succeeding and he believed the matter would be resolved once Namibia and SA, as sovereign neighbours, learned to trust each other. □

POLLS

Blacks favour tour

Only 24 percent of black South Africans are opposed to the unofficial cricket tour of South Africa by an English side, according to a poll commissioned by the South African Cricket Union.

The results of the poll, which was conducted by the Markinor Gallup organisation, were published in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* on January 14.

A total of 1,000 people - excluding whites - in Soweto, Durban and Cape Town, were asked whether they were in favour, or not in favour of the tour or were neutral or did not know.

A total of 41 percent said they supported the tour, 24 percent were not in favour, 24 percent were neutral and 11 percent didn't know.

Other interesting findings from the poll were:

— less than 10 percent of all respondents said they were opposed to the tour because it promoted apartheid;

— of those Soweto blacks who were in favour of the tour, 64 percent gave as their main reasons that the tour would improve cricket standards among blacks and improve their skills in the game;

— eight percent of those supporting the tour gave as their reason that it would help dismantle apartheid. Some 17 percent of those in favour thought the tour would improve race relations;

— more black women than men support the tour - 45 percent to 30 percent;

— some 61 percent of blacks opposing the tour said they did so because cricket was not a game for blacks (a "white man's sport"), that they were simply not interested in cricket;

— only 22 percent of black opponents of the tour said it would promote apartheid and 20 percent of those not in favour thought the tour "a waste of money".

● Gatting's team should stay in South Africa, says a poll of *Daily Express* readers - 78.23 percent said they should carry on. The poll results appeared in the 19 January edition of the paper.

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The total number of foreign tourists arriving in South Africa indicates an increase of 16.4 percent during January to September 1989 when compared with the same period in 1988, according to the South African Tourism Board.

There were 651,242 foreign visitors during that period. Average growth from overseas countries, excluding Africa, shows a 23.6 percent gain.

There was a 33.2 percent gain from France, 29.6 percent from Israel, 30.2 percent from Australia, 52.6 percent from Taiwan, 20.4 percent from Austria, 19.4 percent from Germany, 33.6 percent from Italy, 36.6 percent from Switzerland, 25.9 percent from the United Kingdom and 15.6 percent from the United States.

South Africa's **trade surplus** for 1989 shows a 31 percent growth on that for 1988. Preliminary figures released by the Commissioner of Customs and Excise show the surplus for 1989 was R13,402 billion compared to R10,240 billion in 1988. The figures include gold exports and oil imports.

During the year South Africa brought in goods from overseas valued at R44.52 billion while it sold products worth R57.92 billion. Exports from December came to R4,577 billion while imports came to R2.97 billion. This compares to exports of R4.48 billion and imports of R3,220 billion in December 1988.

Biggest income earners for the country for the year were base metals which brought in just over R9 billion. Second was mineral products which brought in R64.5 billion. Vegetable products brought in R2,342 billion, textiles R1,447 billion and wood pulp and similar products R1,255 billion. Transport equipment cost South Africa R6.87 billion and chemicals R4.77 billion.

South Africa's overall **balance of payments** (BoP) position was a good deal more favourable than published figures suggested, Reserve Bank Governor, Dr Chris Stals has said. Moreover, the condition of both the current and capital accounts of BoP had improved to such an extent that the Reserve Bank had been buying dollars in foreign markets. As a result, SA's reserves had been bolstered by R1.5 bn since December 31, 1989. Addressing a meeting of the Pretoria Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Dr Stals said there was every prospect that the calendar year 1990 would end with the current account showing a surplus of between R6 bn and R7 bn. This was based on the assumption that total gross domestic expenditure would show little or no growth on 1989 - which in turn had shown no real increase on 1988 levels - and that exports, while adversely affected by the expected slowdown in western industrial economies, would comfortably outstrip imports.

Associate Professor J A Odell of the University of Cape Town has been appointed to the vacant Chris Barnard Chair of Cardiothoracic Surgery and succeeds Prof Bruno Reichart, the University and the Cape Provincial Administration has confirmed. As Professor and Head of the Department, he will be in charge of cardiothoracic surgery, including heart transplant surgery and research at UCT and teaching hospital groups associated with Groote Schuur Hospital.

NEWS IN BRIEF

A South African manufacturing jeweller was placed in the top 27 awards winners at the **1990 Diamonds International Awards** competition held in Paris recently.

The winners were chosen from 2,109 entries from 35 countries and the South African entry came from Johannesburg-based David Forman. It is the first time in four years that South Africa has been in the ranks of the winners.

Other awards went to Austria, Brazil, Japan, Singapore, the UK and the US.

The awards are presented every two years for the most original and trend setting designs in diamond jewellery.

The requirements are that each piece must contain at least three carats of diamonds, each must use diamonds of the finest quality and each design must be unique. The Diamonds International Award winning collection will tour the world during the year and will include South Africa in its itinerary.

Sanctions imposed on South African companies are affecting a number of self-help programmes and in the Eastern Cape the **Port Elizabeth School Feeding Fund** is struggling to raise money for its R1 million budget this year. The Fund's organising secretary says that as a direct result of sanctions the fund has taken on the feeding of children at an increasing number of junior schools in the past two years.

Due to sanctions many companies have been unable to make their usual donations on which the Fund relied. The Fund feeds 37,000 lower primary school pupils each school day, which amounts to the provision of well over seven million meals a year.

An internationally-known news magazine, a French radio station and a French television channel have placed South African President F W de Klerk in 4th place in a survey to find the **man of the year for 1989.** Paris Match, Radio France International and Channel 5 TV organised the audience survey, which chose Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as the man of the year.

British author Salman Rushdie was second and the Solidarity leader in Poland, Lech Walesa, was placed third.

South Africa will formally implement the **Montreal Protocol** for the control of ozone-depleting substances on April 15. The Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Rina Venter, said by joining the countries that had already ratified the protocol, the South African Government had confirmed its commitment to participating in international actions to prevent the further depletion of the ozone layer.

In terms of the protocol, the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCS) will be pegged at the 1986 level. They will be reduced to 80 percent of the 1986 figure in 1993, to 50 percent in 1996 and to five percent in 1999.

South Africa used about 12,000 metric tons of CFC compounds in 1986. This represented only one per cent of world consumption.

The British Government had granted **1,000 scholarships** to black South Africans this year but "there is much more to be done to bring proper education to blacks.

"Learning opens doors and we must ensure every black South African can obtain the key to democracy and learning", Mrs Chalker said.

The SA Government had to make its own timetable for change and there was no doubt State President F W de Klerk was heading in the right direction, the British Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker, said on January 16.

Speaking at Jan Smuts airport before she left for a one day visit to Zimbabwe, she said she would take a message to that country that progress was steadily being made in South Africa.

She visited the Alexandra Health Clinic near Johannesburg earlier and said, "tremendous progress on development and health services has been made".

Mrs Chalker also said in the past she had expressed a wish that educational assistance to black South Africans should expand and "thanks to (British Ambassador) Sir Robin Renwick, I've seen this wish fulfilled".

THRIVING ON APARTHEID

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, of **The Star,** a Johannesburg daily paper. This article appeared in the December 1989 issue of **Frontline.**

The giant anti-apartheid money-spinning industry is in crisis - not because President F W de Klerk's government has tightened the screws on black political dissent but rather because, against the expectations of many, De Klerk seems to be genuine about negotiating "a new South Africa". If, as seems likely and logical, De Klerk makes good on his promise of an apartheid-free South Africa, thousands of people whose survival depends on the continued existence of apartheid and the conflict that goes with it will be made redundant and left without their incomes. Many people denounce the current regime in public each day while happily repairing each night to the privacy of their hotels or well-furnished homes/mansions in western capitals, where they secretly pray that nobody takes them seriously. The eradication of apartheid and the ushering of South Africa into the 20th century, even so late in the day, would be a rude shock and grave disappointment to these people.

The release from prison of African National Congress stalwart Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners on October 15 must have come as a big surprise to them. They would, no doubt, have preferred these men to have remained in prison so they could continue to deceive the world by appearing to call for their unconditional release while raising funds in their names and the names of "the victims of apartheid".

The opportunists

No doubt some of these people - both inside and outside the country - are truly dedicated to an apartheid-free South Africa, and would like to see that as soon as possible. It would be grossly unfair to tar them with the same brush just because there are corrupt, opportunistic, and money-grabbing individuals swarming in their midst. But it is these opportunistic individuals we should be concerned about, the individuals who amass fortunes and become opulent in the name of the "toiling masses". Sometimes, in their zeal to appear as anti-apartheid as can be, they make pronouncements on world platforms that are in sharp contrast to the wishes of the ordinary people back home, who are simply baffled by the statements. Ordinary people are then left with no option but to ask mutely: just who exactly are these people representing? On whose behalf are they making those statements?

Right to perform

For example, some South African refugees in Zimbabwe earlier this year called for the boycott of the popular musician Ray Phiri in Zimbabwe because his anti-apartheid credentials were allegedly questionable. Local journalists and the South African Musicians' Alliance immediately came to Phiri's rescue, stoutly defending him and protecting his right to perform in Zimbabwe, which he finally did. That is not an isolated example of the gulf between the thinking of ordinary people inside South Africa and those who posture for the world stage.

Last year, South Africa soccer star Ephraim Matsilele "Jomo" Sono was invited to play in a series of worldwide Aids benefit matches by old friend and one-time colleague, the legendary Pele of Brazil. Sono was to travel around the globe - including to Paris and Los Angeles - with a squad of international stars. Spokespersons for the masses sharply criticised him for accepting the invitation saying his participating in the games would break the international sports boycott of South Africa. Again, there was an outcry from ordinary South Africans, who demanded that Sono be allowed to participate. In the end, Sono played one match in Tokyo.

Denying that some 9-to-5 activists in London's Anti-Apartheid Movement or Washington's Trans-Africa group thrive on apartheid is like denying that undertakers continually wish people to keep on dying so that business can boom. It is no secret that undertakers in Soweto made a lot of money in 1985 and 1986 at the height of the political unrest and saw people dying at an alarming rate every week. It is also no secret that on Mondays, after the weekend stabbings, shootings, and killings in Soweto, undertakers queue at Baragwanath Hospital to tout for business. The reason is quite simple - their business depends on the dying of people, just as the lucrative incomes of these anti-apartheid activists abroad depend on the existence of apartheid. If, by the wave of some magic wand, death were to be gotten rid of, undertakers would be out of business; similarly, if apartheid were to be eliminated tomorrow, the opportunists who masquerade as anti-apartheid activists would be out of business.

Worried activists

I know of a number of black South Africans abroad who would hate to see apartheid eliminated. In Washington DC, where I spent three-and-a-half years studying at Georgetown University, I met people who used both apartheid and their blackness to make money and get what they want. The strategy is always the same: if you need money or some other favour, you simply introduce yourself to any white American - especially Democrats - as a black South African and explain your problem. The response is almost always positive, since most white Americans want to be seen to be against apartheid and helping the system's victims. Many activists must be worried by President De Klerk's ultra-reformist utterances, promising to give South Africa a political facelift. If he delivers the goods, these people will be left in the cold, with no certain source of income. They will have to start to earn a living the way of most of us do - by working. □

The items used in RSA Update are derived from South Africa Press Association, the South African and UK media and do not necessarily reflect the view of the editor or the South African Embassy.

R·S·A UPDATE
THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSLETTER
Issued by The South African Embassy · Trafalgar Square · London · WC2N 5DP

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NGOLA COMITÉ)

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POSTGIRO 600657

HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

RETOUR A

15581 27 02 90

Beeg,
This makes very interesting reading.
Jm 5/3

cc PmP SA Desks P. prisoners

Background document on the necessity of continued support from the Special Programme for Victims of Apartheid to DPPSP in 1990.

An application for support to DPPSP (Detainees Political Prisoners Support Programme) for 1990 has been presented to the C.E.C. and will be on the agenda in March.
DPPSP was established after the banning of the Detainees Support Committee (Descom) in 1988 to ensure the continuation of the following activities:

* support to detainees, prisoners, ex-prisoners and their relatives,
* dissemination of information on the violence of human rights.

Since the speech of President F.W. de Klerk in parliament on February 2nd of this year voices are heard that the situation has changed drastically in such a way that the support work for detainees and prisoners won't be necessary in 1990 or if necessary to a much lower extent.
Indeed, in his speech Mr. de Klerk mentioned changes, but let us have a thorough look at what remains unchanged.

Internal Security Act.
This is unaltered by De Klerk's changes and therefore retain all its powers of detention without trial, banning of persons, organisations, gatherings and publications.

Emergency Regulations.
The State of Emergency, declared under the Public Safety Act, continues. Of the four sets of Emergency Regulations two have been withdrawn (media and education), one is unaltered (prison regulations) and the fourth (security regulations) have been amended to provide for slight changes in detention conditions as well as to provide for restrictions on visual reporting of unrest situations.

Detention without trial.
Under the Internal Security Act detention without trial continues unchanged and in each of the first three categories below detention is not limited to a specific term.

* Section 29 provides for the detention of persons for purposes of interrogation.
* Section 28 provides for "preventative detention".
* Section 30 provides for the detention of potential state witnesses.

* Section 50 provides for detention without trial for a 48 hour period.
* Section 50(a) provides for detention up to 180 days.

Detention without trial also continues under the State of Emergency, but under slightly amended conditions. The time limit is restricted to six months but redentention is still possible, there is a right of access to a legal representative and access to external medical services is provided, but only on the recommendation of the prison medical officer.

Other repressive measures.
The Internal Security Act and the State of Emergency still provide for a number of repressive measures.

* The Consolidated List of Persons who may not be quoted. (A number of names have been removed following the speech, but about two-thirds remain.)
* A range of offences which restrict freedom of political action. In terms of the Internal Security Act many of these arise out of membership and furthering the aims of banned organisations or possessing their publications. Not affected are provisions prohibiting causing political or economic disruption and other offences. Over 300 political trials are still in progress but some of these are likely to be abandoned due to the unbanning of previously banned organisations. Less than five percent of the approximately 2000 political prisoners currently serving sentences would appear to be eligible for release as a result of De Klerk's measures. All "unrest" political prisoners are excluded as are most of the "security" political prisoners because of the violence element in their convictions.
* The banning of persons (a provision which has not been used in several years) and the restriction of persons (there are no longer any restricted persons in terms of the Emergency regulations).
* The banning and restriction of organisations (following De Klerk's announcement there are no banned or restricted organisations but the power to ban and restrict organisations still exists).
* Prohibition of gatherings. These Emergency and Internal Security Act powers continue to be exercised and have not been affected by the changes. Funeral restrictions in over 70 townships are still in effect.
* Restrictive powers on publication continue to exist.
* Financial repression has been unchanged. NUSAS is still affected and may not raise funds overseas. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act still exists and Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre has been declared a reporting organisation in January.

The project DPPSP continues to give support to :

- the hundreds of detainees and their families,
- the more than 1000 people and their families, who are involved in the more than 300 political trials which are in progress at different stages. The needs of such prisoners are considerable, involving legal, medical, counselling and material support,
- the 350 political prisoners and their families serving sentences for "security" related offences,
- the 2 to 3 thousand prisoners and their families serving sentences for "unrest" related offences,
- the nearly 300 prisoners on death row of whom 80 can be described as political prisoners. De Klerk has announced that no death sentence will be executed until a new policy

towards death sentence has been adopted. This category of prisoners obviously requires very specialised attention in terms of moral support, family support and lobbying,
- the ex-prisoners. It is important not only to organise a proper reception of released prisoners, but also to facilitate their re-integration into their communities as fully fledged self-supporting members. This calls for a full range of support and service group functions.

The activities of hit squads increased. Two human rights workers have been assassinated, and restricted detainees have been attacked. Support to the bereaved families and wounded survivors of attacks has to be provided for.

The support programme cannot be complete without providing for the means of addressing the issues of violation of human rights involved in detention without trial and political imprisonment. Monitoring and publicising such violations is essential if they are ultimately to be eliminated.

The speech of President de Klerk is an important step towards creating a climate in which negotiations about the future of South Africa become possible. The release of Nelson Mandela shows that Mr. de Klerk is taking this proces serious. Since the release of Nelson Mandela about 8 other prisoners have been released.

However, the overview given above clearly shows how many detainees and prisoners do need support.
DPPSP has built regional structures according to the perceived need of a particular community for support work. There are now 36 regional strucures/organisations working from different offices. In 1990 DPPSP wishes to continue its support work for which is really needed.

Amsterdam, February 26, 1990
Adri Nieuwhof

Sources:

* Information Manual M-1, Human Rights Commission, December 1989.
* Supplement to Information Manual M-1, Human Rights Commission, February 6 1990.
* Weekly Mail, Ferbuary 9-15 1990.

FROM:P.M. U.N. OF IRELAND NYC TO: 780628 FEB 26, 1990

FAX COVER SHEET

~~Mr Burke~~ CB 27/2/90 290 (1

SA Devs

94

FAX NO. 290

DATE: 26/2/90 Time: _____

To: DG

For: P. Monaghan

From: J. Cox

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 3

Brief description of material: Statement by Chairman of Anti-Apartheid Committee

~~Any~~ special instructions: _____

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This material is being sent from Fax phone no. 223-0926.
This number should be used for return faxing.
If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at (212) 421-6934.

United Nations

210(E)

Press Release

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

A fax message (page 2)

GA/AP/1965
22 February 1990

ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE CALLS ON BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOT TO DESTROY WORLD UNITY AGAINST APARTHEID 'THROUGH PREMATURE UNILATERAL ACTION'

The following statement was issued today by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria):

In reacting to statements made by the British Government on its intentions to lift a number of "voluntary" sanctions against South Africa, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, at a meeting held on 16 February 1990 to mark the release of Nelson Mandela, said, inter alia:

"... Two months ago the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. ... This Declaration constitutes a moral and political contract that binds the international community to assist the South African people to build a new South Africa. This unprecedented document, unprecedented because it was adopted by consensus and because it formulates the framework for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa, also binds the Member States to step up all-round support for the opponents of apartheid, to use concerted and effective measures aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid. It also includes an important commitment of the international community not to relax existing measures 'until there is clear indication of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the Declaration' ... This last point should be emphasized. Governments, in addition to their own assessment about the profoundness of changes, have to respect the objective criteria which emanate from the substance of the Declaration and to which they themselves have agreed. In this context, the Special Committee regrets the recent announcements by the British Government of its unilateral relaxation of a number of hitherto imposed measures, namely the lifting of the cultural and academic boycott, the discontinuation of the policy of discouraging new investments in South Africa as well as tourism to that country. While the Special Committee acknowledges the need for encouraging the ongoing process towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict, it deems entirely premature any form of relaxation of existing measures."

(more)

For information media—not an official record

The intentions of the British Government were unfortunately reiterated on 20 February upon the conclusion of the European Economic Community ministerial meeting in Dublin. The Special Committee strongly believes that present conditions in South Africa are still far from justifying any relaxation of international pressure on the South African regime. On the contrary, at this critical junction, all "concerted and effective measures" should be applied on Pretoria to ensure a speedy end to apartheid. We all recall that the consensus, by which the recent General Assembly Declaration on South Africa was adopted, included the United Kingdom. The Special Committee calls on the British Government to continue to adhere to the spirit and the letter of the Declaration and not seek to destroy international unity against apartheid through premature unilateral action.

* *** *

Mr Brosnan
p.a. Mr Burns.

A. Kelly.

Please,
grateful
for dispatch

Clearing with DO.

22/2

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9372DC ESTR EI
4323 HIBMSU LO

TO: HQ, POLITICAL DIVISION FROOM: MASERU
FOR: A. KELLY FROM: DAVID BARRY
NO.: 16
22/2/90

DECLARATIONS AT E.P.C. MINISTRIAL MEETING.

PLEASE SAY IF I SHOULD FORMALLY TRANSMIT COPIES OF DECLARATIONS TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HERE.

WILL COPY TO EC MISSIONS HERE.

END.
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9372DC ESTR EI
4323 HIBMSU LO

cc D Murphy K Thompson B Rogers 21/2/90 1/3

DA

C23
22.2.90

TO HQ FROM LISBON
FOR B HAWKES (POLITICAL) FROM MCHUGH

Mr Bruce
SA Desk.

/////

SOUTH AFRICA

THE POSITION ADOPTED BY PORTUGAL IN DUBLIN ON THE SANCTIONS QUESTION CONTINUES TO BE A MATTER OF SOME CONTROVERSY HERE.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE HAVE ASKED ME IF A TRANSCRIPT IS AVAILABLE OF THE RELEVANT PART OF MINISTER COLLIN'S PRESS CONFERENCE. THIS REQUEST WAS RECEIVED AT 5 PM YESTERDAY AND SINCE THEN TV HAS SHOWN JUNIOR MINISTER WALDEGREVE STATING IN H. OF COMMONS THAT PORT. HAD SUPPORTED U.K. THROUGHOUT. ALSO REPORTS IN BRITISH AND IRISH PAPERS HAVE BEEN QUOTED, SO THAT REQUEST IS EFFECTIVELY SUPERCEDED. NEVERTHELESS IN VIEW OF THE SOURCE OF THE ENQUIRY I SHOULD BE GLAD TO RECEIVE BY FAX ANY SUCH TRANSCRIPT WHICH MAY EXIST.

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Rec'd 21/2

21/2/90 12/10

c&d P Murphy, K Thompson, P Murnaghan Dag

C22
IMMEDIATE
21.2.90

TO HQ FROM LISBON
FOR B HAWKES FROM MCHUGH

/////

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT IN LEADING DAILY DIARIO DE NOTICIAS SAYS THAT AFTER THE MINISTER'S'MEETING YESTERDAY THE PRESIDENCY INDICATED AT THE FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE THAT PORTUGAL HAD SUPPORTED THE BRITISH POSITION ON SANCTIONS. THE PORTUGUESE MINISTER IS SAID TO HAVE DENIED THAT SUCH SUPPORT HAD BEEN GIVEN ADDING THAT THE IDEA OF A TROIKA MISSION CAME IN PART FROM PORTUGUESE PROPOSALS.

GLAD IF YOU WOULD CLARIFY. IF REPORT INCORRECT WOULD YOU CONSIDER IT ADVISEABLE TO ASK THAT A CORRECTION BE PUBLISHED.

/////

0675

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Rec'd 21/2

94

Mr Brisco
pa Mr Berg

CODED MESSAGE
IMMEDIATE/URGENT
CONFIDENTIAL
DATE 22/2/90 TIME 1947
INITIALS

C43
22.2.90.

TO PMUN NY FROM H.Q.
FOR G. CORR FROM P. MURNAGHAN

EPC MINISTERIAL (YOUR C108).

REGRET A TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE IS NOT AVAILABLE.

PREPARING PRESS RELEASE AND APPEARED TO BELIEVE PORTUGAL WAWS FOLLOWING UK ON LIFTING DISINVESTMENT MEASURE.

2. CAA HAS ASKED FOR TEXT OF MINISTERS SA REFERENCE AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE. PRESS SECTION MAY HAVE THIS AND, IF SO, GRATEFUL IF IT COULD BE FAXED ASAP.

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PTYT
END.

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UNIRL

copied Press Section/Mr. Kilkenny
Do we have or could we get transcript of SA item at press conference yesterday?
mn
21/2

C43
22.2.90.

Mr Briscoe
pa ext Dept

CODED MESSAGE
IMMEDIATE URGENT
CONFIDENTIAL
DATE 22/2/90. TIME 1947.
INITIALS

TO PMUN NY FROM H.Q.
FOR G. CORR FROM P. MURNAGHAN

EPC MINISTERIAL (YOUR C108).

REGRET A TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE IS NOT AVAILABLE.

PREPARING PRESS RELEASE AND APPEARED TO BELIEVE PORTUGAL WAWS
FOLLOWING UK ON LIFTING DISINVESTMENT MEASURE.

2. CAA HAS ASKED FOR TEXT OF MINISTERS SA REFERENCE AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE. PRESS SECTION MAY HAVE THIS AND, IF SO, GRATEFUL IF IT COULD BE FAXED ASAP.

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END.

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UNIRL

copied Press Section/Mr. Kilkenny
Do we have or could we get transcript of SA item at press conference yesterday?
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21/2

c/d, P. Murphy, B. Hawkes, K. Thompson

CODED MESSAGE
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DATE 21/2/90 TIME 0109

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C108
20 FEBRUARY 1990

TO HQ FROM PMUN NY
FOR P MURNAGHAN FROM G CORR

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CENTRE AGAINST APARTHEID: DUBLIN MINISTERIAL MEETING

1. I ALERTED PORTUGUESE CONTACT ON PERSONAL LEVEL THAT CAA PREPARING PRESS RELEASE AND APPEARED TO BELIEVE PORTUGAL WAWS FOLLOWING UK ON LIFTING DISINVESTMENT MEASURE.

2. CAA HAS ASKED FOR TEXT OF MINISTERS SA REFERENCE AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE. PRESS SECTION MAY HAVE THIS AND, IF SO, GRATEFUL IF IT COULD BE FAXED ASAP.

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PTYT
END.

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UNIRL

copied Press Section/Mr. Kilkenny
Do we have or could we get transcript of SA item at press conference yesterday?
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21/2

CONFIDENTIAL

Sent

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SECURE FAX

COVER SHEET (ONE PER ADDRESSEE)

FAX MESSAGE NUMBER : 003
DATE : 22-2-90
TIME : 18:10
PAGES : 10

} TO BE INSERTED BY COM. CEN. IVEAGH HOUSE

(INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

IMMEDIATE / URGENT (DELETE AS NECESSARY)

TO A Corr FROM HQ
FOR Pmun Newyork FROM P Mulrenan
REF: YOUR/MY
SUBJECT

COMMENTS

REPLIES TO THIS FAX MESSAGE TO BE SENT BY SECURE FAX TO HQ
FAX NO. 784936

CONFIDENTIAL

Gerry,

With my apologies for the inordinate delay.

Indications as to representation at Namibian independence celebrations were:-

IT	Foreign Minister
NL	not sure what level
P	Ministerial level (not sure which)
UK	F.M.
B	under consideration
DK	Minister but not sure which
FRG	most likely F.M.
E	F.M.
FR	F.M. likely
GR	not sure

mm
15.2.90

AFR(87)7/CP/08-09.04.87 : Fundamental principles regarding the future of South Africa and the Twelve's policy in this regard (CPE/SEC 162)

I. Apartheid is unacceptable. It endangers stability both in South Africa itself and in the region as a whole. Its prolongation will only weaken the forces of moderation and diminish the prospects for a peaceful solution. The Twelve have repeatedly condemned Apartheid in all its forms and continue to seek its abolition through a process of peaceful change. There is an urgent need to break the present cycle of violence in South Africa and replace it by a process of national dialogue and negotiations. The Twelve are convinced that the vision of a new South Africa, free from racial discrimination, in which all South Africans can live in peace and harmony and enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities, is not beyond grasp. This would also be of vital importance to peace, stability, security and economic development in the region as a whole and would allow South Africa to regain its rightful place in the international community.

The Twelve have identified in the past what steps they consider necessary for genuine national dialogue to begin.

They remain convinced that only broad-based negotiations, involving the genuine representatives of the various components of the South African population, can bring about a lasting settlement.

The aim of the negotiations should be the emergence of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa which takes into account the diversity of its society. The legitimate political aspirations of the majority must be met. At the same time arrangements should be devised to ensure that every South African is able to look at the future with confidence and a feeling that he will have a say in decisions which affect him.

II. It is up to the South Africans themselves to define - together - the exact shape of new constitutional arrangements, but the Twelve consider that the following basic principles have general validity :

1. The inherent dignity and equality of all human persons before the law.

2. Respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the basic documents of the United Nations, including the freedom of expression, the right to liberty and

security of persons and the right of property for all, without distinction as to colour, race, sex or creed.

3. A geographically united South Africa with single citizenship.

4. A democratic and pluralistic political system based on universal suffrage, with adequate minority participation.

5. Protection of minority rights in the field of culture, language and religion.

6. Rule of law, safeguarded by an independent judiciary.

The Twelve consider the above principles to be closely inter-related and mutually supportive.

III. The Twelve express the hope that the above principles can be a source of inspiration for a just and lasting settlement. In this spirit the Twelve remain ready to assist the parties in initiating the national dialogue which is so urgently needed in South Africa to achieve peaceful change.

Africa Working Group
Brussels, 6 February, 1990

Delegation Report
(to be read in conjunction with the Oral Report CPE/SEC 80)

1. South Africa

a) Recent Developments

The Group discussed recent events in South Africa, in the light of President de Klerk's speech to Parliament on 2 February and the statement by Ministers the previous day. This discussion cut across to some extent the separate item on the status of measures.

All were agreed that the measures announced by de Klerk were very significant in terms of creating a climate for negotiations but noted that the release of Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency (SOE) were outstanding. In this context the maintenance and possible reinforcement of the Community's positive measures were considered important. NOt surprisingly views differed on the subject of restrictive measures and on when and under what circumstances these might or should be lifted. The Presidency pointed to the significance of the Ministers' statement that restrictive measures would be reconsidered "to the degree that dialogue is instituted" and "in accordance with" the European council statement of December.

Reacting to the Ministers' statement of the previous day, the UK said it was now up to the opposition organisations to react positively to de Klerk's invitation to negotiations and that the Twelve should act as strenuously as they can to persuade them to accept. the purpose of negotiations was to draw up a new Constitution for South Africa; it was unrealistic to expect de Klerk to keep on making announcements without any reaction from the other side. The UK also made clear its position on political prisoners; it adopted a narrow definition: persons in prison for what they had done politically. On restrictive measures, it argued that the Twelve's 1986 measures had been introduced precisely to get SA to institute conditions for dialogue. It argued for a step-by-step approach on both positive and negative measures, as conditions were implemented. This explained their decision to invite de Klerk to London and to encourage dialogue in various fields, while admitting that other measures "instituted in law" would have to wait for more fundamental changes. Ministers on 20 February would have to consider how far de Klerk had gone to created conditions for dialogue.

Portugal was less precise but tended in the same direction as the UK; the question was how to balance pressure with encouragement. On practical measures to meet the new situation, both positive and negative measures had to be addressed. The Community's positive measures programme should be increased and made more relevant. It linked the adoption of a new attitude on restrictive measures to the release of Mandela and the lifting of the SOE. It felt the Twelve should accompany each step by SA concretely and in a "fine-tuned" way and should intensify dialogue with opposition groups to help them better prepare themselves.

Belgium consider the basic issue was to appraise whether the measures taken and proposed constituted irreversible changes. It also felt the Twelve should signal to the opposition the need to respond.

Spain felt the Twelve, in acknowledging the importance of the steps taken, should not lose sight of the fact that they were limited and that several restrictions remained. A cautious approach was advisable. Spain had been considering lifting some unilateral measures but noticed how other countries, such as USA, while welcoming the de Klerk measures had then pulled back. It emphasised that Twelve sanctions had been imposed by consensus so consensus should govern their lifting.

The NL also favoured stepping up the Community's positive measures programme. Agreeing with Portugal that there had to be a balance between pressure and encouragement, it saw room to relax non-economic measures while keeping pressure in the economic field.

For the FRG the European Council statement implied that negotiations would have to be in a start-up phase before the Twelve would reconsider lifting their restrictive measures. France adopted a similar view; the Twelve should not confuse measures to establish conditions for dialogue and more substantive changes. It was at the latter stage that consideration could be given to lifting restrictions.

The Commission reported that Commissioner Marin had met a number of the channels after de Klerk's speech; while optimistic, they emphasised not everything had yet been delivered and asked that pressure not be relaxed at this stage.

b) Human Rights

There was a general welcome for the relaxation of restrictions on the media, the moratorium on executions, and the limiting of detention to six months, though more remained to be done.

c) Status of Measures

There was consensus within the Group that the positive measures programme should be reoriented to better meet the needs of the new developing situation in South Africa. The Commission suggested two possible ways:

a) support for the repatriation and resettlement of some 100,000 exiles (to ensure impartiality, it was felt such aid should be channelled through the UNHCR rather than through the traditional programme channels; and

b) support for the education and training needs of a democratic, post-apartheid SA.

Budget resources for 1990 for the programme were 30 mecu, of which 40% had already been allocated. It was hoped further to increase the budget in 1991.

The new situation also required that the rationale for using the Community's

traditional channels be looked at. Some partners felt greater use could be made of Twelve embassies in SA which were already involved in managing national programmes. The Group agreed to recommend to COPOL that Ambassadors in SA be asked to advise on the channelling of funds in the new situation, where there would not be the same problems in working directly in SA. The whole question would also have to be discussed with the channels (dismantling the complex structures introduced would not be easy); the next Special Programme meeting on 9 March would offer an opportunity to broach the issue.

The Group also discussed the declaration of one of the Community's channels, the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, as a reporting organisation under the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act and the likelihood of other channels, including the Kagiso Trust, being also shortly so declared. It was agreed this could not be overlooked and that a demarche should be made. A number of partners, however, were anxious that this first (and negative) Twelve intervention following de Klerk's speech, be phrased carefully. The Presidency agreed the demarche should be low-key and undertook to propose elements by coreu, reflecting the view that action under the Act ran counter to the current course being taken by de Klerk (already done).

The Group agreed without discussion the draft Ninth Synthesis Report on the Code of Conduct and the draft statement by Ministers.

d) Fundamental Principles

Discussion was brief. The Group accepted the view of the Presidency that the Declaration of the UN Special Session on Apartheid obviated the need for a separate statement of principles by the Twelve at this stage.

e) UN Special Session

The Group agreed to recommend to the Political Committee that it take note of the report by Heads of Mission in New York on the UNSS.

2. Southern Africa

a) Namibia

The Oral Report is self-explanatory. Several partners expect to be represented at the independence celebrations at ministerial level and in most cases by their Foreign Minister.

b) Angola

The Oral Report reflects adequately the general lines of the discussion. Portugal briefed the Group on various aspects of the Angolan situation. ON the military front, the Government offensive on Mavinga was of more psychological than strategic importance as a point across the Lomba river close to UNITA's HQ at Jamba. The offensive offered no real negotiating advantage to the Government. Savimbi had been in Portugal In January where he had met the President and PM, in his capacity as head of the Party, but he had to cut short the visit due to the offensive.

The Presidency asked about rumours that the Government was dissatisfied with Mobutu's mediation. Portugal acknowledged there were problems but felt it would be difficult to throw him over after so long and to find someone else both sides would accept. It was likely he would be kept as formal mediator but that others would be brought in to try to move things forward.

Germany said there were reports of serious food shortages in southern Angola, with 75% of the harvest lost due to failure of the rains. Delivery and distribution of food aid to the affected areas could be hampered by the military situation. The Group agreed to await a Commission report from its delegate in Luanda before considering what action might be taken.

c) Mozambique

Portugal said the impasse in the mediation effort arose partly because Maputo suspected Kenya had shown preference to RENAMO in the Nairobi talks. The introduction of Zimbabwe into the mediation process was generally positive but the personality differences between Mugabe and Chissano should not be overlooked. Chissano still believed the initiative still remained with SA to a large extent but he also wanted to push ahead internally, and the new draft Constitution was an important step in this regard. FRELIMO was in its own way moving towards pluralism and no longer appeared to rule out a multi-p;arty system. On the question of SA involvement, Portugal believed the real issue was whether the structure inside SA backing up their intervention had been dismantled.

The Group referred briefly to the possibility of a more positive South African role in Mozambique as things began to change at home.

d) Malawi

The issue of human rights was raised by Germany. It had made a number of bilateral demarches with no success about the general situation and in individual cases and felt it was now time for the Twelve to take up the matter. It was noted that approaches to President Banda appeared to make matters worse rather than better. It was agreed to recommend to COPOL that Ambassadors be asked to advise on how best the Twelve might address the human rights situation in Malawi.

3. Horn of Africa

a) Ethiopia

Italy reported on the preliminary discussions in Rome between the Government and TPLF. The next meeting would start on 20 March, when it was hoped to agree the agenda for the main talks. Prospects however were not hopeful; the TPLF claimed to represent the entire Ethiopian people, the Government could not accept this. This posed consequential problems for the agenda. Progress in the talks with the EPLF was stalemated; the main stumbling block was the EPLF insistence on participation by a UN observer at the next round. The Secretary-General had a rather negative attitude to UN involvement. Italy pointed out that the two sets of talks were interlinked (similar military and negotiating strategies) and that failure in either would result in failure in the other. The Group noted that the Arab League in March would discuss

Eritrea for the first time.

The UK agreed the SecGen had to be careful; he could only become involved if authorised by the Security Council or at the request of the General Assembly or if invited by the Ethiopian Government. Carter had created the situation by relaying the EPLF demand to the UN to early in the process.

Italy said the re-establishment of diplomatic links with Israel had introduced a potentially strong disruptive element into the conflict and made it objectively more difficult to work out a solution. Italy had no doubts that the purpose of the secret agreement between the two countries on opening relations was to replace military support from Eastern Europe. It was concerned that this was going to import into Ethiopia/the Horn elements of the Arab/Israeli conflict and would have a bearing on negotiations. It felt the threat was clear from rumours circulating about a (irrigation?) project on the Blue Nile, which posed a direct threat to Egypt. It feared Israel's purpose was to encircle the Arab world by friendly states. It felt the Twelve might consider a statement condemning external military support to the Horn.

The Group also discussed the humanitarian situation. It welcomed Ethiopian Government agreement to the idea of corridors to allow food to reach those in nedd in Tigray. It noted however that the agreement had not yet become operational because the agreement of the rebel fronts, both of whom controlled part of the proposed northern route from Massawa to Adigrat, had still to be sought. The Commission said three corridors had been talked about, two from the south and one from the north (but offered no information on those from the south). It was noted that the Government relief arm, the Joint Relief Programme, were to meet the TPLF in Khartoum on 8 February to discuss conditions for opening the northern corridor; problems were not expected. The UK was somewhat less optimistic, pointing to TPLF suspicions about Government intentions.

The UK pointed to a third front in the West between the Government and the Oromo Liberation Front, with reports suggesting support from the EPLF and Sudan.

On the issue of a statement, the Presidency proposed that it be left to it to consider the usefulness of a statement perhaps by Ministers at their meeting on 20 February, which might cover the humanitarian and political situation. The Presidency would also consider whether a statement might cover the whole of the Horn and perhaps include the question of external military assistance.

b) Sudan

The UK considered the resumption of fighting in the south as a disaster; both sides were showing callous indifference towards civilians. It felt the advance on Juba might be a tactical ploy to pin the Government down and leave the SPLA free to conduct other actions in Equatoria province. It saw no scope for the Western peace initiative and felt the Carter role was dead. It wondered about possible Egyptian/African mediation as a way forward.

On the aid question, the UK reported that Missions in Khartoum had been working actively to bring pressure to bear on the Government to allow Phase II of Operation Lifeline Sudan. From information made available to the

Presidency by the UK, it was clear that Missions represented locally had already decided in consultation with capitals to demarche the Sudanese FM to have him persuade his colleagues on the RRC, notably Gen. el-Beshir, to approve Phase II. Part of this strategy included a threat to go public if the government did not reply positively within a reasonably short time, and in any case before the conference planned for 26 February. The Presidency undertook, in view of the need to act quickly, to propose by coreu the elements of a demarche by the Troika to the FM to express the Twelve's concern at delays in reaching agreement to allow food aid to get to southern sudan through OLS (already done).

c) Somalia

The main points of the discussion are adequately covered in the Oral Report. Italy did not on this occasion oppose the idea of a demarche to Somalia on the human rights situation but wanted to make it conditional on a call on all parties to engage (in particular the SNM) in dialogue. It finally accepted a Presidency compromise which proposed: a) a confidential demarche to the Somali authorities which would put the main emphasis on the human rights situation but which would also include a reference to the Twelve's hope that national reconciliation might lead to an improvement in human rights; and b) a statement by Ministers appealing to all parties to engage in a dialogue aimed at national reconciliation. This latter statement would be brought to the attention of opposition groups.

4. Senegal/Mauritania

The Oral Report is self-explanatory.

5. Liberia

The relatively simple matter of conveying to the Liberians the Twelve's dissatisfaction at the manner in which they had treated the Presidency took up some considerable time. Some partners wanted the Troika to make a further demarche; Italy felt this would impose a difficult burden on Ambassadors given their treatment last time round. However, it was felt stronger action than calling in the Liberian Ambassador in Rome was called for. the Group finally agreed to recommend to COPOL that the Twelve make public their demarche and that individual partners might use suitable opportunities to educate the Liberians on the nature and role of EPC.

6. Other Business

The Oral Report is self-explanatory.

P. Murnaghan
9 February, 1990
af97pm

SA Dens.

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Britain to defy EC on sanctions

By Sean Flynn and Joe Carroll

BRITAIN is to defy its EC colleagues and once again encourage new investment in South Africa, despite warnings from the Irish presidency that this endangers the credibility of political co-operation between member States.

During heated exchanges over South African sanctions at a meeting of EC Foreign Ministers in Dublin Castle, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Collins, refused to accept the assertion by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, that Ireland had set a precedent during the Falklands war in 1982. At that time, Ireland had refused to renew sanctions against Argentina after the sinking of the Belgrano.

In firmly denying the British claims, Mr Collins reminded Britain of her Community obligations and appealed to Britain not to set "a dangerous precedent". "It will rebound in the interest of all of us if an individual member can do its own thing," he said.

In seeking to justify Britain's unilateral action to partially lift the voluntary ban on new investment, Mr Hurd insisted that the Community should make a practical response to President De Klerk, who was "taking his political life in his hands".

Mr Hurd also pointed out that Britain is not totally isolated in lifting sanctions. He cited the support given by the Portuguese foreign minister during the meeting and a message of support from President Bush to Mrs Thatcher describing the British move as "positive".

In an attempt to achieve compromise, Mr Hurd proposed that Britain would retain the investment ban if the other EC States "committed themselves" to lift the ban when the state of emergency in South Africa had ended. This proposal won some limited support from the EC Commission vice-president, Mr Frans Andriessen, but after vigorous interventions by Ireland and Denmark, Mr Hurd dropped his proposal.

The proposal by Mr Collins that a special fact-finding mission led by himself should go to South Africa was positively received, but the presidency's partners in the troika process, France and Italy, may not be represented at ministerial level. Mr Hurd made it clear that he saw the move as being interpreted as a sign of delay.

British decision on sanctions undermines stance of EC; Mission to SA criticised; Thatcher firm on easing sanctions; Genscher reassures ministers on drive for German unity; Twelve set priorities for CSCE talks in Paris: page 7; Editorial comment: page 11.

The ban on new investments adopted by the Community four years ago is a voluntary ban. The Irish presidency and most EC partners argue that the decision, taken by consensus, can only be lifted with full agreement. But Mr Hurd said yesterday that the British Government had been legally advised that it could now lift the investment ban as the De Klerk reforms signalled that the objectives had been partially reached.

Mr Collins had struck a confrontational tone even before he entered yesterday's meeting. In an RTE radio interview, he suggested that Britain was "under certain pressure" because of it's isolation on the issue.

During the meeting, he argued that there was still some distance to travel before the apartheid system was dismantled. The actions taken by President De Klerk, while welcome, still did not go far enough, "notably in that the state of emergency is still in place and a number of political prisoners are still being held."

Ministers agreed that member States could now engage in cultural and scientific co-operation provided that any such contacts "contribute to the ending of apartheid".

Mr Collins emphasised that this move did not represent a concession towards the Pretoria regime.

Later, on RTE's "Today Tonight" programme, Mr Collins rejected a suggestion that there was little point in his planned visit to Pretoria. He said that the purpose of the visit would be to encourage the De Klerk government to take further steps towards the ending of apartheid.

Mr Collins, pointing out that it would be easier not to go to South Africa, stressed that he would be talking to Mr Nelson Mandela and to the African National Congress to seek their views, too.

The visit would form part of the pressure on the De Klerk government to go further down the line, and 10 other EC colleagues had thought the visit worthwhile, he said.

On the same programme, Mr Hurd regretted that the British Government's compromise had not been accepted and he repeated his view that the Council of Ministers had failed to get "the mixture right" by refusing some relaxation in sanctions as an encouragement to Mr De Klerk to proceed with reforms.

Mr Hurd said that he did not advocate abandoning sanctions altogether, that he did not favour sports contacts and that he did not want to sell arms to South Africa.

Press Association adds:

Mr Hurd said earlier he believed his compromise plan has been "fair and reasonable" adding: "I am sorry it was rejected." Asked whether Britain would now act alone, he replied: "I expect that that will be so." He indicated investment could be resumed after the completion of "certain formalities".

Mr Hurd rejected claims that Britain had been isolated by yesterday's developments. He said President Bush had sent a message to Mrs Thatcher saying he believed the steps Britain had taken were positive. "He believes strongly that when someone does what you have been asking them to do, you should recognise that fact," Mr Hurd added.

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

THE IRISH TIMES
13 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN 2
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1990

BREAKING RANKS

Even before the Foreign Ministers of the European Community met in Dublin yesterday, the British Government had chosen to break the consensus among member states and to ignore the urging of the African National Congress. Britain's decision to remove the ban on new investment in South Africa was announced by Mrs Thatcher in London while the ministers were still debating the case for a consensual approach to sanctions in Dublin Castle.

It was not the first occasion on which Britain had found herself alone or with minimal support among EC states. Nor was it, as Mr Gerard Collins suggested, an unprecedented breach of unanimity in the Community's external affairs: Mr Douglas Hurd promptly reminded Mr Collins of Ireland's stance during the Falklands War.

But yesterday's break on South Africa is bound to damage political co-operation between member states at a moment when the EC badly needs cohesion as it faces the stresses imposed by developments in Eastern Europe; and it sends conflicting messages to the people of South Africa of all races and political persuasions.

To argue, as Mrs Thatcher has done, that Mr De Klerk has earned encouragement is to afford his efforts a recognition which Mr Nelson Mandela himself has not denied them. To suggest that the encouragement should take the form of an immediate relaxation of sanctions is to ignore their impact to date and to miss completely the point that the process on which the South African Government has embarked is far from complete.

* * *

Mr Collins and a majority of his colleagues rightly take the view expressed by Mr Mandela and other leading members of the ANC that, with the state of emergency in force, political prisoners yet to be released and the legal apparatus of apartheid largely intact, the political and psychological — as well as the economic — pressure of sanctions is essential.

Mr Collins's proposal to lead a delegation to South Africa to meet leaders of all sections of the community appears to have had a more enthusiastic but potentially less fruitful response. He is unlikely to be accompanied by his French and Italian counterparts; and Mr Hurd who dismisssed the proposal as a delaying tactic is planning his own mission to Pretoria — which may well coincide with Mr Collins's.

Endorsement by a majority of EC states of continuing sanctions is a satisfactory result of yesterday's meeting — if only because, from the beginning, unanimity had been rendered virtually impossible. The divisions opened up in Dublin Castle are, to say the least, regrettable; strained relations as the Community struggles with the problems posed by integration may inhibit progress and from an Irish point of view there is the obvious risk of coolness with London.

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

Thatcher firm on easing sanctions

From Paul O'Neill, in London

THE British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, yesterday repeated her commitment to the relaxation of economic sanctions on South Africa.

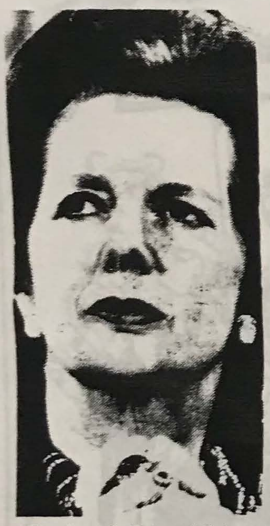
She told the House of Commons that President De Klerk's fundamental decisions had gone further in the direction of ending apartheid than those of any other previous government. He was determined to end it, she said, adding: "We believe it is right, step by step, to lift some of the sanctions, in particular the voluntary ones."

Replying to a Tory backbencher, Mr Alan Amos, she pointed out that six other countries in the EC had a voluntary ban on investment. The British Government was not suggesting lifting sanctions enforced by order.

"It is not possible to do anything about investment reinvested from profits in South Africa, and sometimes it has a compound nature, sometimes from within South Africa and without," she said. "BMW South Africa have just announced the latest £25 million instalment of a five-year investment programme worth £120 million. This does mean jobs and security and an improvement in living standards for the workforce and should be welcomed."

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

British decision on sanctions undermines stance of EC



The British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher

By Sean Flynn

THE IMPORTANCE of last night's decision by Britain to break ranks on the South African sanctions issue is that it demonstrates how the European Community will fail to achieve real political cohesion while Mrs Thatcher continues to pursue her existing policies.

At a time when the Community needs to consolidate its own integration in order to speak with one voice on Eastern European issues, Britain's decision to unilaterally lift sanctions undermines the system of political co-operation between member-States.

The President of the Council, Mr Collins, reflected the mood of pessimism when he said: "It will rebound on all of us individual members can go off and do their own thing . . . and it reflects badly on European political co-operation."

Last night there was speculation that other member-States opposed, for example, to existing sanctions on Libya and Syria (which Britain strongly supports) might also break ranks.

Such a drastic course of action is unlikely, of course — but this does indicate how Britain's action has essentially undermined the atmosphere in which political co-operation is supposed to take place.

On the actual issue of South African sanctions, it is clear that the Community, after the heated exchanges of yesterday's meeting, has sent a somewhat confused signal to Pretoria.

Britain did succeed in forcing the issue onto the agenda and will now break ranks. Otherwise, the existing Community sanctions on South Africa remain firmly in place.

Britain first raised the sanctions issue in response to the De Klerk address at a meeting of foreign ministers in Brussels two weeks ago. The Irish Presidency was opposed to any consideration of the issue until clear evidence emerged of irreversible progress towards the dismantling of apartheid.

With the release of Mr Nelson Mandela in the interim, Britain came to yesterday's meeting with confidence that its supposed isolation on the sanctions issue was more apparent than real. In the House of Commons last week, Mrs Thatcher expressed confidence that the Netherlands and Portugal would support the British stance.

At yesterday's meeting, Portugal, which has over 60,000 nationals in South Africa, did support moves for some relaxation of existing sanctions. But the Portuguese have given no indication that they will actually join Britain in lifting any sanctions on new investment.

Contrary to British expectations, the Netherlands also formally supported the Community position.

While the existing sanctions remain firmly in place among eleven member-States, it is also clear that the Community is edging towards a review of existing sanctions, in the light of developments in South Africa.

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, February 21, 1990

EC mission to SA criticised

By Mark Brennock,
Political Reporter

THE AFRICAN National Congress and anti-apartheid movements from throughout the EC last night welcomed the foreign ministers' decision not to relax sanctions, but questioned the value of sending a fact-finding mission to South Africa.

The chief representative of the ANC in Britain and Ireland, Mr Mendi Msimang, said last night that while the ANC was pleased at the re-affirmation of the EC position on sanctions, it was concerned at "the short sighted position taken by Mrs Thatcher, who is, in fact, distancing herself from the thrust of the EC for human rights and national liberation in South Africa".

On the issue of the proposed EC fact finding mission to South Africa, he said that he was not questioning the integrity of the Community on this matter. Nevertheless, he said, most missions in the past had addressed themselves "only to the racist regime".

He said: "The ANC will not obstruct any move initiated anywhere, provided such move is clearly designed to hasten the process of the eradication of apartheid. Therefore, the EC decision to send a mission to South Africa must be seen in this context".

On behalf of the umbrella group of EC anti-apartheid movements, Mr Kadar Asmal expressed grave concern at the decision to send an EC mission to South Africa. A similar mission had gone there in 1985, he said, but "spent the bulk of its time with the regime and those who collaborated with it".

That mission's objective had been to see "the unconditional and immediate ending of apartheid", he said, and had intended to meet Mr Nelson Mandela, who was then in prison. On arrival in South Africa, however, they had accepted the terms imposed on their visit by the government, including a refusal of permission to meet Mr Mandela.

The United Democratic Front had then refused to meet them, "because the mission was simply a way of spinning out consideration of the relationship between the Community and South Africa".

He said that while he didn't doubt the integrity of the EC foreign ministers, the 1985 visit had been simply an excuse to postpone decisions. "If the objective now is to find out if there has been profound and irreversible change, it is a matter of record that there isn't".

A representative of the UDF, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, told the press conference that there was no need for the troika investigation into "so-called irreversible change", because it hadn't happened yet.

There had been some advances, such as the release of some ANC leaders and the unbanning of the organisation, and the atmosphere in South Africa was conducive to change. "But any easing of sanctions would mean the De Klerk government would become less sensitive to the demands of the people of South Africa".

The Workers' Party leader, Mr Proinsias De Rossa, has accused the Taoiseach and Minister for Foreign Affairs of masquerading as champions of strong action against South Africa, while doing little or nothing to discourage Irish trade with the country.

Mr De Rossa said that trade figures published yesterday showed that during the first 10 months of 1989, Irish imports from South Africa increased by more than 25 per cent over the same period in the previous year. "We imported £8.5 million worth of South African goods in the first 10 months of 1988, but the figure for the same period in 1989 was £10.9 million".

P. Murnaghan
Mc Baxter

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EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
THE COUNCIL

Brussels, 20 February 1990 (06.03)

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RESOLUTIONS, DECISIONS AND OPINIONS (1)

adopted
by the European Parliament
at its session
of 15 February 1990

Jpp. 20-24

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(1) Provisional version. The definitive version will be published by the European Parliament in the Official Journal of the European Communities.

PART II

TEXTS ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT

1. South Africa
(debate and vote: Part I, Item 4 of Minutes)
. Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-318, 324, 375, 379 and 387/90 1

2. Romania
(debate and vote, Part I, Item 5 of Minutes)
. Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-333, 335, 347, 354, 356, 378 and 394/90 3

3. Media sector
(debate and vote: Part I, Item 6 of Minutes)
. joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-345, 368, 380 and 391/90 5

4. Human rights
(debate and vote, Part I, Items 7 and 11 of Minutes)
a) Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-346 and 393/90/Corr. 7
b) Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-326 and 369/90 9
c) Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-328 and 344/90 10
d) Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-348 and 366/90 11
e) Resolution Doc. B3-327/90 13
f) Resolution Doc. B3-373/90 14
g) Resolution Doc. B3-389/90 15

5. Setting-up of a temporary committee
(Part I, Item 3 of Minutes - vote: Part I, Item 13 of Minutes)
. Resolution Doc. B3-415/90 17

6. Taxation of savings
(debate: Part I, Item 9 of Minutes of 13.2.1990 -
vote: Part I, Item 14 of Minutes)
. Resolution Doc. B3-398/90 18

7. Relations between the EEC and Poland
(debate: Part I, Items 7 and 11 of Minutes of 14.2.1990 -
vote: Part I, Item 15 of Minutes)
a) WALTER report Doc. A3-22/90/corr.
. resolution 20
b) CANO PINTO report Doc. A3-1/90
. resolution 25

8. Legislative proposals in the social field
(debate: Part I, Item 24 of Minutes of 14.2.1990 -
vote: Part I, Item 16 of Minutes)
CHANTERIE report Doc. A3-16/90
. resolution 33

a P. Murphy

1. South Africa

Joint resolution replacing Docs. B3-318, 324, 375, 379 and 387/90

No specific action called for in resolution

RESOLUTION

on the situation in South Africa

The European Parliament,

A. welcoming the speeches of President De Klerk of 2 and 10 February and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela,

B. recognizing that the release of Mr Mandela, the legalization of the African National Congress and the lifting of restrictions on the PAC, the South African Communist Party and other political organizations were essential preliminaries for the beginning of negotiations to end apartheid and draw up a constitution which will establish a non-racial democracy which will respect the rights of all South Africans,

C. believing that the sustained opposition to apartheid both by banned and by legal opposition organizations, joined to international pressure, the advance of freedom accelerated by the recent events in other parts of the world and the peace efforts of the countries in Southern Africa have been decisive in changing the attitude of the South African Government,

D. recognizing that the legal foundations of apartheid, such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, remain in place,

E. mindful of the commitment shown by President De Klerk who has declared that he is ready to draw up a new constitution enshrining the protection of basic rights, democracy and equality,

F. believing it to be the duty of all those who wish to establish a democratic South Africa and in the interest of the oppressed majority that the opportunity for further progress should be exploited as fully and as quickly as possible,

G. recalling, however, that racial oppression and numerous other anti-democratic measures must still be eliminated before the rule of law is really established in South Africa,

H. whereas the Community's response to recent developments in South Africa is likely to be discussed in some detail at the Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting on 20 February 1990 in Dublin,

I. whereas this process can exert a positive influence on the peace process in Angola, Mozambique and the whole of southern Africa,

J. having regard to the declaration adopted in Harare in August 1989 by the OAU together with the ANC and ratified on 9 December 1989 in Johannesburg by over 3000 delegates representing almost the entire spectrum of the democratic opposition at the conference for a democratic future,

K. recalling its numerous resolutions demanding the abolition of apartheid and the resolutions adopted by the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly,

1. Welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela after twenty-seven years of imprisonment;

2. Welcomes the measures announced by the South African authorities and hopes that President De Klerk will do everything possible to ensure that conditions for the normalization of political life are established, in particular the lifting of the state of emergency;

3. Calls on the authorities and on all South Africans and their organizations to put an end to all acts of violence and bring about a dialogue between all South Africa's political groups;

4. Hopes that all the South African political opposition groups will agree on a united approach to the government and pledges its active support until the South African people are finally free;

5. Calls on the Community and its Member States to prepare for the day when a democratic South Africa can be welcomed into the community of nations by being ready to assist economic recovery and social progress through trade and aid and meanwhile to continue to help the victims of apartheid and maintain economical, financial and diplomatic pressure;

6. Looks to the South African Government to implement an amnesty for all political prisoners;

7. Believes that the advance towards freedom in South Africa is part of a wider movement in favour of democracy and against oppression;

8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission, to the Co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, to the South African Government and to the anti-apartheid movements of South Africa.

989 by the
ohannesburg
rum of the

1. Afrique du Sud

Résolution commune remplaçant les docs. B3-318, 324, 375, 379 et 387/90

A.c/c Ms Rumpf-fr
7/2

RESOLUTION

sur la situation en Afrique du Sud

Le Parlement européen,

A. se félicitant des discours tenus par le Président De Klerk, les 2 et 10 février 1990, et de la libération de M. Nelson Mandela,

B. conscient que la libération de M. Mandela, la légalisation du Congrès national africain et la suppression des restrictions imposées au Front démocratique uni, au Parti communiste sud-africain et à d'autres organisations politiques ont constitué les prémisses indispensables des négociations entamées pour abolir l'apartheid et élaborer une constitution permettant l'instauration d'une démocratie qui ne repose pas sur la discrimination raciale et respecte les droits de tous les Sud-Africains,

C. estimant que l'opposition à l'apartheid menée sans relâche par des organisations, interdites ou légales, ainsi que la pression exercée au niveau international, les progrès de la liberté accélérés par les événements récemment intervenus dans d'autres régions du monde et les efforts de paix des pays d'Afrique australe ont été les facteurs décisifs qui ont poussé le gouvernement sud-africain à changer d'attitude,

D. considérant que les bases légales de l'apartheid, telles que le Group Areas Act et le Population Registration Act, demeurent en place,

E. considérant la volonté du Président De Klerk qui s'est déclaré disposé à élaborer une nouvelle constitution garantissant la protection des droits fondamentaux, la démocratie et l'égalité,

F. estimant qu'il incombe à tous ceux qui souhaitent l'instauration de la démocratie en Afrique du Sud et qu'il est dans l'intérêt de la majorité opprimée de saisir dans les meilleurs délais toutes les occasions permettant de réaliser de nouvelles avancées,

G. rappelant cependant que l'oppression raciale ainsi que de nombreuses autres mesures anti-démocratiques sont encore à éliminer dans le pays pour que s'instaure un véritable Etat de droit,

H. considérant que la réaction de la Communauté aux événements récents en Afrique du Sud sera vraisemblablement examinée en détail au cours de la session du Conseil des ministres des Affaires étrangères du 20 février 1990 à Dublin,

I. conscient que ces changements peuvent avoir une influence positive sur le processus de paix en Angola, au Mozambique et dans l'ensemble de l'Afrique australe,

J. considérant la déclaration de Harare, établie en août 1989 par l'OUA avec la participation de l'ANC, et adoptée lors de la "Conférence pour un avenir démocratique", le 9 décembre 1989 à Johannesburg, par plus de 3.000 délégués de la quasi-totalité des formations de l'opposition démocratique,

K. rappelant ses nombreuses résolutions réclamant l'abolition de l'apartheid et les résolutions adoptées par l'Assemblée paritaire ACP-CEE,

1. se réjouit de la libération de Nelson Mandela après une détention de 27 ans;

2. se félicite des mesures annoncées par les autorités sud-africaines et espère que le Président De Klerk fera tout son possible pour réunir les conditions nécessaires à la normalisation politique, et en particulier à la levée de l'état d'exception;

3. demande aux autorités et à tous les citoyens sud-africains ainsi qu'à leurs organisations de mettre fin à toutes les formes d'actes de violence et d'encourager le dialogue entre tous les groupes politiques sud-africains;

4. espère que tous les groupes sud-africains de l'opposition politique seront en mesure d'entreprendre une démarche concertée auprès du gouvernement sud-africain et promet un soutien actif jusqu'à la libération finale;

5. invite la Communauté européenne et ses Etats membres à se tenir prêts pour le jour où une Afrique du Sud démocratique pourra être accueillie dans le concert des nations, en étant disposés à apporter leur aide à la reconstruction économique et au progrès social grâce aux échanges commerciaux et à l'assistance, tout en continuant à aider les victimes de l'apartheid et en maintenant des pressions économiques, financières et diplomatiques;

6. attend du gouvernement sud-africain qu'il amnistie tous les prisonniers politiques;

7. estime que le pas fait vers la liberté en Afrique du Sud s'inscrit dans un mouvement plus vaste en faveur de la démocratie et contre l'oppression;

8. charge son Président de transmettre la présente résolution au Conseil, à la Commission, aux co-Présidents des ACP, au gouvernement d'Afrique du Sud et aux mouvements anti-apartheid de l'Afrique du Sud.

94.

p.q. SA Docs
– Kennedy/Thatcher
pocket.

28/2

Le dea-mhéin Rúnaí an Rialtais

With the compliments of
the Secretary to the Government

BRIAN McCarthy

27/2/90

Roinn an Taoisigh
Tithe an Rialtais
Baile Átha Cliath 2
Guthán 689333

Dept. of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Dublin 2
Phone 689333

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ten answe
).

To ask the Taoiseach if he has taken any action to correct the
given by the British Prime Minister, arising from his letter to
the Irish Presidency of the EC is amenable to the relaxation of
sanctions against South Africa.

REPLY:(written)

I would refer the Deputy to my reply to a Private Notice Questi
House on 13 February and the text of my letter to the Prime Mini
has been published. I do not consider that any further comment

QUESTION NO: *70

DÁIL QUESTION addressed to the Taoiseach by Deputy Pat Rabbitte for written answer on Tuesday, 20th February, 1990.

QUESTION:

To ask the Taoiseach if he has taken any action to correct the impression given by the British Prime Minister, arising from his letter to her, that the Irish Presidency of the EC is amenable to the relaxation of economic sanctions against South Africa.

REPLY:(written)

I would refer the Deputy to my reply to a Private Notice Question in the House on 13 February and the text of my letter to the Prime Minister which has been published. I do not consider that any further comment or action by me is called for.

FAX No. [redacted]

763616

SA Davis

94

1

FAX COVER SHEET

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763616

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FAX COVER SHEET

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Date: 19.2.90 **Time:** 1600

To: Dept. Marine

For: Mr. Paul Dillon

From: Ms P Murnaghan, ~~DFA~~

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 6

Brief description of material: Minister Wilson's appearance on RTE "Q + A" this evening – briefing material.

Any special instructions: Pls ring me if you have further questions.

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RTE "Questions and Answers" Programme
19 February, 1990

SOUTH AFRICA

Briefing Notes

1. In his statement on 2 February President de Klerk announced a number of positive and encouraging measures, which certainly go some way towards creating a climate in which negotiations with the black community on a new South Africa could take place.

2. The significant points in the statement were:

- legalisation of the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party; the lifting of restrictions under the emergency regulations on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the trade union movement, COSATU;

- a moratorium on executions, greater judicial discretion in the imposition of the death penalty, and an automatic right of appeal for those sentenced to death;

- the release of political prisoners, excluding, however, persons sentenced for murder, terrorism or arson; limitation of detention without trial to six months; and the right of detainees to legal representation;

- the repeal during the current session of Parliament of the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

3. These measures, together with the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February, meet some of the basic demands which Ireland and the Twelve have long stated to be necessary for the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations.

4. They should not, however, cloud the fact that other steps have not so far been taken and that the fundamentals of apartheid still remain firmly in place. The state of emergency, for example, has not been lifted; the Twelve demand the release of all political prisoners. Also, President de Klerk has taken no action on the repeal of such fundamental apartheid legislation as the Population Registration Act, 1950 or the Group Areas Act, 1966.

5. The Twelve have set as their objective the complete abolition of apartheid. They agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December "to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly

stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained."

6. It is against this background that Ministers for Foreign Affairs issued their statement on 5 February welcoming the reforms announced by de Klerk. They indicated that "to the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position" in accordance with the European Council statement.

7. A list of Twelve restrictive measures against South Africa introduced in 1985 and 1986 are attached. The main economic sanctions introduced in 1986 were: a ban on new direct investment in South Africa; a ban on the import of gold coins from that country; and a ban on imports of iron and steel.

8. Mrs Thatcher argues that the steps already taken by de Klerk constitute "profound and irreversible changes" and require a concrete Twelve response in the form of the lifting of sanctions.

9. She has called publicly for the lifting of the 1986 Twelve ban on new direct investment in South Africa; in a letter to the Taoiseach on 10 February Mrs Thatcher said Foreign Ministers should also consider lifting the other 1986 measures. Media reports have suggested that the UK is prepared to go it alone if the rest of the Twelve do not agree to relax sanctions when Twelve Foreign Ministers meet on 20 February. This remains to be seen, however. The meeting may not be as confrontional as this would suggest.

10. Mrs Thatcher has described the ban on new direct investment as "voluntary"; she appears to base this on the fact that the form of the Twelve decision (a Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council) left it up to Member states to take the necessary measures to implement it.

11. Our national position has been made very clear in the Taoiseach's replies to correspondence from Mr Kinnock and Mrs Thatcher: now is not the time to relax pressure on the South African authorities to abolish apartheid. We attach importance to Mr Mandela's views in this regard, which are firm on the maintenance of sanctions.

12. In our role as Presidency, we shall be guided by the position of the Twelve agreed last December in Strasbourg. Our primary function, however, will be to work for consensus among the Twelve on what are very delicate issues.

Department of Foreign Affairs
19 February, 1990
af10 6pm

RTE "Questions and Answers" Programme
19 February, 1990

Possible Speaking Points

- The recent measures taken by President de Klerk were very significant (for example, the unbanning of the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party; the lifting of restrictions on 33 anti-apartheid organisations; relaxation of restrictions on the press; and the rleease of some political prisoners);

- Such measures would have been unthinkable some months ago;

- We all welcome them; in particular, we welcome the release after all these years of Nelson Mandela;

- These various measures constitute important contributions to the establishment of that climate the Twelve Member States of the Community believe is essential so that genuine negotiations with the black community can get under way.

- However, our aim remains the total abolition, by peaceful means, of apartheid and the establishment of a new united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

- There is still a long way to go. So, while welcoming these reforms, the Community has also stated that further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid are necessary.

- We hope, however, that these recent developments signal a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

- The Member States of the Community agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December to "maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained".

- Our approach during the Irish Presidency will be guided by this position of the Twelve.

- Our own national position is that sanctions should be maintained.

Department of Foreign Affairs
19 February, 1990

5

European Political Cooperation
Secretariat

08.02.90

SOUTH AFRICA : RESTRICTIVE MEASURES OF THE TWELVE

1. A rigorously controlled embargo on exports of arms and para-military equipment to the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

2. A rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and para-military equipment to the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

3. Refusal to cooperate in the military sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

4. Recall of military attachés accredited to the RSA and refusal to grant accreditation to military attachés from the RSA (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

5. Discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

6. Freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

7. Freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the security sphere (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

8. Cessation of oil exports (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

9. Cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

10. Prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 10 September 1985).

11. Ban on new direct investment in South Africa (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, 21 October 1986, OJ Nr L 305, 31 October 1986).

6

12. Ban on the import of iron (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Repesentatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, entry into force 27 September 1986, OJ Nr L 268, 19 September 1986).

13. Ban on the import of steel (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by decision of the Repesentatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council, entry into force 27 September 1986, OJ Nr L 268, 19 September 1986).

14. Ban on the import of gold coins (Statement by Foreign Ministers, Brussels, 16 September 1986; implemented by Council Regulation, entry into force 31 October 1986, OJ Nr L 305, 31 October 1986).

TLX TO: HQ

FROM: OTTAWA

ATTN: ASS. SECRETARY MURPHY

FROM: AMBASSADOR

C23

IMMEDIATE

19.02.90

cc SA Desk
Canada/Africa

CODED MESSAGE
IMMEDIATE URGENT
CONFIDENTIAL
DATE 19/2/90 TIME 1635
INITIALS

/////
SOUTH AFRICA

I RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON FROM MR. M. PERRON, DEPUTY ASSISTANT MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS WHO DEALS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS CONVEYING A MESSAGE ON BEHALF OF SECRETARY OF STATE JOE CLARK IN RELATION TO TO SOUTH AFRICA TO OUR PRESIDENCY FOR THE FORTHCOMING EC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN DUBLIN NEXT WEEK. THE ESSENCE OF THE MESSAGE WAS THAT THE PRESENT SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED.

PERRON SAID THAT HE HAD JUST READ THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WAS A CONSENSUS WITHIN THE EC ON MAINTAINING THE PRESENT PACKAGE OF SANCTIONS WITH, OF COURSE, THE EXCEPTION OF THE UK. THE CANADIAN POSITION, WHICH WAS BEING CONVEYED IN DEMARCHES TO VARIOUS EC CAPTIALS, WAS THAT THE PACKAGE OF MEASURES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED ''FOR A WHILE'' AND NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO BREAK WESTERN SOLIDARITY. AS THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE HAD POINTED OUT, NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT YET BEGUN TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF ENDING APARTHEID AS, FOR EXAMPLE, BY A COMPLETE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. NO DOUBT SOME EC MEMBERS MIGHT WISH TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION OF THE RECENT MOVES AND ENCOURAGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE ON THE RIGHT TRACK.
BUT IN CANADA'S VIEW IT WAS TOO EARLY TO BREAK WESTERN SOLIDARITY, AND THIS WAS THE MESSAGE WHICH HE WISHED TO CONVEY ON BEHALF OF MR. CLARK. PERRON ADDED THAT CANADA WISHED FOR HELP TO BE GIVEN TO THE ANC AND TO ENCOURAGE THEM TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS. HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN IN SOUTH AFRICA LAST WEEK TO DEMONSTRATE CANADA'S WISH FOR A DIALOGUE TO BE OPENED.

I TOLD PERRON THAT THIS MESSAGE WOULD BE RELAYED TO DUBLIN AND I RECALLED THAT THE MATTER HAD BEEN DISCUSSED VERY RECENTLY BETWEEN OUR MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE CLARK, ON WHICH OCCASION IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT NOTHING HAD HAPPENED WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY DIMINUTION OF THE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA.

END

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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
== SECRETARIAT ==

Charlemagne Building
170, Rue de la Loi
1048 Brussels

Telephone :
Fax : 234 8043
Enquiries : 234 8040/41

UNCLASSIFIED
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

PRECEDENCE: _____

FROM: EPC-SECRETARIAT BRUSSELS

TO : _____

ATT.: MR. KENNETH THOMPSON

ORIGINATOR: ANN JANNUZZI

SUBJECT: _____

COMMENTS: _____

Nr.: 152 PAGES (INCLUSIVE COVER):

DATE: 19/2/90 TIME: 1640

V. 10

SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION
TO THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

RUE DE LA LOI 26 (Boîte 14-15)
1040 BRUSSELS

TELEX : 63060 SAFDEL
TELEGR. : SAFDEL
TEL. : (02) 231.17.25

SUID-AFRIKAANSE MISSIE
BY DIE
EUROPESE GEMEENSKAPPE

WETSTRAAT 26 (Bus 14-15)
1040 BRUSSEL

Réf. / Verw. 10/1/1

Brussels, 19 February 1990

Mr G Jannuzzi
Secretary-General
European Political Co-operation
Council of the EC

Dear Mr Jannuzzi

The enclosed interview with South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha appeared in the Sunday Tribune (Johannesburg) of 18 February 1990 and will be of interest in view of the meeting of EC Foreign Ministers in Dublin tomorrow.

With kind regards,

AMBASSADOR BG RANCHOD (signed on his behalf by Mr. R.H. GORIS - Minister).

market if it could be joined and if we could go into an economic customs union together. As Europe moves to 1992 when it will create an economic superpower, we must get our act together. We will have to set aside whatever ideological differences exist and display the political will to put a reconstruction plan together. If we do that on a scientific basis I believe we will get a sympathetic hearing from the European community on funding of development projects.

QUESTION: WHAT FACTORS CONVINCED THE GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE MR MANDELA AND UNBAN THE ANC NOW AND NOT THREE YEARS AGO WHEN YOU WERE ALREADY TALKING ABOUT A NEW DEAL AND A BLACK PRESIDENT?

MR BOTHA: Then there was a spiralling circle of violence. The atmosphere was loaded. Blacks killed blacks. It would not have been realistic then to expect the backing of our people for these moves. That is not the case now. We have seen the events in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, the settlement on Cuban withdrawal in Angola, the independence of Namibia and the more relaxed relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. All this has created a less tense atmosphere.

QUESTION: WHEN CAN WE EXPECT THE NEXT STEPS THE GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE IF IT IS TO SATISFY ITS CRITICS?

MR BOTHA: I believe the ANC is coming nearer, not to see it our way, but to see the sense of moving to the conference table in order to resolve differences of opinion. If they could, for instance, help maintain order, also at the rallies, and maintain discipline, then it brings about a lessening of tensions that will enable us to lift the emergency. It is almost as if we need each other here to achieve common objectives. On the questions of exiles and people serving sentences for politically motivated crimes, the Government is not dogmatic - we are flexible. We have said: "Let us talk about it".

With regard to other measures, such as the Population Registration, the Group Areas or the Lands Acts, they deal with an existing state of affairs. We cannot simply unilaterally take steps here. We would like to discuss with them the implications of withdrawing or repealing or amending them. There might be elements which could also present them with complexities. The only way we can achieve consensus, and I don't say it is going to be an easy ride for any of us, is if we talk.

QUESTION: ARE YOU SAYING YOU ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE EVERYTHING?

MR BOTHA: The agenda is open.

MacELLAN which appeared in Sunday Tribune of 18 February 1990:

"QUESTION: FOR MANY YEARS YOU HAVE HAD TO DEFEND APARTHEID ABROAD. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE MILESTONE DEVELOPMENTS THE LAST FEW DAYS?

MR BOTHA: If we remove the main areas of attack, then it eases the task. The emotional focus over the years was on measures such as those against mixed marriages or the pass laws. The pressure didn't ease up as we scrapped them. The world made a distinction between petty apartheid and political apartheid. Opinion was that Mr MANDELA and political prisoners had no choice but to fight apartheid. Now that Mr MANDELA has been released and the organisations have been unbanned, we are receiving good to positive publicity, because we have done the right, the moral thing. The next step now is negotiations and I think President DE KLERK has been perceived as a man of integrity and courage. The people our critics regard as the leaders are free and it can no longer be said that we only want to negotiate with those the world sees as not representative of the majority of the black people.

QUESTION: WHAT OPTIONS ARE NOW OPENING UP AS A RESULT OF WHAT SOME MIGHT TERM "BOERE GLASNOST"?

MR BOTHA: We are on the road back to international respectability. Also in Africa the gates are open. SA does not have the financial resources to play the major role in the whole of Africa, but we do, due to our geographical situation. Our technology and infrastructure, have a decisively important role to play within the region of the 10 states of southern Africa. These, together, have about 95 million people, which is a relatively large interior

QUESTION: FIVE YEARS IS EMERGING AS A DEADLINE. WHAT DO YOU HOPE TO SEE ACCOMPLISHED IN THAT TIME?

MR BOTHA: I don't believe in check lists and time schedules. My experience with Rhodesia, Namibia and Nkomati taught me that. Whatever we do should be done as soon as possible, not because of the danger of a general election in five years, but because the interests of SA demand it. I believe very strongly in the concept of southern Africa coming together. The year 1992, the target for European unity, is just as important a date as five years from now. Unless we can agree on a joint programme we will lose economically, and we won't be able to make it up. And that is why I don't see that it (a political solution) has got to be reached in five years. I would like to get our act together as soon as possible. But that will depend on willingness, tolerance, a give-and-take attitude, trying to understand the other man's point of view as well as his fears and anxieties.

QUESTION: WHAT ROLE DO YOU SEE FOR THE NATIONAL PARTY IN A NEW SET UP?

MR BOTHA: At this moment it is a fact that the central government is formed by the NP and this is interpreted as white domination. We are committed to ending white domination, but it is interesting that no lesser person than MR MANDELA said he fought both white and black domination. I therefor see for the NP a decisively important role, not only in the negotiations, but in procuring for the whites and other minorities a say in the future government. It also has an important role in ensuring that the economic road of this country does not lead to disaster.

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU ASSESS THE RISKS NOW FACING THE NP?

MR BOTHA: It is too early to give a proper analysis. Dr Andries TREURNICHT is addressing large meetings, but other political leaders are addressing larger ones. It would be irresponsible to say the right-wing challenge is not serious, but this is why we must have economic success and prove to the electorate that what we have done not only breaks down our isolation but that we have achieved something worthwhile for all in terms of material welfare, peace, freedom and stability. Unless we can prove that, we face severe difficulties. On the other hand if we did not take the steps announced by President FW DE KLERK we would have plunged this country into turmoil with incalculable consequences. No one can predict with any accuracy what the outcome will be. We took a risk. However the ANC and other involved parties will also have to take a risk. It is the willingness of opposing parties to take risks on what I call a balance of interests which brought about Namibian independence and a time schedule for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

QUESTION: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE THESIS THAT THE VAST MASS OF BLACK "HAVE NOTS" MIGHT NOT HAVE ANY REGARD FOR THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SET UP AND THAT THIS COUNTRY COULD BECOME ONE OF THE LAST BASTIONS OF OLD STYLE COMMUNISM?

MR BOTHA: No. Whatever happens in the Soviet Union, I believe there can never be a return to that dogmatic one-party and centrally controlled economic system. It impoverishes people and the vast number of blacks know this. Black businessmen tell me they are naturally united in opposing apartheid but they know what has happened in the rest of Africa and they are painfully aware of what could happen to them and the progress they have already made.

QUESTION: WHAT COULD STILL SCUPPER THE HOPEFUL MOVES WE HAVE SEEN?

MR BOTHA: If we cannot (overcome?) unwillingness to see the other man's point of view. These are really mental attitudes which no computer can measure or resolve, which no one can predict. I know from my experience there must be a willingness to reach understanding and that can bridge wide gaps.

QUESTION: THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE ASSESSED THE RISKS CAREFULLY BEFORE UNBANNING THE ANC AND RELEASING MR MANDELA. DID YOU EXPECT OR ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THESE EVENTS?

MR BOTHA: I would be dishonest if I said we were happy with Mr MANDELA's statement that the armed struggle must continue. I do not regard that as helpful at all.nor is the clinging to obsolete Marxist policies. But I believe that as we move, jointly I hope, to a stage where we can remove the last emergency regulations and come to an agreement on political exiles an political prisoners, it will ease the situation. Nothing has happened so far that has diminished my hope that we can jointly achieve success at the conference table. It is almost like those American spacecraft taking off. You have the dramatic countdown and then you come to zero. The flames and fumes shoot at the base of the missile and then it starts slowly, wavering, vacillating - but when it gets off it goes for the stars. We have reached "zero".

Le dea-mhéin Rúnaí an Rialtais

With the compliments of
the Secretary to the Government

Roinn an Taoisigh
Tithe an Rialtais
Baile Átha Cliath 2
Guthán 689333

Dept. of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Dublin 2
Phone 689333

:A

:FTU/ETUC

, 1990.

1. The trade union delegation comprised Mr. Norman Wills General Secretary, British TUC, who was here in a dua representing both the ICFTU and the ETUC, Mr. S. Purs Mr. A. Kailembo of the ICFTU and Ms. P. Carey of the undersigned was with the Taoiseach.

2. In summary, the discussion was along predictable line trade union side putting forward the case for the ret sanctions and the Taoiseach repeating the line set ou reply to Private Notice Questions in the Dáil on 13th There are no points which call for follow-up action.

SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Meeting between the Taoiseach and ICFTU/ETUC representatives on 19th February, 1990.

1. The trade union delegation comprised Mr. Norman Wills, General Secretary, British TUC, who was here in a dual capacity representing both the ICFTU and the ETUC, Mr. S. Pursey and Mr. A. Kailembo of the ICFTU and Ms. P. Carey of the ICTU. The undersigned was with the Taoiseach.

2. In summary, the discussion was along predictable lines, with the trade union side putting forward the case for the retention of sanctions and the Taoiseach repeating the line set out in his reply to Private Notice Questions in the Dáil on 13th February. There are no points which call for follow-up action.

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3. Mr. Wills developed the trade union case as outlined in their telex message of 15th February (as copy of which is attached to this report) and went on to emphasise a number of points, namely their position reflects very much that of the black trade union movement in South Africa with whom they are almost in daily contact, they recognise and welcome the reforms introduced by Mr. de Klerk on 2nd February, the need to maintain the ban on new investments, the EC's role in sustaining the momentum for further reforms and the important role of the black media in South Africa.

4. Mr. Kailembo stressed the part played by the trade union movement in the sanctions introduced by Western governments in 1985, the role these sanctions have played in pressurising the South African Government to initiate reforms but the limited scale of

these reforms up to now, as the whole apartheid regime is still very much intact. In the circumstances, it was very important that EC Foreign Ministers, who were meeting the following day, should not take any decisions to relax sanctions. He singled out the coal embargo in particular and that this was being disregarded by certain EC States, notably Italy and Spain.

5. The Taoiseach in response stated that our national position was very clear viz while we welcome the recent reforms, the fundamentals of the apartheid system must be addressed before sanctions are lifted. In our EC Presidency role, we cannot of course impose our own views and we will have to take into account the views of our EC partners and work for consensus. His own personal view is that the vast majority of the Member States will be against any relaxation of sanctions. He paid particular tribute to Mr. Nelson Mandela who was a man of extraordinary generosity and vision, despite his 27 years imprisonment, and has already shown his goodwill in agreeing to having discussions with the de Klerk Government. He also felt that Mr. de Klerk was a man of integrity.

6. The Taoiseach went on to say that, while the situation in South Africa contains a number of favourable aspects and events there are moving in the right direction, nevertheless the fundamental apparatus of the apartheid system (State of Emergency, Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, Land Act.) remains and this must be abolished. The EC's political and moral stature on the world stage is nowadays very important and, as Presidency, we have the onerous responsibility of seeking to ensure that the present opportunity for further changes is availed of by all parties concerned and that the right decision is taken on sanctions.

7. Mr. Pursey drew attention to the example being set by the U.S., particularly President Bush, in accepting that sanctions should be maintained - indeed, events in South Africa have shown that if anything sanctions should be strengthened further. He emphasised that the communique from EC Foreign Ministers would need to be very delicately drafted, lest it sent the wrong signals to South Africa. He also expressed fears that the EC's preoccupation with events in Eastern Europe might mean that there would be a fall off in EC financial support to those working for reform in South Africa. The Taoiseach quickly intervened on this point to assure the delegation that this would not happen.

8. The discussions, which lasted about half an hour, concluded at this stage with the delegation handing over to the Taoiseach a number of ICFTU publications on the South African situation.

S. Ó hEigeartaigh
20th February, 1990.

c.c. Ms P. Murnaghan, Department of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. K. Bonner, Department of Labour.

ceiving Message 10:00
coring Message

93938 SER EI
26785 ICFTU B

H=10:45
MR CHARLES HAUGHEY
PRESIDENT OF THE EC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

15 FEBRUARY 1990

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS REPRESENTING 92 MILLION WORKERS THE WORLD OVER STRONGLY URGES THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY NOT TO RELAX THE COMMUNITY'S JOINT SANCTIONS MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

THE ICFTU'S LONGSTANDING POLICY IN SUPPORT OF MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN FORMULATED IN RESPONSE TO THE CALL OF THE BLACK WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA ORGANISED IN THEIR TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS COSATU AND NACTU, WHO CONTINUE TO CALL FOR SANCTIONS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR SANCTIONS, AND NOW NELSON MANDELA HIMSELF HAS ADDED HIS VOICE TO THIS CALL AT THE FIRST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY IN APPEALING FOR SANCTIONS TO BE STRENGTHENED. THE WHOLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS ALSO SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE AND SAYING THAT CONTINUED PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME WOULD RENDER THE MOMENTUM FOR NEGOTIATIONS MORE MEANINGFUL AT THIS SIGNIFICANT MOMENT IN TIME.

THE REGIME STILL HAS MUCH TO DO, IT MUST END THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, AND REMOVE THE FUNDAMENTAL PILLARS OF APARTHEID: THE GROUP AREAS ACT: THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT: THE LAND ACT: AND THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER DISCRIMINATORY LAWS BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN BEGIN TO RELAX ITS PRESSURE ON THE REGIME.

WE THEREFORE APPEAL TO YOU NOT TO RELAX THE COMMUNITY'S SANCTIONS MEASURES AND WARN THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF DOING SO WOULD BE TO TURN THE CLOCK BACK ON THE RECENT STEPS FORWARD TAKEN BY MR DE KLERK AND WOULD BE TO IGNORE THE WISHES OF THE MAJORITY BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ON THIS PARTICULAR SUBJECT THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION AND OURSELVES WOULD LIKE TO SEEK AN URGENT AUDIENCE WITH YOU NEXT WEEK AT THE TIME OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU IN THIS REGARD.

JOHN VANDERVEKEN
GENERAL SECRETARY ICFTU

MATHIAS HINTERSCHEID
GENERAL SECRETARY ETUC

93938 SER EI
26785 ICFTU B

Call ended at: 15-Feb-90 10:07
End of Message 084

3pm. Meeting with ICFTU/ETUC (Ch. At Gfice)

FAN N° 603281

SADRS

94

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX No: _____

Date: 15 2 90 Time: _____

TO: Dept. Taoiseach

For: Ms. S. Gheisentaings

From: Ms P. Monaghan, DFA

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 6

Brief description of material: Taoiseach's meeting with EPUC Delegation, 19 February.

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FAN N° 603281

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 18. 2. 90 Time: _____

To: Dept. Taoiseach

For: Mr. S. Ó hEigeartaigh

From: Ms P. Murnaghan, DFA

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 6

Brief description of material: Taoiseach's meeting with ETUC Delegation, 19 February.

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Taoiseach's Meeting with ETUC Delegation
Dublin, 19 February, 1990

South Africa

Speaking Points

The Taoiseach might like to draw on the following points:

- The Twelve have welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk in his speech to Parliament on 2 February. They have also warmly welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela.

- Taken together, these measures constitute important contributions to the establishment of that climate the Twelve consider essential for genuine negotiations with the black community to get under way.

- We note also the lifting of restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

- While welcoming these reforms, the Twelve have also stated that they expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

- The aim of the Twelve remains the total abolition, by peaceful means, of apartheid and the establishment of a new united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

- There is still a long way to go. The Twelve hope, however, that recent developments signal a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

- The Twelve agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December to "maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained".

- Our approach during the Irish Presidency will be guided by this position of the Twelve.

Africa Section
13 February, 1990
af101pm

Taoiseach's Meeting with ETUC Delegation
Dublin, 19 February, 1990

SOUTH AFRICA

Briefing Notes

1. In his statement on 2 February President de Klerk announced a number of positive and encouraging measures, which certainly go some way towards creating a climate in which negotiations with the black community on a new South Africa could take place.

2. The significant points in the statement were:

- legalisation of the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party; the lifting of restrictions under the emergency regulations on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the trade union movement, COSATU;

- a moratorium on executions, greater judicial discretion in the imposition of the death penalty, and an automatic right of appeal for those sentenced to death;

- the release of political prisoners, excluding, however, persons sentenced for murder, terrorism or arson; limitation of detention without trial to six months; and the right of detainees to legal representation;

- the repeal during the current session of Parliament of the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

3. These measures, together with the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February, meet some of the basic demands which Ireland and the Twelve have long stated to be necessary for the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations.

4. They should not, however, cloud the fact that other steps have not so far been taken and that the fundamentals of apartheid still remain firmly in place. The state of emergency, for example, has not been lifted; the Twelve demand the release of all political prisoners. Also, President de Klerk has taken no action on the repeal of such fundamental apartheid legislation as the Population Registration Act, 1950 or the Group Areas Act, 1966.

5. The Twelve have set as their objective the complete abolition of apartheid. They agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December "to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained."

6. It is against this background that Ministers for Foreign Affairs issued

their statement on 5 February welcoming the reforms announced by de Klerk. They indicated that "to the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position" in accordance with the European Council statement.

7. A list of Twelve restrictive measures against South Africa introduced in 1985 and 1986 are attached. The main economic sanctions introduced in 1986 were: a ban on new direct investment in South Africa; a ban on the import of gold coins from that country; and a ban on imports of iron and steel.

8. Mrs Thatcher argues that the steps already taken by de Klerk constitute "profound and irreversible changes" and require a concrete Twelve response in the form of the lifting of sanctions.

9. She has called publicly for the lifting of the 1986 Twelve ban on new direct investment in South Africa; in her letter of 10 February to the Taoiseach she said Foreign Ministers should also consider lifting the other 1986 measures. Since then there have been media reports that the UK is prepared to go it alone if the rest of the Twelve do not agree to relax sanctions at next Tuesday's meeting - though there has also been some speculation that Foreign Secretary Hurd and Mrs Thatcher may not be ad idem on the sanctions issue.

10. Mrs Thatcher has described the ban on new direct investment as "voluntary"; she appears to base this on the fact that the form of the Twelve decision (a Decision of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council) left it up to Member states to take the necessary measures to implement it.

11. Our national position has been made very clear in the Taoiseach's replies to correspondence from Mr Kinnock and Mrs Thatcher: now is not the time to relax pressure on the South African authorities to abolish apartheid. We attach importance to Mr Mandela's views in this regard, which are firm on the maintenance of sanctions.

12. In our role as Presidency, we shall be guided by the position of the Twelve agreed last December in Strasbourg. Our primary function, however, will be to work for consensus among the Twelve on what are very delicate issues.

Africa Section
Department of Foreign Affairs
18 February, 1990
af101pm

The Liaison Group of National Anti-Apartheid Movements in the Countries of the European Community

BELGIUM
Aktie Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika
Comite Contré Le Colonialisme et L'Apartheid

BRITAIN
Anti-Apartheid Movement

DENMARK
Landskomiteen Sydafrika-Aktion

FRANCE
Mouvement Anti-Apartheid
Rencontre National Contre L'Apartheid

GERMANY (FEDERAL REPUBLIC)
Anti-Apartheid Bewegung

GREECE
Ελληνική Επιτροπή Διεθνούς Δημοκρατικής Αλληλεγγύης

IRELAND
Anti-Apartheid Movement

ITALY
Coordinamento Nazionale Anti-Apartheid

NETHERLANDS
Anti-Apartheids Beweging
Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika

SPAIN
Movimiento Anti-Apartheid

PORTUGAL
Movimento Contra o Apartheid

Mr. Murphy, you will wish to see. I presume we should make copies available to Ministers on Tuesday?
JM 17/2

Saturday 17th February 1990

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OPEN LETTER
TO
THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Dear Ministers,

We are writing to you in advance of the Council of Ministers meeting on 20th February 1990 in Dublin concerning the Community's policy towards South Africa.

We understand from press reports, that the Council of Ministers will be reviewing the existing sanctions and other measures which have been imposed by the European Community against South Africa and that it has been proposed that these should be relaxed, in particular the Community ban on new investment in South Africa.

We are totally opposed to any relaxation of European Community sanctions and other measures since this will result in a significant reduction of international pressure on South Africa. We fully associate ourselves with the statement made by Mr Nelson Mandela on the day of his release, 11th February, that "to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid".

We welcome the significant developments which have taken place in the past few days including the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other political organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela. We have been campaigning throughout the countries of the Community to secure these objectives for almost three decades. However, significant as these moves are, they fall far short of the measures necessary to create a climate for negotiations as set out in the UN Declaration adopted by the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly on 14th December 1989, which the Community supported fully. Moreover, they do not meet the specific steps which the European Council and the Council of Ministers have repeatedly called upon the South African authorities to take.

It is important to recall that when the Council of Ministers first agreed to harmonise the measures to be implemented by the Community and its member states on 10th September 1985, it did so in order to secure "the complete abolition of apartheid as a whole and not just of certain components of the system".

../

Not only has apartheid not been abolished, but the South African authorities have not even taken most of the specific steps set out by the Council of Ministers at its meeting on 10th September 1985, including the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the dismantling of discriminatory legislation.

As you will be aware, the European Council in Strasbourg in December agreed that "profound and irreversible change" had to be obtained before the Community would consider any relaxation of sanctions and other measures. The moves announced by F W de Klerk and the release of Nelson Mandela are neither profound, in the sense that the pillars of apartheid remain intact, nor are they irreversible since bans, restrictions and detentions can be reimposed by Ministerial diktat.

We are above all concerned that any move by the Council of Ministers to relax sanctions will undermine the prospect of genuine negotiations leading to the ending of apartheid. The bans on new investment and loans to South Africa by the Community and others have had a profound impact on the South African economy and have been a key factor in compelling the South African regime to make the moves it has now taken. International pressure must be sustained in order to create the conditions for genuine negotiations which will lead to the abolition of apartheid.

The European Community has only adopted the most modest of sanctions measures, when compared with those of the Nordic countries, the Commonwealth and the USA. Any move by the Community to relax pressure would further undermine the credibility of the Community's stated opposition to apartheid.

Already one member state, the United Kingdom, has unilaterally lifted restrictions agreed by the Community, by encouraging cultural, scientific and academic relations with South Africa in breach of the Council of Ministers' decision on 10th September 1985.

We therefore appeal to the Foreign Ministers of the European Community to re-affirm their commitment to the strict implementation of the restrictive measures already adopted by the Community and to reject any proposals to relax such measures. Indeed we would urge the European Council to harmonise its policy with the US, the Commonwealth and the Nordic countries so that it can contribute to the application of effective international pressure on South Africa. Such action will increase the prospect of creating the climate for negotiations and speed up the process of achieving the stated objective of the Community and indeed the entire international community - "the complete abolition of apartheid".

Signed by the Members of the Liaison Group of National Anti-Apartheid Movements in the Countries of the European Community.

Louise Asmal

Louise Asmal
Honorary Secretary
Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

14 FEBRUARY 1990

B 3-318/RC1
B 3-324/RC1
B 3-375/RC1
B 3-379/RC1
B 3-387/RC1

JOINT MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

tabled by Mrs SIMONS, Mrs DURY and Mr SAKELLARIOU, on behalf of the Socialist Group
Mr LUCAS PIRES and Mr ROBLES PIQUER, on behalf of the EPP Group
Mr CAPUCHO and Mr BERTENS, on behalf of the Liberal Group
Mr VECCHI, on behalf of the Group for the European Unitarian Left
Mr WURTZ, on behalf of the Left Unity Group
Mrs EWING and Mr VANDEMEULEBROUCKE, on behalf of the Rainbow Group

and seeking to replace the motions for resolutions by :

- Mr CAPUCHO and others, on behalf of the Liberal Group (B 3-318/90)
- Mr LUCAS PIRES and others, on behalf of the EPP Group (B 3-324/90)
- Mrs SIMONS and others, on behalf of the Socialist Group (B 3-375/90)
- Mr COLAJANNI and others, on behalf of the Group for the European Unitarian Left (B 3-379/90)
- Mrs EWING and others, on behalf of the Rainbow Group (B 3-387/90)

on the situation in South Africa

The European Parliament,

A. welcoming the speeches of President De Klerk of 2 and 10 February and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela,

B. recognizing that the release of Mr Mandela, the legalization of the African National Congress and the lifting of restrictions on the PAC, the South African Communist Party and other political organizations were essential preliminaries for the beginning of negotiations to end apartheid and draw up a constitution which will establish a non-racial democracy which will respect the rights of all South Africans,

C. believing that the sustained opposition to apartheid both by banned and by legal opposition organizations, joined to international pressure, the advance of freedom accelerated by the recent events in other parts of the world and the peace efforts of the countries in Southern Africa have been decisive in changing the attitude of the South African Government,

D. recognizing that the legal foundations of apartheid, such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, remain in place,

PE 138.815/RC1
138.821/RC1
138.872/RC1
138.876/RC1
138.884/RC1
Or. En. Es. De. Fr.

E. mindful of the commitment shown by President De Klerk who has declared that he is ready to draw up a new constitution enshrining the protection of basic rights, democracy and equality,

F. believing it to be the duty of all those who wish to establish a democratic South Africa and in the interest of the oppressed majority that the opportunity for further progress should be exploited as fully and as quickly as possible,

G. recalling, however, that racial oppression and numerous other anti-democratic measures must still be eliminated before the rule of law is really established in South Africa,

H. whereas the Community's response to recent developments in South Africa is likely to be discussed in some detail at the Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting on 20 February 1990 in Dublin,

I. whereas this process can exert a positive influence on the peace process in Angola, Mozambique and the whole of southern Africa,

J. having regard to the declaration adopted in Harare in August 1989 by the OAU together with the ANC and ratified on 9 December 1989 in Johannesburg by over 3 000 delegates representing almost the entire spectrum of the democratic opposition at the conference for a democratic future,

K. recalling its numerous resolutions demanding the abolition of apartheid and the resolutions adopted by the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly,

1. Welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela after twenty-seven years of imprisonment;

2. Welcomes the measures announced by the South African authorities and hopes that President De Klerk will do everything possible to ensure that conditions for the normalization of political life are established, in particular the lifting of the state of emergency;

3. Calls on the authorities and on all South Africans and their organizations to put an end to all acts of violence and bring about a dialogue between all South Africa's political groups;

4. Hopes that all the South African democratic opposition groups will agree on a united approach to the government and pledges its active support until the South African people are finally free;

5. Calls on the Community and its Member States to prepare for the day when a democratic South Africa can be welcomed into the community of nations by being ready to assist economic recovery and social progress through trade and aid and meanwhile to continue to help the victims of apartheid and maintain economical, financial and diplomatic pressure;

6. Looks to the South African Government to implement an amnesty for all political prisoners;

7. Believes that the advance towards freedom in South Africa is part of a wider movement in favour of democracy and against oppression;

8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission, to the Co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, to the South African Government and to the anti-apartheid movements of South Africa.

~~Pol~~ S.A. ~~Pol Sit~~. Mr. Murphy, your minister wish to see. mm 14/2 90.

S.A.
Pol. Sit.

Call by South African Ambassador on

Permanent Representative, Tuesday 13 February 1990

The South African Ambassador reviewed the present position in South Africa following Mandela's release on 4 February and De Klerk's speech on 2 February. Mandela in speeches since his release had emphasised the need for discipline and order and had made a strong appeal to children to pursue their education. He had also dealt with bread and butter issues such as housing and the elimination of poverty. However there had also been an expectation that he would renounce violence but instead he said it should be intensified so the fears of whites were not unfounded. Admittedly, he had been founder of armed struggle and could not turn his back on it immediately. Even allowing for the element of rhetoric however there was concern about a back lash not just among Conservatives but also among government supporters. The business community was concerned about his referring (in a newspaper called 'South'?) to the need to nationalise banks and business. In the present circumstances a pat on the shoulder for De Klerk was not enough. Although it was of course up to the Twelve to decide the appropriate response it should be more than praise. One practical step which could be easily accomplished because not based in legislation would be to lift the ban on new investment in South Africa. It could be a useful sign of international recognition for the changes taking place.

As for the ANC call to maintain sanctions, the Community should not take sides by adopting the ANC line. The false impression of there being only two parties involved should be avoided - there are others. Whatever the Twelve can do to lean on ANC would be appreciated. De Klerk needs to be able to demonstrate to his constituencies that he is getting results. It would be a tragedy if pressure from that quarter forced him to negotiate only with those willing to negotiate if the latter did not include the ANC.

Lifting the state of emergency would help negotiations but internal security has to be decided by the government of the day. The responsibility to maintain calm and avoid looting rested on Mandela's shoulders. The desire to lift the state of emergency was there but it required cooperation from all sides. The Ambassador referred to his Minister's intervention on Panorama (BBC 1 previous night) to the effect that whatever constitution was developed must enjoy majority support. The protection of minority rights (or language, cultural or any other interest) was quite consistent with international law. Pending the development of such a new constitution which would have majority support, the present constitution based on race and the remaining apartheid laws would have to remain in place. Industry and business was already deracialised. Segregation on the basis of the Group Areas Act was maintained only in residential sector. This would go once the new Constitution was negotiated. The Government was committed to universal suffrage and the introduction of a bill

of rights. The law Commission draft commands widespread support.

Release of political prisoners would proceed apace. De Klerk will release those convicted of membership of illegal organisations per se. Those who committed crimes of violence in pursuit of political aims were a matter for the negotiating table. There were precedents in Namibia and Zimbabwe. There had been major improvements in detention without trial which was limited to six months and the detainee could have his own lawyer and doctor.

What South Africa needed now to guarantee the existing and future reforms was encouragement, stability and no outflows of capital. The Ambassador hoped that consensus would be reached in Dublin (at the Ministerial EPC). It would help avoid difficult situation - consider the potential replacements for De Klerk. The Community must help ensure peaceful transition by persuading ANC to negotiate. He mentioned Mr Mulroney's suggestion on SADCC. South Africa was the key to prosperity in the region.

Towards the end of his exposition the Ambassador had two specific queries;
1) on the positive measures including scholarships for the black students he had asked Andriessen who said it was not his responsibility. How much was available? Who was handling? Would they train in South Africa or Europe? There would be a South African Heads of Mission meeting later this month and the Ambassador offered to help by contacting educators in South Africa if that would be of use in avoiding politicisation.
2) should he go to Dublin for the Ministerial meeting? He appreciated that the structure of the meeting might not be geared to that but if Ministers wanted to pose questions he would be willing to be there without advertising his presence.

In reply the Permanent Representative undertook to report on Ambassador's very complete presentation of the position. The Twelve statement on Mandela's release set out the position as of today. He could not prejudge the outcome of next week's meeting. As for the meeting itself, its structure did not provide for attendance by others. The Permanent Representative pointed out that advance discussions would have taken place beforehand any way and people's information will be very complete already. The Permanent Representative undertook to contact the Ambassador shortly before he left for South Africa regarding his first query.

Nicholas TWIST
14 February 1990

cc Ambassador
Mr B Moran
Mr P Murnaghan, Political Division, D/FA
Mr B Mc Donagh

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IRISH EMBASSY

002

Irish Times
12/2/1990

94

Text of Kinnock letter released in London

THE British Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, MP, has written to Mr Haughey, currently President of the European Community, urging that EC sanctions against South Africa should stay.

The full text of the letter is:

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they would consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

... currently hold the European ... meeting ...

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay — both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prosp... of progress. Any relaxatio... would simply encoura... Klerk government ... they could gain ... in return fo... thus de... be ...

SA Desk.

South Africa — Letters from Neil Kinnock, MP and PM Thatcher.

Irish Times
12/2/1990

94

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THE British Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, MP, has written to Mr Haughey, currently President of the European Community, urging that EC sanctions against South Africa should stay.

The full text of the letter is:

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they should consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

Since you currently hold the Presidency of the European Community and since the meeting at which that discussion will take place is due to be held in Dublin under the chairmanship of the Irish Government, I am writing to you to express the hope that the Dublin meeting will not agree to any action which would ease pressure on apartheid.

Clearly some significant movement was signified by F W de Klerk's speech last Friday. However, much more needs to be done before the easing of international sanctions can be justified. In particular, the State of Emergency has to be lifted completely, all repressive legislation (such as the Internal Security Act) must be scrapped; the soldiers must be withdrawn from the townships and Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners must be unconditionally released. Until these measures are taken there cannot be free political discussion in South Africa, and without such freedom it is obvious that there will not be substantial negotiations about the future of that country.

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay — both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prospect of progress. Any relaxation now would simply encourage the de Klerk government to think that they could gain major concessions in return for minimal actions and thus delay the progress that must be made.

In these circumstances, I urge you and your colleagues to ensure that the European Community takes an approach which is similar to that of President Bush who on Saturday confirmed that Pretoria will have to do more before the sanctions operated by the United States can be lifted.

I am aware of the highly creditable action which the Republic of Ireland has taken to enforce sanctions against apartheid. In the interests of promoting further positive change in South Africa, therefore, I urge you to do everything possible before and at the Dublin Council of Ministers meeting to sustain the Community pressure on Pretoria with the objective of ensuring that *all* the changes are made that are necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations between the South African government and representatives of the majority of South Africa's people.

Kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

Neil Kinnock

Fine Gael Ard-Theis 5/3/1990

quite

No amount of "hype" can disguise the Taoiseach's appalling record. He simply doesn't understand European and international affairs. He never did. He sent a letter to the British Prime Minister last month which she was able to quote in support of her absurd belief that we should dismantle economic sanctions against apartheid in South Africa. Was this mere bungling, or was there some calculated reason for ambivalence on apartheid?

OIFIG AN AIRE GNOTHAI EACHTRACHA
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BAILE ATHA CLIATH 2
DUBLIN 2

M Ak
an tAire
Ar ais.
P. Murphy 94
for info.
SA Desk
Kinnock/Thatcher
pro chur

February, 1990

Ambassador
London

Dear Ambassador,

I have enclosed a letter to Mr. Neil Kinnock M.P. from the Taoiseach. I would be grateful if you could arrange for its early transmission please. A copy of the Taoiseach's letter is enclosed for your files.

Yours sincerely,

John Kirwan
Private Secretary

Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

12th February, 1990.

Mr. Neil Kinnock, M.P.,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
London.

Dear Neil,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 6 February on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

In our capacity as Presidency of the Twelve it will be our responsibility to ensure that all aspects of the situation including factors of the kind you draw to my attention in your letter are fully taken into account.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gerard Collins, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African Government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve also issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

We warmly welcome the release of Nelson Mandela, which comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa.

We hope that it signals a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

Nelson Mandela has made a number of statements since his release yesterday which will have a decisive influence on the future course of developments.

You refer in your letter to the meeting of the Twelve at Ministerial level in Dublin on 20 February. That meeting must take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation, as well as the concerns you and others have expressed.

Yours sincerely

Charles Haughey

Oifig an Taoisigh, Tithe an Rialtais, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
Office of the Taoiseach, Government Buildings, Dublin 2.

GLGL
EAA0252 3 I 0294 /AFP-II67
EEC-SAfrica
EEC urges end to apartheid, but no mention of sanctions

DUBLIN, Feb 13 (AFP) - The European Economic Community (EEC) welcoming the release of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, called Tuesday for talks between the South African government and blacks to end apartheid.

Senior diplomats from the 12 EEC countries meeting here Tuesday said Mr. Mandela's release had been "one of the basic demands of the 12 over the years".

It was "a most important contribution to the establishement of that climate which the 12 consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community," according to a statement released by Ireland, which currently holds the rotating EEC presidency.

"These negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new democratic, united and non-racial South Africa," it said.

The diplomats met here to prepare for a February 20 ministerial meeting, also in Dublin.

On Monday sources in Paris said they would discuss the possible lifting of EEC sanctions against Africa in the light of Mr. Mandela's release and the legalisation of the anti-apartheid African National Congress. The statement, however, avoided all mention of sanctions.

"Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid," it said. "His release comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa when expectations are high that the government has accepted that radical change to the structures of South African society can no longer be delayed.

The 12 "hope that all parties in South Africa will now seize the opportunity to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation."

fbc/dc/ap
AFP 131559 GMT FEB 90

GLGL
EAA0300 3 I 0210 GRB /AFP-CQ96
Mandela-EEC
Haughey hints at no change in South Africa sanctions

DUBLIN, Feb 12 (AFP) - Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, whose country currently holds the EEC presidency, hinted Monday that European Economic Community sanctions against Pretoria should not be lifted, despite the release of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

"We warmly welcome the release of Nelson Mandela, which comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa. We hope that it signals a commitment on the part of the South African government to the radical changes in the structure of their society, which are called for," Mr. Haughey said.

He was responding to a message from British Labour leader Neil Kinnock who said there should be no let-up in European pressure on South Africa.

Mr. Kinnock urged Mr. Haughey last week to do everything possible before and during next week's meeting of European foreign ministers in Dublin to sustain pressure on Pretoria.

Mr. Haughey noted that an earlier foreign ministers' meeting had underlined the need for further reforms and said that next week's talks "must take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation as well as the serious concerns" Mr. Kinnock and others have raised.

dbo/ap
AFP 121959 GMT FEB 90

GLGL
EAA0022 4 IF 0308 FRA /AFP-LR67
France-SAfrica
French finance minister not ready to end sanctions

PARIS, Feb 14 (AFP) - French Economy Minister Pierre Beregovoy on Tuesday said France was not prepared to lift its economic sanctions against South Africa despite the release of black leader Nelson Mandela on Sunday.

The international community should continue to "exert strong pressure on the government of South Africa in order to hasten the process of the breakup of apartheid," he told students of the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, an elite school that has produced hosts of French government officials.

"The release of Mandela is a great victory for all those who are struggling for freedom in the world," he said.

He added: "But it is not over. Apartheid must end and black and white people must enjoy the same rights, and namely the right of universal suffrage."

He said he did not "share the feeling" of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who favors a relaxing of sanctions against Pretoria.

France has embargoed coal, steel and gold coin imports from South Africa and banned exports of oil, nuclear material and arms. French sanctions were adopted in 1985 under a Socialist government. France also has a total ban on investment in South Africa.

According to customs figures, sanctions have cut two-way trade by only 20 per cent in four years. Last year France posted a 1.2 billion franc (0.2 billion dollar) trade deficit with South Africa.

Analysts believe the French banking sector would be the first to benefit from the lifting of sanctions. South African firms are said to be seeking financing in the areas of construction, telecommunications and biotechnology.

Pretoria is pondering the construction of a second nuclear plant. A first plant was built in Koeberg by the French company Framatome in the early 1980s.

gb-hm/lg/bm
AFP 140252 GMT FEB 90

EAA0292 4 I 0316 /AFP-JN06
Britain-sanctions 1
Thatcher calls for end to certain sanctions against Pretoria

LONDON, Feb 13 (AFP) - British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called for an end to "comprehensive economic sanctions" against South Africa, in a stormy parliamentary debate Tuesday that hit on strong Labor opposition.

Mrs. Thatcher charged that complete sanctions only blocked the introduction of reforms in South Africa, where black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela was released Sunday after 27 years imprisonment.

The prime minister was hooted down when she accused the leader of the Labor opposition, Neil Kinnock, of "possibly taking instructions" from Mr. Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), and quickly retracted the comment.

Mr. Kinnock supports continuing economic sanctions against South Africa, and had charged earlier in the debate that it would be "arrogant and absurd" to lift them while Mr. Mandela was urging they be kept in place.

Mrs. Thacher, however, said she believed "it is right to encourage President (Frederik) de Klerk and the people of South Africa to go further in the way we want by removing some of the sanctions," particularly regarding new investment, tourism and culture.

She said she believed "improvements are coming about in South Africa" because of a growing international belief that apartheid "is wrong, that it must go."

She did not believe such improvements, including Mr. Mandela's release, would have occurred "had there ever been comprehensive economic sanctions."

"That would have caused increasing violence and bitterness" instead of improving prospects for peaceful negotiation, she said.

She said she sent a letter to the acting European Economic Community president, Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, urging that EEC foreign ministers discuss easing sanctions against South Africa when they meet in Dublin next week.

more
AFP 131742 GMT FEB 90

GLGL
EAA0293 4 I 0124 /AFP-JN11
Britain-sanctions 2-last
(LONDON)

The Labor Party, however, called for a special House of Commons debate Wednesday to urge the EEC to reject what it called London's "untimely call" to drop key sanctions against South Africa.

A Labor MP just returned from South Africa, Bernie Grant, reportedly delivered a personal message from Mr. Mandela to Mr. Kinnock Tuesday in which the black nationalist leader spoke against easing economic sanctions and called for a stronger fight against apartheid.

Mr. Kinnock told parliament that Mr. Mandela's release "was only possible because of pressure from the free world, including economic pressure," saying this must be "maintained if the majority of South Africans are to be free."

agr/ns/cl
AFP 131743 GMT FEB 90

GLGL
EAA0283 4 I 0372 BEL /AFP-JE19
EEC-SAfrica lead
(changing dateline)

EEC commends Pretoria, but no mention of lifting sanctions

BRUSSELS, Feb 13 (AFP) - The European Economic Community, belatedly reacting to Nelson Mandela's release, on Tuesday praised the South African government's move but avoided all reference to EEC sanctions against Pretoria.

Analysts said the two-day delay in responding to Mr. Mandela's release, and the absence of any reference to the sanctions, highlighted deep internal divisions among the Community.

little do they know!

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a strong supporter of South African President F.W. De Klerk, has urged the Community to end its ban on South African gold coins, iron and steel imposed in 1986.

But, diplomats say, this appeal is considered premature by the other EEC members, as well as the European Commission, the Community's executive.

In a statement issued here and in Dublin, where senior diplomats from the 12 EEC countries were meeting to prepare for a ministers meeting next week, the EEC commended the South African government.

"Taken with the steps announced by President De Klerk on February 2, this is without doubt a most important contribution to the establishment of that climate which the 12 consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community," the statement said.

"The 12 repeat their view that these negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new democratic, united and non-racial South Africa."

EEC foreign ministers are scheduled to discuss the situation in South Africa, as well as the EEC sanctions, in Dublin next Tuesday.

Britain has persistently vetoed any attempt to toughen the sanctions against South Africa so that they include coal, raw gold or diamonds, the biggest exports to the Community.

Mrs. Thatcher argues that sanctions hurt the black population of South Africa and help to harden attitudes among the ruling white minority.

Among the measures announced by Mr. De Klerk on February 2 were the legalisation of the African National Congress (ANC) and other anti-apartheid groups, and the relaxation of restraints on the South African media.

(no pickup)
ri/dc
AFP 131715 GMT FEB 90

copied for Taoiseach's brief 16/2/90

Verbatim Extract from Prime Ministers Questions
13 February 1990

Mr. Paddy Ashdown: "Will the Prime Minister tell the House how many of her Community or Commonwealth or American colleagues she consulted before her lonely call to remove sanctions over the weekend? Does she not think it rather odd that when she's asked to support unity and freedom in Germany she says there must be massive international consultation first, but when she's asked to maintain international sanctions on South Africa she is prepared to reject this unilaterally and alone?"

PM: "I don't think the Right Honourable Gentlement fully appreciates precisely what has happened. As far as United Nations sanctions are concerned, the Arms embargo, of course that stays in place because we are all agreed to it and bound by it. As far as Orders through the European Economic Community are concerned and passed through this House, that is, in particular, sanctions on Iron and Steel which suit some people but it is a sanction and has to be upheld and also on Kruger Rands, those are orders and those cannot be changed without full agreement. So I wrote to Mr. Haughey and received a letter back from him agreeing that the recent measures in South Africa are significant developments and that the EC Foreign Ministers should consider next week to what extent profound and irreversible changes can be said to have taken place in South Africa already which would justify a relaxation of the measures imposed by the Twelve. Those are orders which have gone through this House. The sanctions to which I am referring are the ones which are totally voluntary, namely a voluntary ban on investment from outside and also a voluntary arrangement that we do not try to encourage tourism. Those we are not bound to by Order of any kind.

I notice also, I was glad to see that the Archbishop of Canterbury also said, there needs to be some measure of encouragement that requires some release of sanctions, I think that would be understandable. That is the Archbishop of Canterbury. President Bush has made clear that he does not think that sanctions are necessarily the right answer in this new situation. He is bound by a law passed by Congress. Insofar as we are bound by laws, we uphold them, insofar as we are not we are free to release them."

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P.11/90

Dublin, 13 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Twelve warmly welcome the release of Nelson Mandela, one of the South Africa's longest serving political prisoners. They commend the South African Government on this step. Mr. Mandela's release has been one of the basic demands of the Twelve over the years. Taken with the steps announced by President De Klerk on 2 February, this is without doubt a most important contribution to the establishment of that climate which the Twelve consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community. The Twelve repeat their view that these negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. His release comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa when expectations are high that the Government has accepted that radical change to the structures of South African society can no longer be delayed.

The Twelve hope that all parties in South Africa will now seize the opportunity to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation.

Dear Margaret,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 10 February in which you set out your views concerning recent developments in South Africa and how the Twelve might react to them.

The various measures which President de Klerk has introduced and the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February are indeed significant developments. They have been welcomed by the Twelve as important contributions to that climate which the Twelve consider essential in order that negotiations leading to the radical transformation of South African society can get under way. The Twelve, of course, as indicated by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in their statement on 5 February, expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve will have an opportunity at their meeting on 20 February to exchange views on these developments and to begin to assess, against the background of the decision of the European Council in December, to what extent profound and irreversible changes can be said to have already taken place in South Africa, which would justify a relaxation of the measures imposed on South Africa by the Twelve.

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Received in Dept, 11.2.90

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

10 February 1990

Mr D Morgan
Private Secretary to the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2

Dear Donagh,

I have been instructed to deliver the attached message from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach.

I should be most grateful if you would arrange for the message to be forwarded to the Taoiseach as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Jeremy Thorp

J W Thorp
Deputy Head of Mission

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE TAOISEACH

I am writing about the recent encouraging developments in South Africa. President De Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will not discourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I shall also invite Mr Mandela to visit London when he is free.

President De Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his supporters could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. We shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to give a positive response to the prospect of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

As you will know, we have proposed that South Africa should be on the Agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. The Ministers should discuss the relaxation of some of the restrictive measures imposed on South Africa. President De Klerk has already almost fulfilled the requirements which the European Community imposed on the South African Government to facilitate dialogue. Certainly, if Mr Mandela is free and it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will soon be lifted he will have made profound and irreversible changes. We must be prepared to act.

I would hope we can begin by lifting the ban on investment, which in our case was voluntary, in doing so, we should remember that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That will remain a powerful incentive to reform in South Africa. The Ministers should also consider lifting other restrictive measures, eg the ban on imports of krugerrands, iron and steel.

South Africa is destined to be an important topic under your Presidency. There is now a real chance of opening the way to a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiation. We must ensure that this opportunity is not wasted.

10 February 1990

Faxed to D. Daly +
Co-Secretary
Am 11.2.

Neil Kinnock, Esq., M.P.

Dear Mr. Kinnock

I would like to thank you for your letter of 6 February on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

In our capacity as Presidency of the Twelve we will of course be taking into account factors of the kind you draw to my attention in your letter.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gerard Collins, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African Government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve also issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela has made a number of statements since his release yesterday. We warmly welcome his release, which comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa.

We hope that it signals a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

You refer in your letter to the meeting of the Twelve at Ministerial level in Dublin on 20 February. That meeting will take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation at that stage, as well as the factors that you have drawn to my attention.

Yours sincerely

Charles J Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they should consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

Since you currently hold the Presidency of the European Community and since the meeting at which that discussion will take place is due to be held in Dublin under the Chairmanship of the Irish Government, I am writing to you to express the hope that the Dublin meeting will not agree to any action which would ease pressure on apartheid.

Clearly some significant movement was signified by F.W. de Klerk's speech last Friday. However, much more needs to be done before the easing of international sanctions can be justified. In particular, the State of Emergency has to be lifted completely, all repressive legislation (such as the Internal Security Act) must be scrapped, the soldiers must be withdrawn from the townships and Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners must be unconditionally released. Until these measures are taken there cannot be free political discussion in South Africa, and without such freedom it is obvious that there will not be substantial negotiations about the future of that country.

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay - both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prospect of progress. Any relaxation now would simply encourage the de Klerk government to think that they could gain major concessions in return for minimal actions and thus delay the progress that must be made.

In these circumstances, I urge you and your colleagues to ensure that the European Community takes an approach which is similar to that of President Bush who on Saturday confirmed that Pretoria will have to do more before the sanctions operated by the United States can be lifted.

I am aware of the highly creditable action which the Republic of Ireland has taken to enforce sanctions against apartheid. In the interests of promoting further positive change in South Africa, therefore, I urge you to do everything possible before and at the Dublin Council of Ministers meeting to sustain the Community pressure on Pretoria with the objective of ensuring that all the changes are made that are necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations between the South African government and representatives of the majority of South Africa's people.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

NEIL KINNOCK
Leader of the Opposition

Mr Charles J. Haughey TD
Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

Noel,
For material for reply please.
TOH
12/2

Le dea-mhéin Rúnaí an Rialtais

With the compliments of
the Secretary to the Government

Roinn an Taoisigh
Tithe an Rialtais
Baile Átha Cliath 2
Guthán 689333

Dept. of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Dublin 2
Phone 689333

Private Secretary to the

Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2

Dear Donagh,

I have been instructed to deliver the attached
the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

10 February 1990

per Charles
On 13-2-

Mr D Morgan
Private Secretary to the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2

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Deputy Head of Mission

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10 February 1990

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Pa Politics

Verbatim Extract from Prime Ministers Questions
13 February 1990

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Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

12 February, 1990.

Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P. F.R.S.,
Prime Minister.

Dear Margaret,

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Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve will have an opportunity at their meeting on 20th February to exchange views on these developments and to begin to assess, against the background of the decision of the European Council in December, to what extent profound and irreversible changes can be said to have already taken place in South Africa, which would justify a relaxation of the measures imposed on South Africa by the Twelve.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Haughey

Original forwarded via Emb Ldn

mm
13/2

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Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Received in Dept, 11.2.90

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

10 February 1990

Mr D Morgan
Private Secretary to the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2

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Jeremy Thorp

J W Thorp
Deputy Head of Mission

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Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Received in Dept, 11.2.90

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DUBLIN.

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Dublin 2

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Fax n° 16(03) - 9E - 3709E7

TRANSMISSION REPORT

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FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 13.2.90 Time: _____

To: Irish Delegation Strasbourg

For: D. Mulhall

From: P. Murnaghan

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 13

Brief description of material: South Africa – relevant material on recent developments

Any special instructions: Pls make available also to Colin Whyte.

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IRELAND
1990

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA IS ISSUED BY THE IRISH PRESIDENCY IN DUBLIN TODAY, 13 FEBRUARY, 1990, ON BEHALF OF THE TWELVE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Dublin, 13 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Twelve warmly welcome the release of Nelson Mandela, one of the South Africa's longest serving political prisoners. They commend the South African Government on this step. Mr. Mandela's release has been one of the basic demands of the Twelve over the years. Taken with the steps announced by President De Klerk on 2 February, this is without doubt a most important contribution to the establishment of that climate which the Twelve consider necessary for the initiation of genuine negotiations with the black community. The Twelve repeat their view that these negotiations must be aimed at the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a new, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has remained a potent symbol of freedom for all those struggling for the eradication of apartheid. His release comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa when expectations are high that the Government has accepted that radical change to the structures of South African society can no longer be delayed.

The Twelve hope that all parties in South Africa will now seize the opportunity to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means through negotiation.

P.08/90 Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

DRAFT
REV. II
9.12.89

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Strasbourg, 8-9 December 1989)

DECLARATION BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa has, for a year, been the scene of developments of such importance as consistently to demand the attention of the Twelve.

1. The most obvious of these concerns Namibia. Almost a year ago the signature of the New York Agreements opened the way for implementation of Resolution 435 as the Twelve have constantly wished. Up to now the transitional process has unfolded in a satisfactory manner and the Twelve wish, on this occasion, to express their appreciation of the vital role played by the Secretary General of the UN and his Special Representative for Namibia. The first valid and free elections have permitted the appointment of a Constituent Assembly which truly reflects the wishes of the Namibian people. The foundations of the new state are taking shape before our eyes.

Independent Namibia's needs will be significant. The Community and its member States are already prepared to contribute to meeting these through appropriate aid programmes. This effort will be in addition to the assistance envisaged by all of the member States on a bilateral level. Namibia will also be welcomed into the new Lomé Convention as soon as it expresses a wish to join it. The Troika has already made known this position to the representatives of the ACP States at their recent Ministerial meeting to discuss southern Africa.

2. A measure of progress has also been achieved in the process of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. A favourable international climate has been availed of with courage and determination on the part of those with authority in these two States in order to make significant advances on the road to peace. The recent mission of the Troika of Political Directors to Angola brought out the real will of the leaders of this country to put an end to the conflict which has for too many years encumbered the economic development and well-being of its people.

The Community and its member States are resolved to match these developments by efforts to aid the reconstruction and development of both these countries.

3. Finally, in South Africa, President De Klerk's accession to power has been followed by several acts of clemency and a degree of freedom of expression which the Twelve have welcomed. These measures, however, are still insufficient with respect to the immense task posed by the dismantlement of apartheid. The objective of the Twelve remains the achievement through peaceful means of a democratic and multiracial system in South Africa. In this regard they support any process which can lead rapidly to the cessation of violence on all sides and to a dialogue between the parties. Only broad-based negotiations bringing together the true leaders of the different constituent parts of the South African people can result in a lasting settlement. In this respect the Conference for a Democratic Future, which is being held in Johannesburg from 9 to 12 December, is a step in the right direction.

In this context the Community and its member States have recalled their support for the programme of positive measures intended to help the victims of apartheid. With a view to preparing for the developments which are inescapable in South Africa, this programme will be strengthened over the next two years by granting new scholarships for study in Europe and in multi-racial South African universities. The purpose of this action is to facilitate exchanges between the different communities while allowing their least privileged members to attain a better level of education and thus to contribute to the training of the skilled personnel of which a multi-racial South Africa will have crucial need in the medium term.

The Community and its member States have, moreover, decided to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained.

A new South Africa, free from racial discrimination, in which all South Africans can live in peace and harmony and enjoy equal rights, is not a Utopian ideal. Its achievement will also be of vital importance to the peace, stability, security and economic development of the whole region and will allow South Africa once more to find its proper place within the international community.

Irish Times
13/2/90

Thatcher stand on sanctions opposed

By Colm Boland

SHARP differences between the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and other EC leaders over her demand for a relaxation of sanctions against South Africa in the wake of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela will surface at Dublin Castle tomorrow, when senior foreign ministry officials, from all of the European Community countries, begin a two-day meeting.

The Taoiseach, Mr Haughey, will respond today to a call by the leader of the British Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, for the Irish presidency of the EC Council of Ministers to oppose Mrs Thatcher's efforts to ease international pressure on President De Klerk.

The Tanaiste, Mr Lenihan, last night warned against any unilateral breaking of ranks by Britain on the issue of EC sanctions. He said the Irish presidency would seek to maintain the present position. On an RTE "Today Tonight" special Mr Lenihan said the EC should await further developments and be guided by Mr Mandela.

The meeting of "political directors" of the EC foreign ministries, starting in Dublin tomorrow, is to prepare for a full meeting of EC foreign ministers in Dublin Castle on Tuesday, February 20th, which is now certain to be the focus of international attention because of the expected showdown on the sanctions issue.

EC sanctions against South Africa cover trade in iron and steel products, gold, scientific and cultural exchanges and a ban of new investment and military co-operation. Mrs Thatcher is urging the EC to allow a resumption of cultural exchanges and, more significantly, new investment in South Africa.

Opposition to the easing of pressure on South Africa came yesterday from representatives of Fine Gael, the Labour Party and the Workers' Party.

Irish Times
12/2/90

Thatcher faces EC rebuff on sanctions

By Denis Coghlan, and Sean Flynn

A CONFRONTATION between the Irish presidency of the EC and the British Government over South African sanctions is expected to dominate next week's meeting of EC foreign ministers following conflicting statements on the issue in Dublin and London.

The Taoiseach, Mr Haughey, told journalists yesterday that he felt the preponderance of opinion among the 12 EC governments was very likely to be in favour of maintaining economic sanctions against Pretoria when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets next Tuesday under the chairmanship of Mr Gerry Collins.

Mr Haughey, as President of the European Council, will be replying to a communication from the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, in which she argued strongly in favour of relaxing sanctions following the freeing of Mr Nelson Mandela.

At a press conference in Brussels yesterday, the ANC stressed that the present range of EC sanctions should remain in place despite the unilateral action by the British Government in lifting a voluntary ban on new investments immediately after Mr Mandela's release. The British action represented a break with the EC's united stance on sanctions, in place since a 1985 visit to South Africa by a Council of Ministers delegation.

Soweto waits for Mandela to come home; Mandela press conference; Bush refuses to lift US sanctions; Text of Haughey letter; photograph and cartoon: page 9.

Editorial comment: page 11

Mr Haughey said yesterday that it was not for him, as president of the European Council to preempt next week's decision by the Council of Ministers, adding that considerable diplomatic efforts would probably be required to reach agreement. So far, he said, the EC's foreign ministers had managed to "come up with" agreed statements and he hoped that would happen on this occasion.

His role was to act as an arbiter and to try to achieve agreement between the 12, he said, and he felt that the release of Mr Mandela had been a positive development. Asked if Mr Mandela's call for the continuation of sanctions would be heeded, Mr Haughey replied: "I feel that his views will provide a very important input into EC deliberations and that he is going to be a very important figure in future developments."

Confirming that he had received a communication on the issue of economic sanctions from Mrs Thatcher, the Taoiseach commented that each State would be putting forward its own views and that the British Prime Minister had elaborated on the situation as she saw it and that she had "put views trenchantly, as she always does".

Earlier, Mr Haughey released the text of his letter of reply to the British Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock on the issue of sanctions. Nowhere in that letter did Mr Haughey openly espouse the continuation of economic sanctions, despite Mr Kinnock's invitation to do so, but he referred to an EC communication on February 5th welcoming reforms in South Africa, but indicating "the 12's expectations of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid."

The Taoiseach assured Mr Kinnock that all aspects he had referred to in his letter would be taken into account by the EC presidency.

In London yesterday the British Government warned that it was vital to send a signal to the white community in South Africa that President De Klerk's reforms would find a response from the international community. Foreign Office Minister, Mr William Waldegrave, said that was why the British Government believed it made sense to stop discouraging investment in and tourism to South Africa, and predicted that without such a response a white backlash could sweep Mr De Klerk away.

The Irish presidency is expected to argue that further steps are still needed to indicate Pretoria's genuine commitment to abolish apartheid. These include the lifting of the state of emergency and a commitment by the South African Government to dismantle discriminatory legislation — particularly the pass laws and the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, a joint delegation from the ICTU and the British Trade Union Congress met the Minister for Labour, Mr Ahern, in Dublin yesterday and called on the EC Council and Ministers to maintain economic and other sanctions until the representatives of its black population were satisfied that they should be lifted.

Dear Margaret,

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Yours sincerely,

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DUBLIN.

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10 February 1990

Faxed to D. Dail +
Co-Secretary
Am 11.2.

Neil Kinnock, Esq., M.P.

Dear Mr. Kinnock

I would like to thank you for your letter of 6 February on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

In our capacity as Presidency of the Twelve we will of course be taking into account factors of the kind you draw to my attention in your letter.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gerard Collins, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African Government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve also issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela has made a number of statements since his release yesterday. We warmly welcome his release, which comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa.

We hope that it signals a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

You refer in your letter to the meeting of the Twelve at Ministerial level in Dublin on 20 February. That meeting will take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation at that stage, as well as the factors that you have drawn to my attention.

Yours sincerely

Charles J Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

8

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they should consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

Since you currently hold the Presidency of the European Community and since the meeting at which that discussion will take place is due to be held in Dublin under the Chairmanship of the Irish Government, I am writing to you to express the hope that the Dublin meeting will not agree to any action which would ease pressure on apartheid.

Clearly some significant movement was signified by F.W. de Klerk's speech last Friday. However, much more needs to be done before the easing of international sanctions can be justified. In particular, the State of Emergency has to be lifted completely, all repressive legislation (such as the Internal Security Act) must be scrapped, the soldiers must be withdrawn from the townships and Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners must be unconditionally released. Until these measures are taken there cannot be free political discussion in South Africa, and without such freedom it is obvious that there will not be substantial negotiations about the future of that country.

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay - both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prospect of progress. Any relaxation now would simply encourage the de Klerk government to think that they could gain major concessions in return for minimal actions and thus delay the progress that must be made.

In these circumstances, I urge you and your colleagues to ensure that the European Community takes an approach which is similar to that of President Bush who on Saturday confirmed that Pretoria will have to do more before the sanctions operated by the United States can be lifted.

I am aware of the highly creditable action which the Republic of Ireland has taken to enforce sanctions against apartheid. In the interests of promoting further positive change in South Africa, therefore, I urge you to do everything possible before and at the Dublin Council of Ministers meeting to sustain the Community pressure on Pretoria with the objective of ensuring that all the changes are made that are necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations between the South African government and representatives of the majority of South Africa's people.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

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Leader of the Opposition

Mr Charles J. Haughey TD
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Dublin 2
IRELAND

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Spoke Anto O'Rourke.
Letter on its way

13/2 1010

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For: Ambassador

From: P. Munaghan

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 10

Brief description of material: Grateful if you would arrange to convey urgently through usual channels attached reply from the Taoiseach to Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher.

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The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gerard Collins, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African Government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve also issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela has made a number of statements since his release yesterday. We warmly welcome his release, which comes at a crucial time in the history of South Africa.

We hope that it signals a commitment on the part of the South African Government to the radical changes in the structure of South African society which are called for.

You refer in your letter to the meeting of the Twelve at Ministerial level in Dublin on 20 February. That meeting will take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation at that stage, as well as the factors that you have drawn to my attention.

Yours sincerely

Charles J Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they should consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

Since you currently hold the Presidency of the European Community and since the meeting at which that discussion will take place is due to be held in Dublin under the Chairmanship of the Irish Government, I am writing to you to express the hope that the Dublin meeting will not agree to any action which would ease pressure on apartheid.

Clearly some significant movement was signified by F.W. de Klerk's speech last Friday. However, much more needs to be done before the easing of international sanctions can be justified. In particular, the State of Emergency has to be lifted completely, all repressive legislation (such as the Internal Security Act) must be scrapped, the soldiers must be withdrawn from the townships and Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners must be unconditionally released. Until these measures are taken there cannot be free political discussion in South Africa, and without such freedom it is obvious that there will not be substantial negotiations about the future of that country.

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay - both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prospect of progress. Any relaxation now would simply encourage the de Klerk government to think that they could gain major concessions in return for minimal actions and thus delay the progress that must be made.

In these circumstances, I urge you and your colleagues to ensure that the European Community takes an approach which is similar to that of President Bush who on Saturday confirmed that Pretoria will have to do more before the sanctions operated by the United States can be lifted.

I am aware of the highly creditable action which the Republic of Ireland has taken to enforce sanctions against apartheid. In the interests of promoting further positive change in South Africa, therefore, I urge you to do everything possible before and at the Dublin Council of Ministers meeting to sustain the Community pressure on Pretoria with the objective of ensuring that all the changes are made that are necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations between the South African government and representatives of the majority of South Africa's people.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

NEIL KINNOCK
Leader of the Opposition

Mr Charles J. Haughey TD
Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

South Africa : Statement by the Foreign Minister of Ireland at the 46th Session of the UNCHR (Geneva, 2 February 1990)

"I understand that, even as I speak, the South African President is announcing some important news. I note that some of the measures announced would meet some of the demands the Twelve have made. The release of Nelson Mandela is the first of these demands. The South African President has announced his firm decision to release him unconditionally, but has not yet set a date for this. We will of course welcome his release but also a firm commitment on the part of the South African government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system."

P.08/90

Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

PRÉSIDENCE DES COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES

1er JUILLET . 31 DÉCEMBRE 1989

UK lifted some sanctions
sanctions = small indeed "gesture sanctions" –
ridic to use stake to secure meeting with, even if stake small
good loans

– visiting of mkt attachés

– open door of Tokyo

"ridiculous" to maintain even on sticks

die is now cast

way open for peaceful negots.

Kinnock

SA mkt "sans" respect of world

Hurd

letter to Tarsis "mean + grudging" –

time to encourage people.

TRANSMISSION REPORT

THIS DOCUMENT WAS SENT
(REDUCED SAMPLE ABOVE)

** COUNT **
PAGES SENT : 02

fax nº 789784

IMMEDIATE

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 12.2.90 Time: 1730

To: Dept. Taoiseach

For: Mr. Dermot Nally

From: Mr. P. Murphy

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 2

Brief description of material: Reply to letter from Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher.

Any special instructions: _____

Transmitting operator: _____

This material is being sent from fax phone No. 780628

This number should be used for return faxing.

If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at 780822.

Dear Prime Minister,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 10 February in which you set out your views concerning recent developments in South Africa and how the Twelve might react to them.

The various measures which President de Klerk has introduced and the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February are indeed significant developments. They have been welcomed by the Twelve as important contributions to that climate which the Twelve consider essential in order that negotiations leading to the radical transformation of South African society can get under way. The Twelve of course, as indicated by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in their statement on 5 February, expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve will have an opportunity at their meeting on 20 February to exchange views on these developments and to begin to assess, against the background of the decision of the European Council in December, to what extent profound and irreversible changes can be said to have already taken place in South Africa, which would justify a relaxation of the Twelve measures imposed on South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Received in Dept, 11.2.90

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

10 February 1990

Mr D Morgan
Private Secretary to the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2

Dear Donagh,

I have been instructed to deliver the attached message from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach.

I should be most grateful if you would arrange for the message to be forwarded to the Taoiseach as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Jeremy Thorp

J W Thorp
Deputy Head of Mission

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DUBLIN.

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE TAOISEACH

I am writing about the recent encouraging developments in South Africa. President De Klerk's speech on 2 February represents a breakthrough, paving the way for negotiations on a new constitution. As an immediate positive signal of support for what he has done, I have invited him to visit London and made known that in future we will not discourage academic, scientific and cultural contacts with South Africa. I shall also invite Mr Mandela to visit London when he is free.

President De Klerk has taken considerable political risks. He has moved further and faster than his supporters could have imagined. The pace of future developments does not rest solely in his hands. We shall be urging those who have the most influence with the ANC and the other opposition groups to give a positive response to the prospect of negotiations and to suspend violence. I hope you will do the same.

As you will know, we have proposed that South Africa should be on the Agenda of the European Political Cooperation Meeting in Dublin on 20 February. The Ministers should discuss the relaxation of some of the restrictive measures imposed on South Africa. President De Klerk has already almost fulfilled the requirements which the European Community imposed on the South African Government to facilitate dialogue. Certainly, if Mr Mandela is free and it is clear that the remaining emergency restrictions will soon be lifted he will have made profound and irreversible changes. We must be prepared to act.

I would hope we can begin by lifting the ban on investment, which in our case was voluntary, in doing so, we should remember that the lifting of the ban in itself will not act as a stimulus to new investment in South Africa. The judgement of the market will determine whether new investment is forthcoming. That will remain a powerful incentive to reform in South Africa. The Ministers should also consider lifting other restrictive measures, eg the ban on imports of krugerrands, iron and steel.

South Africa is destined to be an important topic under your Presidency. There is now a real chance of opening the way to a peaceful end to apartheid through negotiation. We must ensure that this opportunity is not wasted.

10 February 1990

Dear Margaret,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 10 February in which you set out your views concerning recent developments in South Africa and how the Twelve might react to them.

The various measures which President de Klerk has introduced and the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February are indeed significant developments. They have been welcomed by the Twelve as important contributions to that climate which the Twelve consider essential in order that negotiations leading to the radical transformation of South African society can get under way. The Twelve of course, as indicated by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs in their statement on 5 February, expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

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Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Faxed to D. Dooley +
Co. Secretary
On 12.2.

Neil Kinnock, Esq., M.P.

Dear Mr. Kinnock

I would like to thank you for your letter of 6 February on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

In our capacity as Presidency of the Twelve we will of course be taking into account factors of the kind you draw to my attention in your letter.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gerard Collins, speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African Government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve also issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

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You refer in your letter to the meeting of the Twelve at Ministerial level in Dublin on 20 February. That meeting will take into account all developments in what is a fast-moving situation at that stage, as well as the factors that you have drawn to my attention.

Yours sincerely

Charles J Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

603281

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: _____

Date: 7-2-90 Time: 1815

To: D/Taoiseach

For: Sean O hEigeartaigh

From: Billy Harte

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 9

Brief description of material: (a) draft Reply To N. Kinnock letter (b) Presidency Report to EC Ministers discussion

Any special instructions: _____

_____

Transmitting operator: _____

This material is being sent from Fax phone No. 730625

This number should be used for return Faxing.

If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at 780822.

Dear Mr Kinnock

I would like to thank you for your letter of 6 February on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

Ireland's view on the subject is very close to that outlined in your letter and I can assure you that this Irish view will be clearly presented in any discussions within the EC.

You will be aware that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Twelve issued a statement on 5 February which, while welcoming the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February, also indicated the Twelve's expectation of further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Gerard Collins, T.D., speaking on behalf of the Twelve at the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 February, signalled the importance the Twelve attached to the release of Nelson Mandela but also to a firm commitment on the part of the South African government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system.

I enclose copies of these statements for your information.

Yours sincerely

Charles J Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach

Ministerial Meeting 5-2-90

South Africa

THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ASKED THE PRESIDENCY TO PREPARE A STATEMENT WELCOMING THE RECENT DECISION OF THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT. HE PROPOSED THAT AT THE MINISTERIAL MEETING ON 20 FEBRUARY IN DUBLIN, THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA BE RE-EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS. THE PRESIDENCY INFORMED MINISTERS OF THE STATEMENT MADE IN GENEVA ON THIS POINT, IN THE COURSE OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE TWELVE AT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. OTHER MINISTERS SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL FOR A STATEMENT OF THE TWELVE, WHICH SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE ELEMENTS OF DISPUTE THAT ARE STILL PREVENTING THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA WILL BE RESOLVED, AND INDICATE THAT TO THE DEGREE THAT PROGRESS IS REGISTERED IN INSTITUTING A DIALOGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE EC TWELVE WILL BE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. THE MINISTERS SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED A STATEMENT ON THIS BASIS (ANNEXED BELOW).

South Africa : Statement by the Foreign Minister of Ireland at the 46th Session of the UNCHR (Geneva, 2 February 1990)

"I understand that, even as I speak, the South African President is announcing some important news. I note that some of the measures announced would meet some of the demands the Twelve have made. The release of Nelson Mandela is the first of these demands. The South African President has announced his firm decision to release him unconditionally, but has not yet set a date for this. We will of course welcome his release but also a firm commitment on the part of the South African government to take all the steps needed to end the apartheid system."

P.08/90 Brussels, 5 February 1990

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6

for Charles

Oran 7?.

Roinn an Taoisigh
Department of the Taoiseach

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 7 February 1990 Time:

To: Foreign Affairs

For: Padraig Murphy, Assistant Secretary

From: Sean O'Tigeardaigh

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 4

Brief description of material:

Any special instructions: As discussed for drafts reply

Transmitting operator: Dympna Tuite

This material is being sent from fax telephone number 603281.
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transmitting operator at 689333 ext.

Tithe an Rialtais, Baile Átha Cliath 2
Government Buildings, Dublin 2.

02-04-90 TUE 08:57 DEPT OF AN TAOISEACH P.01

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

Dear Private Secretary,

Please find attached a fax copy of a letter from Mr Kinnock to Mr Haughey.

Mr Kinnock was eager that this was sent to you tonight as the original will probably not reach you until Thursday, even though it has been sent by express letter from the House of Commons this evening. We will, of course, call your office before taking any action to release this to the press.

Should you wish to contact me please telephone London 219-5758. Alternatively fax messages can be left on London 799-3325.

Yours sincerely,

C R Child

Christopher Child

Private Secretary
Office of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

06-04-90 TUE 08:58 DEPT OF AN TAOISEACH P.02

8

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

Dear Taoiseach,

As you will have heard, this morning's London newspapers report that the EC Foreign Ministers decided in Brussels yesterday that at their next meeting they should consider lifting EC sanctions against South Africa.

Since you currently hold the Presidency of the European Community and since the meeting at which that discussion will take place is due to be held in Dublin under the Chairmanship of the Irish Government, I am writing to you to express the hope that the Dublin meeting will not agree to any action which would ease pressure on apartheid.

Clearly some significant movement was signified by F.W. de Klerk's speech last Friday. However, much more needs to be done before the easing of international sanctions can be justified. In particular, the State of Emergency has to be lifted completely, all repressive legislation (such as the Internal Security Act) must be scrapped, the soldiers must be withdrawn from the townships and Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners must be unconditionally released. Until these measures are taken there cannot be free political discussion in South Africa, and without such freedom it is obvious that there will not be substantial negotiations about the future of that country.

Until the necessary further announcements of significant change are made by Pretoria it is vital that sanctions and all other international pressures must stay - both as a force for reform in themselves and as an indication of international resolve. It is clear from Mr de Klerk's speech that it is international isolation and not the appeasement offered by some Heads of Government that has brought change and the prospect of progress. Any relaxation now would simply encourage the de Klerk government to think that they could gain major concessions in return for minimal actions and thus delay the progress that must be made.

03-04-00 TUE 08:59 DEPT OF AN TAOISEACH P.03

In these circumstances, I urge you and your colleagues to ensure that the European Community takes an approach which similar to that of President Bush who on Saturday confirmed that Pretoria will have to do more before the sanctions operated by the United States can be lifted.

I am aware of the highly creditable action which the Republic of Ireland has taken to enforce sanctions against apartheid. In the interests of promoting further positive change in South Africa, therefore, I urge you to do everything possible before and at the Dublin Council of Ministers meeting to sustain the Community pressure on Pretoria with the objective of ensuring that all the changes are made that are necessary to create a climate conducive to negotiations between the South African government and representatives of the majority of South Africa's people.

Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

NEIL KINNOCK
Leader of the Opposition

Mr Charles J. Haughey TD
Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

03-04-00 TUE 09:00 DEPT OF AN TAOISEACH P.04

OPPS LEADER OFFICE (TUE) 2. FEB. 90 20:58 NO.3083111852 P. 1

780593

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

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C.R. Child

Christopher Child

Private Secretary
Office of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

6 February 1990

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Kind regards

Yours sincerely

Neil Kinnock

NEIL KINNOCK
Leader of the Opposition

Mr Charles J. Haughey TD
Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion Street
Dublin 2
IRELAND

END of internal file

SA Desk.

TO : Political Dim d/FA

FOR : PLO Monaghan

FROM : Nicola Smyth

PERMANENT REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND
TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
AVENUE GALILEE 5
1030 BRUSSELS

TEL : (...322) 218 06 05

FAX : (...322) 218 13 47 (All Sections)
219 42 66 (All Sections)
219 43 36 (Agriculture, Environment, Finance, Marine, Revenue)
219 43 61 (Press)
234 62 56 (Delegation Rooms, Charlemagne)

N° OF PAGES FOLLOW(S)

1) Panorama transcript
2) statement by Dr Jarrit VILJOEN, Minister of Constitutional Development & National Education
3) South Africa 2000 - what is to be expected (Sunday Star, 11.2.90)
4) S. African Ambassador's speaking notes.

All above handed to Amb Campbell by S. African Amb this evening 13/2.

Report of call by Ambassador to follow in due course.

Pls cc E.C. Dim as necessary.

1990-02-13 15:30 S.A.E. London. 0000000000000000000000 P.01/02
4619984 P.02

FAX TO: [illegible]
FAX NO: [illegible] PAGE: 1 OF 2
ATTENTION OF:
FROM: J de Groot DATE: 13-02-90
COMPANY: SA Amb, Lon FAX NO:
Post-it Notes from 3M Ref No. 7645

STATEMENT BY DR GERRIT VILJOEN, MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has taken a number of major steps towards creating a climate for negotiations in South Africa - steps that have gone beyond the expectations of virtually all political observers and commentators. These steps call for a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of the whole situation by all potential participants to the negotiations. It has become incumbent on all of them to reconsider and adjust their own positions, and not just reiterate further pre-conditions.

The extent of the State President's measures and the seriousness of purpose as well as the sincerity behind them would surely make it a puny and small-minded response to persist in comparing them with the items on a shopping list that has been overtaken by events.

These large strides towards bridging the gulf of mistrust now call for a proper response in the form of meaningful steps from the opposite side, for example regarding the question of sanctions. The argument behind sanctions has been that they were necessitated in order to persuade the Government through pressure to embark on serious reform. No doubt can any longer exist that the Government is indeed serious in its commitment to real reform. Therefore the appropriateness of sanctions has to be seen in an entirely new light and sanctions should be expeditiously withdrawn.

Another meaningful step would be a clear willingness to enter into discussions with the Government about remaining obstacles toward negotiation - instead of continuing the process of harping on pre-conditions.

2/...

Unbanning an organisation is not equal to approval of the policy of that organisation. It only means that the fight against such a policy has shifted to the political arena. The Government has moved the focus from violent conflict to public debate. That debate has now started and must take its course.

This debate is on issues vitally affecting all South Africans. It calls therefore for the participation not only of politicians. Especially as far as the economy of the new South Africa is concerned, all interested sectors such as economists, academics and business leaders must come forward and give account of themselves.

The ideologies as well as the political and economic systems of Communism and the Socialism and nationalisation of big industries propounded by the ANC have been discredited world-wide, in Eastern Europe, in Russia and in Africa. The naiveté and irresponsibility of advocating such utter failures for the new South Africa should be clearly exposed.

The need for socio-economic advancement and improved quality of life for all our people is generally accepted. But the new South Africa needs a viable and proven economic system to produce the growth and wealth needed for such advancement and improvement.

CAPE TOWN

13 FEBRUARY 1990

SOUTH AFRICA 2000 - WHAT IS TO BE EXPECTED

The scene was being set this week for changing the face of South African politics beyond recognition in the next decade.

Indications are that the days of Nationalist domination are numbered, that powerful new political alliances will emerge, new parties will be formed, existing parties will undergo a huge shake-up, and the racial divide in mainstream party politics will fade.

A major new factor behind the expected transformation will be the entry of the ANC and other unbanned groups into the political arena - and ultimately into parliamentary politics if the planned negotiations for a new constitution succeed.

Political experts foresee a range of possible scenarios, but all agree on one point: South Africa has entered a new political era and will never be the same again.

Changes they envisage include:

* The emergence of various power blocs or alliances across the political spectrum.
* A decline in the fortunes of "whites only" parties like the NP and the CP.
* The NP and the Democratic Party will move closer to each other and could ultimately merge into a coalition or some kind of alliance. Both parties may undergo a major shake-up, with factions hiving off to join other political groupings on the Left and the Right.
* A powerful new political grouping, spearheaded by the ANC and associated groups like the United Democratic Front, the Mass Democratic Movement and others will emerge on the Left of the spectrum
* A more militant right-wing grouping will take shape around the Conservative Party, but after an initial noisy and troublesome right-wing backlash the Right will decline and may even drift to the fringes of mainstream politics.

An indication of the extent of change expected by the Government came from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, this week when he told a Press briefing it was unlikely the National Party would be "in sole control" in 10 years time.

He suggested there could then be "some kind of coalition of parties".

He also envisages that within five years the present Government's

term of office blacks will either have full political rights or, at least, be involved in the process of gaining such rights.

And the Government accepts that the Population Registration Act - the pillar of official racial divisions in parliamentary politics - will have to lapse once a new constitution has been negotiated.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse spoke of the possibility of disbanding his party and allowing its members "freedom of choice" to join groupings like the ANC and the PAC once a new constitution is finalised.

Political scientist Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch, expects that within five years the party-political setup will already be "very different from what it is today". Past differences will be fading away, with more emphasis placed on ideological and other differences.

He expects that even the National Party, now all white, will eventually open its membership to people of other races or at least form alliances with groups including other races.

He believes three main political groupings will emerge. One will include the ANC and its associated organisations. Another will be a liberal grouping with the NP as nucleus and support also from DP defectors and possibly even Indians and Inkatha. A third grouping will be a white right wing with the CP as nucleus.

Right-wing politics, after an initial spurt of growth during its backlash to the reform initiatives, is likely to enter a period of decline. If the NP moved far enough with its reform initiatives it was likely to draw support from the DP, whose "thunder has already been stolen" by President de Klerk's reform announcements.

Differences between the NP and the DP were receding.

The overall trend, according to Professor Kotze, appears to be a movement towards majority rule, but all attempts are likely to be made to protect individual rights in a new constitution and through the formation of political alliances.

An important factor in the expected changes during coming years will be the economic factor.

"A democratic process cannot succeed if we do not have powerful foreign support and investment on a large scale. A large number of people previously excluded from the political process will

now be making democratic demands. We must have economic development so that the cake can be larger," he said.

Professor Marinus Wiecher, of the University of South Africa's department of constitutional law, expects the formation of political power blocs and various alliances in coming years.

However, he expects there will be a trend towards voluntary group formation on cultural lines; for example, an Afrikaans-English cultural group including people of colour; a predominantly black cultural group; and Indian groupings.

He also expects that white right-wing politics will decline in the long run. He thinks the expected right-wing backlash, with boycotts, mass meetings and protests against reform will backfire.

This kind of action will be so out of tune with mainstream politics that it will tend to drive right-wing groups to the fringes where they will stagnate.

The white right-wing will have hardly any political future if they are not prepared to negotiate.

"If anybody needs to negotiate, it is the right-wing, especially the CP. They should negotiate directly with the ANC."

Professor Albert Venter, of the Rand Afrikaans University's department of political science, says much will depend on how successful the NP will be in finding a workable political programme involving the black people.

There can be little doubt that the ANC is the most important political player amongst the black people and is likely to mobilise as many people as possible to its side.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
SUNDAY STAR
11 FEBRUARY, 1990

THE NEED FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. There has been a very considerable right-wing backlash in South Africa following Mr de Klerk's opening address to the South African Parliament on 2 February 1990. The danger posed to his administration by this reaction is very real and dare not be under-estimated. If there is no recognition in a concrete form, as opposed to faint, qualified praise, from abroad, Mr de Klerk risks losing the support of the electorate and being turned out of office. The consquences for South Africa and her relations with the West would be enormous. Not only would the recently announced measures be reversed but the whole political direction of South Africa would be turned about. There could be turmoil in South Africa and Western Governments would have a very different kind of leadership in South Africa to deal with. Mr de Klerk certainly needs signals of recognition. Real concessions in terms of sanctions, in recognition of the radical and enormously significant changes brought about by Mr de Klerk is therefore very much in the interests of the West, and not only South Africa.

2. The European Community has set conditions analogous to those applied to South Africa as prerequisits to Poland, Hungary and other East European countries to be drawn into closer association with the Community. In the case of Eastern Europe Members of the Community (eg. Foreign Minister Eyskens, Belgium) have made the point that to wait until all the conditions have been met before proceeding along the path of closer association and rendering vital assistance, would be to jeopardise the success of the Democratic Revolutions in those countries altogether. The same is true in South Africa. The present Government, not only by its words but also by its deeds, is irreversibly committed to its new vision for South Africa. In addition it is of importance to note that in a number of instances, the fulfilment of the remaining conditions is no more dependent on Government action than on appropriate responses from quarters such as the ANC. It is accordingly proposed to shortly deal with each of these remaining objections. The Government has stated that it hopes to end the State of Emergency, which currently applies equally to all parties and individuals in South Africa as a check on violence, within a matter of weeks. Its repeal will however depend on the situation on the ground and the level of politically-inspired violence. It is therefore clear that the repeal of the State of Emergency is not so much dependent on administrative action by the South African Government, as on the actions taken by various political groups and their adherents on the matter. In this respect Mr Mandela's renewed support for the "armed struggle" in his Cape Town speech, is particularly disappointing and is unhelpful in achieving the sort of internal climate

in which the State of Emergency can be repealed. The EC has an obvious role to play here in urging all groups to abandon violence and accept the South African Governments invitation to join it at the negotiating table.

3. With reference to the remaining conditions listed by the EC in 1985, which could be regarded as unfulfilled, the South African Government's view is presently as follows:

3.1 The release of Political Prisoners

All those imprisoned simply for being members of organisations now unbanned i.e. on ground of their political affiliation only, will be released. Those convicted of common law crimes or found guilty of statutory crime such as terrorism do not benefit from the amnesty. In the latter instance the Government has however indicated that it is prepared to consider the question of an amnesty for those convicted of crime, where a political motive was involved, as part of the process of negotiations.

3.2 Detention without trial

The State President announced on 19900202 that detentions under the emergency regulations would in future be limited to six months. The Minister of Law and Order has in addition indicated that the Government is also prepared to discuss the form and content of the Internal Security Act during negotiations.

4. South Africa however cannot afford to wait for Western recognition until every last condition, realistic or otherwise, set by the International Community has been met. It is submitted that the Government has now provided overwhelming and tangible evidence of its commitment to the abolition of apartheid. The Legislation which remain: Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act and Land Act, are all matters about which the Government has indicated its preparedness to negotiate. A one-sided repeal of these measures at this stage would however drastically affect the functioning of the present constitution and it is therefore the Government's view that these measures can only be considered within the context of the negotiation of a new constitution.

5. The South African Government has declared its willingness to negotiate a totally new constitution based on universal adult suffrage. Within this context, all actors, whether the ANC or the governing National Party, will be subject

to the same game rules. Future EC policy formulation will have to take cognizance of this fact and simplistic solutions whereby the former are compensated (through the "positive measures" programme) and the latter punished (via sanctions) have no further validity.

6. By persisting with sanctions, the West is continuing to identify itself with only one of the parties to the future negotiations envisaged. It runs the risk in this case of being held hostage by that party right down to the negotiating stage. This will not only act as a brake to negotiations but also stands to undermine negotiations if and when they begin, since that party will be able to maintain that it alone holds the key to opening the sanctions door.

7. The South African Government is committed to policies which are plain to all. Equally plain is that these political policies stand much less chance of success in a climate of economic stagnation. It is essential that the South African economy stage a rapid recovery and quickly develop a high rate of expansion, in order to accommodate the vast economic and social changes which will accompany the political changes, and to meet the aroused aspirations of the people. Instead of sanctions, capital inflow and aid is required now.

---ooOoo---

FAX NO : 0111

TO : AMBASSADOR RANCHOD
BRUSSELS

FROM : MR M DE MORGAN
S A EMBASSY
LONDON

DATE : 19900213

REF : B8/45/1

BBC TV 1 PANORAMA - FEBRUARY 12, 1990

TRANSCRIPT FOLLOWS FOR YOUR ATTENTION

(13 PAGES)

BBC TV 1

PANORAMA

FEBRUARY 12, 1990

21.30

ANNOUNCER:

In a change to the published programme, an extended Panorama. After the historic release of Nelson Mandela, David Dimbleby chairs a discussion with leading South African politicians and citizens live from Johannesburg.

[Later in the programme]

DAVID DIMBLEBY [Presenter]:
Mr Botha, as Foreign Minister, were you disappointed that there were no more concessions in what Mr Mandela has said, that it was interpreted as a rather tough line that he took in his opening speeches?

PIK BOTHA [South African Foreign Minister]:
No, I expected, more or less Mr Mandela's reaction. I really believe that we should look at his statement as a whole and not pick out individual sentences to try and push a particular point of view. Also, his press conference; basically he committed himself to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems, he stated categorically that he fought white domination and and he fought black domination.

I think in all, when you look at it, where he says that he hoped soon that the state of emergency could be lifted, implied that the ANC would then also change their position. These are all expectations and hopes.

DAVID DIMBLEBY:
But what would you say to Mr Creole [phonetic spelling] over there in the middle, though, who's very concerned that he didn't say that he was giving up the armed struggle, that he's been in gaol, he's been released and he's still committed to the armed struggle?

PIK BOTHA:
I think Mr Creole is entitled to his views. I'm not here to contradict him, I'm here to give you my opinion, and this is my opinion. I think if you look at the statement as a whole, Mr Mandela has a constituency.

He has just received his freedom, he's stated categorically that he first would wish to consult with his followers and with the executive committee, and people in executive positions with the ANC, all of this taken together means one thing, and that is that he would wish to achieve reconciliation. He said so in so many words.

[Later in the programme]

DAVID DIMBLEBY:

Mr Botha, I don't know whether you are inclined to answer that dead straight question: are you prepared to say whether you're going to resist one person, one vote in a unitary state?

PIK BOTHA:

You know, I'm getting a little bit tired of splitting hair and participating in rhetoric, to be quite frank.

The National Party, my Government has accepted that whatever constitution is to be agreed upon, must have majority support. How we are going to do it will be for the various parties and leaders to decide and to negotiate; no question about it. But for us, for me to get involved with a discussion with Mr Koos van der Merwe on one man, one vote, unitary system, etc., etc., what is wrong with my Government's point of view that whatever is eventually going to be agreed upon, must have majority support. That's clear, it's fundamental, it's elementary as easy as that. The South African Government is committed to the removal of discrimination, or apartheid. I said so as an Ambassador to the United Nations in '74. My maiden speech in Parliament, on which Mrs Suzman congratulated me - I hope she hasn't...

HELEN SUZMAN: [Interrupting]...The one and only time.

PIK BOTHA:

Well, at least it was there... as being on human rights and the necessity to ascribe to the universal declaration of human rights. I say it is not going to help any of us.

The events in Eastern Europe, with all respect to my ANC friends, if they think for one moment that some of the elements of their policies are going to be acceptable, the majorities of South Africans, including black South Africans, I say to them, they are in for a surprise. The events in Eastern Europe have proved, beyond any doubt whatsoever that their erstwhile colleagues and comrades are gone.

I say to them openly and without trying to be spiteful, we will all have to make concessions, we will all have to try to be tolerant. There was a friend there who said, we've got to try to put each other in each other's positions, we are prepared to do so.

I believe that the ANC does need a little time now; they know it, I don't say it in a challenging way. They haven't had time to consult with one another and I think the least we now try to challenge one another on any conditions, the better for all of us.

[Later in the programme]

PIK BOTHA:
Look, you know, we can argue about it all night.

DAVID DIMBLEBY:
Yes.

PIK BOTHA:
It is generally accepted throughout the world and inside this country, I can assure you that President de Klerk has just about gone all the way to remove the obstacles in the way of negotiation.

I do not say this is a perfect world, I talked against discrimination. There are many whites like me and Mrs Suzman and others who have fought and battled against aspects of these policies, so there are blacks. The President of Inkartha is one. There are few black leaders in this country who so relentlessly opposed apartheid as the President of Inkartha, and it was at times far more difficult to oppose him because he stood for peaceful change in this country. He was against violence all his life and it is sometimes far more difficult to oppose a man in that position.

[Later in the programme]

DAVID DIMBLEBY:

Pik Botha, what is the next stage? You've heard from members of the ANC and indeed the PAC that they don't think the time has come to start talking to this Government.

Could the Government, in effect, sit this out? You've let Mr Mandela go, you've un-banned all these organisations, are you now just, so to speak, sitting at the table with the door open through, and in the meantime we'll go on running the country in the way that we've run it?

PIK BOTHA:

No, I believe the reality will dawn upon all of us, but let me just say one thing: north of the Limpopo River there's still apartheid, and I want to say quite frankly to my black friends that the news is very bad in all the countries north of the Limpopo River. Go and check with the International Monetary Fund, go and check with the United Nations. I just wonder, what is to blame for the terrible economic retrogression. We're not going to get this country off the ground if we try to blame one another.

Blacks will have to learn that there are genuine white fears, as a result of the mess in the rest of Africa. I've always been straight; my black friends know it.

Whites will have to learn to get rid of their racial prejudice and I believe we can do it, I believe we are on the way to do it and I don't think we're going to gain anything from trying to compete who is to blame for the past. I've also grievances going back decades.

DAVID DIMBLEBY:

But you haven't answered my question, with respect, which is what happens now? The ANC, as I say, has been un-banned, they are sitting here in the studio able to talk for the first time for donkey's years in South Africa openly. You've said you want to negotiate, they've said you haven't yet done the things that need to be done. What actually will happen?

PIK BOTHA:

I'm very sorry, it's an over-simplification.

DAVID DIMBLEBY:

On their part?

PIK BOTHA:

The ANC did not say that. In terms of what Mr Mandela said, I think it was a moderate, balanced statement for a man who hasn't had freedom for 27 years and I think we all need a little time. We, in our party, I think also Inkartha, I think the other parties, there are many other parties in this country who will have to be consulted and eventually we will establish a framework for negotiations. This is what Mr Jesse Jackson and I discussed today. We will have to establish a framework, and within that framework would be grey areas; the ANC would have grey areas, we will have the return of what they call political, or rather,

political exiles and the release of political prisoners, I admit, it's a grey area. We'll have to establish a framework to talk about it and to rationalise that to each other's satisfaction.

So there are many grey areas and we're not going to wait to see whether some extraordinary force will save us, we need a little bit of time, all the parties. I have no doubt as to the future, because I know an overwhelming majority of black, white, coloured and Asian South Africans want peace; they want a peaceful solution, they want to get rid of apartheid and they want to come to an agreement that will uphold the economic strength of this country in the interest of all of us.

END

Pap Politic

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Verbatim Extract from Prime Ministers Questions
13 February 1990

Mr. Paddy Ashdown: "Will the Prime Minister tell the House how many of her Community or Commonwealth or American colleagues she consulted before her lonely call to remove sanctions over the weekend? Does she not think it rather odd that when she's asked to support unity and freedom in Germany she says there must be massive international consultation first, but when she's asked to maintain international sanctions on South Africa she is prepared to reject this unilaterally and alone?"

PM: "I don't think the Right Honourable Gentlement fully appreciates precisely what has happened. As far as United Nations sanctions are concerned, the Arms embargo, of course that stays in place because we are all agreed to it and bound by it. As far as Orders through the European Economic Community are concerned and passed through this House, that is, in particular, sanctions on Iron and Steel which suit some people but it is a sanction and has to be upheld and also on Kruger Rands, those are orders and those cannot be changed without full agreement. So I wrote to Mr. Haughey and received a letter back from him agreeing that the recent measures in South Africa are significant developments and that the EC Foreign Ministers should consider next week to what extent profound and irreversible changes can be said to have taken place in South Africa already which would justify a relaxation of the measures imposed by the Twelve. Those are orders which have gone through this House. The sanctions to which I am referring are the ones which are totally voluntary, namely a voluntary ban on investment from outside and also a voluntary arrangement that we do not try to encourage tourism. Those we are not bound to by Order of any kind.

I notice also, I was glad to see that the Archbishop of Canterbury also said, there needs to be some measure of encouragement that requires some release of sanctions, I think that would be understandable. That is the Archbishop of Canterbury. President Bush has made clear that he does not think that sanctions are necessarily the right answer in this new situation. He is bound by a law passed by Congress. Insofar as we are bound by laws, we uphold them, insofar as we are not we are free to release them."

SAB 5.

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FAX COVER SHEET

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P.08/90

Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

P MURNAGHAN

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9
8th february 1990

to holy see from hq
for ambassador from p murnaghan

south africa (your 18 to b hawkes)

ministers over lunch at foreign affairs council, brussels on 5 february discussed, at the initiative of british fm, president de clerk's speech to the south african parliament on 2 february. ministers agreed to issue a statement (copy being faxed to you) welcoming the measures announced by de klerk. they also however stated that they expected further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid.

there is no standard twelve procedure for distribution of twelve statements. you could if you like send a copy of the statement to the secretariat of state under cover of a compliments slip. we see no particular reason to bring it formally to the secretariat's attention.

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P MURNAGHAN

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cc'd. P. Murphy, T. Thompson, P. Murrenghan

TO HQ FROM EMBASSY HOLY SEE
FOR W. HAWKES (POLITICAL) FROM AMBASSADOR

1. BRITISH AMBASSADOR HERE HAS PHONED D. HANNON TO ENQUIRE IF WE HAVE DRAWN ATTENTION OF SECRETARIAT OF STATE TO EC STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA. PRESS SUMMARY OF 6TH FEBRUARY 1990 SAYS HURD EMERGED FROM MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS ON 5TH FEBRUARY WITH A SPECIAL EC STATEMENT WELCOMING THE MR DE KLERK INITIATIVE. WE HAVE NOT SEEN TEXT AND WOULD WELCOME CLARIFICATION ON ITS STATUS AND INSTRUCTION ON WHAT, IF ANYTHING, WE SHOULD DO WITH IT.

2. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, ATTENTION OF SECRETARIAT OF STATE WAS DRAWN TO TWELVE STATEMENT OF 31 JANUARY 1990 ON SETTLEMENT OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (IN ACCORDANCE WITH CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION FROM B. LYONS). I NOTIFIED COLLEAGUES HERE THAT THIS HAD BEEN DONE. WE TODAY DREW ATTENTION OF SECRETARIAT OF STATE TO TWO OTHER STATEMENTS OF 6TH FEBRUARY (ATTACK ON BUS CARRYING ISRAELI TOURISTS IN EGYPT AND FIGHTING ON CHRISTIAN TERRITORIES OF LEBANON), AGAIN ON CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION FROM B. LYONS, AND WILL SO ADVISE COLLEAGUES TOMORROW.

END

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p.a. SA Desk.

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TO ALL COREU ROUTINE
CPE PRES DUB 100
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ms Monaghan

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE
COPIES TO EC EMBASSIES

OBJET: STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA
REFERENCE: CPE/SEC 69

FOR THE SAKE OF GOOD ORDER, THE PRESIDENCY TRANSMITS THE TEXT IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH OF THE STATEMENT BY MINISTERS ON 5 FEBRUARY 1990 ON SOUTH AFRICA:-

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WELCOMED THE REFORMS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK ON 2 FEBRUARY. THEY LOOK FORWARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE MEASURES IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THEY ALSO EXPECT FURTHER MEASURES LEADING TO THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID. TO THE DEGREE THAT DIALOGUE IS INSTITUTED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE TWELVE WILL BE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN STRASBOURG ON 9 DECEMBER. THEY AGREED TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA ON THIS BASIS AT THEIR NEXT MEETING WHICH WILL BE DEVOTED TO ISSUES OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION, IN DUBLIN ON 20 FEBRUARY.

DECLARATION DES DOUZE SUR L'AFRIQUE DU SUD

LES MINISTRES DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES ONT ACCUEILLI AVEC SATISFACTION LES REFORMES ANNONCEES LE 2 FEVRIER PAR LE PRESIDENT DE KLERK. ILS S'ATTENDENT A CE QUE CES MESURES SOIENT MISES EN OEUVRE DANS UN AVENIR TRES PROCHE. ILS ESPERENT EGALEMENT QUE D'AUTRES MESURES CONDUISANT A L'ABOLITION TOTALE DE L'APARTHEID SERONT PRISES. EN FONCTION DE L'INSTAURATION D'UN DIALOGUE EN AFRIQUE DU SUD, LES DOUZE SERONT PRETS A RECONSIDERER LEUR POSITION, CONFORMEMENT A LA DECLARATION DES CHEFS DE GOUVERNEMENT FAITE A STRASBOURG LE 9 DECEMBRE. SUR CETTE BASE, ILS SONT CONVENUS DE DISCUTER DES DEVELOPPEMENTS EN AFRIQUE DU SUD LORS DE LEUR PROCHAINE REUNION, LE 20 FEVRIER A DUBLIN, QUI SERA CONSACREE A DES THEMES DE COOPERATION POLITIQUE EUROPEENNE.

COREU DIPLO DUBLIN
FIN DE TEXTE./.

,,,,

MRTY
CPE/SEC 69
02.90 1720Z

FOR INFORMATION

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE
COPIES TO EC EMBASSIES

AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENCY, THE EPC SECRETARIAT TRANSMITS THE FOLLOWING :

SUBJECT: EPC ITEMS AT THE 1384TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL, BRUSSELS, 5 FEBRUARY 1990.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL, MINISTERS HAD AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION AT LUNCH ON THE FOLLOWING EPC ITEMS:
.../...

Mabrouse
pls cc 12/Africa
SA Desk

mm 8/2

PAGE DEUX

SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND CSCE

MINISTERS HAD A DETAILED DISCUSSION ON THE SITUATION IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN PARTICULAR IN THE GDR, AND ABOUT THE CSCE PROCESS, ON THE BASIS OF A REPORT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FRG.

A BROAD CONSENSUS EMERGED ON THE NEED TO GIVE AN IMPULSE TO THE DYNAMIC PROCESSES OF, RESPECTIVELY, COMMUNITY INTEGRATION, THE CSCE, AND DISARMAMENT. AS FAR AS THE CSCE IS CONCERNED, SOME MINISTERS REPORTED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS COME TO AGREE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF A SUMMIT OF THE 35 TOWARDS THE END OF THIS YEAR, ON THREE CONDITIONS THAT ON THE WHOLE APPEAR TO BE MANAGEABLE:

- THAT AGREEMENT IS FIRST REACHED ON CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT

- THAT THE RIGHT TO FREE ELECTIONS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- THAT A 1990 SUMMIT IS CONSIDERED AS PREPARATORY TO THE HELSINKI SUMMIT.

A CONSENSUS EMERGED ON THE NEED FOR A CAREFUL PREPARATION BY THE TWELVE OF THIS YEAR'S SUMMIT MEETING.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ASKED THE PRESIDENCY TO PREPARE A STATEMENT WELCOMING THE RECENT DECISION OF THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT. HE PROPOSED THAT AT THE MINISTERIAL MEETING ON 20 FEBRUARY IN DUBLIN, THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA BE RE-EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS. THE PRESIDENCY INFORMED MINISTERS OF THE STATEMENT MADE IN GENEVA ON THIS POINT, IN THE COURSE OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE TWELVE AT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. OTHER MINISTERS SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL FOR A STATEMENT OF THE TWELVE, WHICH SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE ELEMENTS OF DISPUTE THAT ARE STILL PREVENTING THE RELEASE OF NELSON
.../...

MANDELA WILL BE RESOLVED, AND INDICATE THAT TO THE DEGREE THAT PROGRESS IS REGISTERED IN INSTITUTING A DIALOGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE EC TWELVE WILL BE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. THE MINISTERS SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED A STATEMENT ON THIS BASIS (ANNEXED BELOW).

CHINA

THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED THE NEED TO HAVE AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION ON RELATIONS WITH CHINA. HE PROPOSED THAT THE ITEM BE PUT ON THE AGENDA OF THE 20 FEBRUARY MEETING.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

THE PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER RECALLED THE INITIATIVE TO CONVENE IN LISBON A MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A MEETING WITH OTHER GUESTS. HE PROPOSED THE DATES OF 23/24 MARCH AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT MINISTERS OF THE TWELVE WOULD BE ABLE TO ATTEND.

DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES

THE PRESIDENCY RECALLED THAT THERE IS A DESIRE ON THE AMERICAN SIDE TO STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE TWELVE, AS HAS BEEN CONFIRMED RECENTLY BY SECRETARY BAKER TO MINISTER GENSCHER AND MINISTER HURD. THE PRESIDENCY RECALLED THAT IT HAD PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF EPC AND IN THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT. IT REPEATED ITS VIEW THAT APPROPRIATE WAYS SHOULD BE FOUND TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO AMERICAN CONCERNS AND THAT THE QUESTION WILL THEREFORE BE ON THE AGENDA OF THE FEBRUARY MINISTERIAL MEETING.

ANNEX

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WELCOMED THE REFORMS ANNOUNCED BY
.../...

PRESIDENT DE KLERK ON 2 FEBRUARY. THEY LOOK FORWARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE MEASURES IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THEY ALSO EXPECT FURTHER MEASURES LEADING TO THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID. TO THE DEGREE THAT DIALOGUE IS INSTITUTED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE TWELVE WILL BE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN STRASBOURG ON 9 DECEMBER. THEY AGREED TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA ON THIS BASIS AT THEIR NEXT MEETING WHICH WILL BE DEVOTED TO ISSUES OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION, IN DUBLIN ON 20 FEBRUARY.

SEC COREU
FIN DE TEXTE

TALSMANDSTJENESTEN - DIENST DES SPRECHERS SPOKESMAN'S SERVICE - SERVICE DU PORTE-PAROLE
ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ ΕΚΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΥ SERVIZIO DEL PORTAVOCE - DIENST VAN DE WOORDVOERDER

IP(90)88

**PRESSE-MEDDELELSE · MITTEILUNG AN DIE PRESSE · PRESS-RELEASE · INFORMATION A LA PRESSE
ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟ · INFORMAZIONE ALLA STAMPA · MEDEDELING AAN DE PERS**

Bruxelles, le 2 février 1990

9 41

AFRIQUE DU SUD

DECLARATION DE LA COMMISSION

La Commission se félicite des déclarations faites aujourd'hui par le Président sud-africain F.W. de Klerk. Les mesures qu'il vient d'annoncer constituent une contribution significative à la création des conditions nécessaires pour le grand dialogue national d'où devront émaner les changements profonds et irréversibles nécessaires pour l'abolition complète de l'Apartheid. Ce dialogue avec la participation de tous les représentants authentiques des différentes composantes de la population sud-africaine, est indispensable pour la création d'une nouvelle Afrique du Sud démocratique et multiraciale, à laquelle le Conseil européen de Strasbourg et les parties contractantes de la Convention de Lomé IV ont souscrit.

La Commission salue, notamment, la légalisation de l'ANC et des autres organisations appelées à jouer un rôle primordial dans ce dialogue et souhaite que Nelson Mandela soit maintenant libéré sans délai supplémentaire.

Pour que les négociations envisagées soient fructueuses, il faut l'abolition complète de l'état d'urgence et l'établissement du climat de confiance.

La Commission fait appel à tous les sud-africains et leurs organisations de ne pas compromettre le processus vers le dialogue.

La Communauté continuera à poursuivre activement sa politique visant à contribuer à l'abolition totale, par des moyens pacifiques, du régime de l'Apartheid. Comme déjà annoncé par le Conseil européen de Strasbourg, elle renforcera à cette fin son programme de mesures positives.

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SOUTH AFRICA

OFFICE COPY

POLITICAL KILLINGS BY SECURITY FORCE "DEATH SQUADS"

JANUARY 1990 SUMMARY AI INDEX: AFR 53/01/90
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In October and November 1989 three former members of the South African security police claimed in separate accounts that they had been involved in the early 1980s in the "death squad" murder of political opponents of the government. The first claim came from Butana Almond Nofomela shortly before he was due to be hanged in October 1989 for murder. The Minister of Justice granted a stay of execution while investigations into the defendant's allegations were conducted by the Attorney-General of the Orange Free State. Butana Almond Nofomela's allegations were corroborated by both his former commanding officer, Captain Dirk Johannes Coetzee, and David Tshikalange, a former member of Captain Coetzee's unit.

Amnesty International has previously expressed concern to the South African authorities about the murder of, and attacks upon, opponents of the government. It appears that in some of these cases "death squads" or government agents were involved in extrajudicial executions. The available evidence suggests the involvement of South African security forces in the murder of human rights activists and political opponents of the government in the first half of the 1980s and possibly more recently as well.

Amnesty International has asked State President F W de Klerk to order a full, independent, open and impartial inquiry into allegations that "death squads" linked to the security forces have carried out extrajudicial executions. Such an inquiry should have the power to compel witnesses to give evidence to it and to subpoena logbooks, patrol records and monitoring and surveillance records of uniformed and plainclothes security service personnel. It should make public as soon as possible the details of its investigations and findings. It should recommend for prosecution any individual against whom there is evidence of involvement in torture, "disappearances" or extrajudicial executions. On 7 December 1989 State President F W de Klerk said he was not prepared to order an inquiry by a senior judge, as some had urged: and no other independent inquiry has been conducted. Butana Nofomela pleaded guilty to the murder of Griffiths Mxenge in a December 1989 court hearing postponed until February 1990.

This summarizes a nine-page document, South Africa: Political Killings by Security Force "Death Squads" (AI Index: AFR 53/01/90) issued by Amnesty International in January 1990. Anyone wanting further details or to take action on this issue should consult the full document.

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19 January 1990

SOUTH AFRICA: POLITICAL KILLINGS BY SECURITY FORCE "DEATH SQUADS"

1. Introduction

Over the past decade there have been substantial numbers of killings of opponents of the South African government and its policies, which have been the subject of police murder inquiries, but which remain unsolved. A pattern of unsolved political killings inside South Africa developed from 1977 onwards for which anti-apartheid activists generally attributed to, or suggested were the work of the South African government or its agents. However, in most cases little or no evidence was available to substantiate such claims.

About 60 such killings have remained unsolved. In addition, there has been a pattern of killings of opponents of the South African government living outside South Africa, particularly activists belonging to the African National Congress (ANC), which is involved in armed opposition to the government. In contrast to the killings inside South Africa, which were regarded officially as murders and were therefore the subject of police investigations, the killings outside South Africa have not been the subject of any official investigation within South Africa. Some were acknowledged by the South African Defence Force (SADF) to have been committed during the course of military operations in neighbouring countries - for example in Maputo, Mozambique in 1981 when 31 people were killed, Lesotho in 1982 when 42 people, including South African refugees, were killed, and Botswana in 1985 when at least 12 people, including several South African refugees, were killed. Before this, South African forces had killed over 600 Namibians in a camp at Kassinga in southern Angola during military operations in 1978 against the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). Other killings were either not acknowledged or were denied by the South African authorities, for example the killing of Ruth First, an academic, anti-apartheid activist and wife of Joe Slovo, an ANC leader, with a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982.

Until recently, little hard evidence has been available to substantiate allegations of state or police complicity in killings of critics or opponents of the government inside South Africa. A murder trial in April 1988 of two police officers, Captain Jack Le Grange and Sergeant Robert Van der Merwe, revealed some evidence of police knowledge of "death squad" activity relating to a killing of an ANC member in Swaziland. Additionally, six police officers in the nominally-independent "homeland" of Ciskei were sentenced in 1989 to between two and 15 years' imprisonment for the murder in 1987 of Eric Mntonga, a regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) and a former prisoner of conscience. Evidence at the trial confirmed that members of the Ciskei Police Elite Unit and the Ciskei security police were involved in Eric Mntonga's murder in Mdantsane and the subsequent dumping of his body in his car outside King William's Town.

Much more evidence has become available recently. In October 1989

Butana Almond Nofomela, a former member of the South African security police, alleged in an affidavit signed on death row where he was awaiting execution that he had been a member of a "death squad" which had killed at least nine government opponents in South Africa and neighbouring countries. One of those killed, he said, was Griffiths Mxenge, a lawyer and human rights activist and former political prisoner murdered in 1981. These allegations were corroborated in November 1989 by Butana Nofomela's former commanding officer from 1980-1982, Captain Dirk Johannes Coetzee, and by David Tshikalange, a former member of the same police unit. Captain Coetzee reportedly said that he had knowledge of, or had taken part, in the assassinations of suspected ANC members, and described how victims' deaths were kept secret by their being poisoned or shot or their bodies being burnt. David Tshikalange admitted taking part in the Griffiths Mxenge murder and being based at a farm outside Pretoria where the "death squad", which was said to include defectors from the ANC known as "Askaris" (soldiers), had its headquarters.

The new testimony suggests strongly that the South African security forces were responsible for the unlawful killing of government opponents or critics in the early 1980s.It would also seem to give greater credence to claims that more recent killings may also have been carried out by the security forces or at their instigation.

Amnesty International has repeatedly urged the South African authorities to carry out thorough and independent investigations after individual political killings, but the official inquiries carried out generally have failed to make any progress in identifying those responsible. In December 1989 State President F W de Klerk refused to order a judicial inquiry into the allegations made by Butana Almond Nofomela and others. However, Amnesty International is continuing to urge the South African government to establish a full, open, independent and impartial inquiry into the circumstances in which critics and opponents of the South African government have been subject to attack and murder in recent years, and into allegations of security force involvement in such attacks and killings. It has further called for any police officers or other officials found to have been responsible for unlawful attacks or killings to be brought to justice and for prompt government action to ensure that further clandestine killings cannot take place.

2. Amnesty International's Concern over Assassinations Inside South Africa and in Neighbouring Countries

During the last decade Amnesty International has highlighted in the reports it publishes every year its concerns over unsolved political killings which might be extrajudicial executions by South African security personnel both within the country and in neighbouring states. For example in December 1982 the organization was concerned over killings in Lesotho when South African military forces attacked houses in the capital, Maseru, occupied by South African refugees, including ANC officials. In all, 42 people were known to have been killed, including at least 19 recognized refugees and four asylum-seekers from South Africa. Most of the victims were reported to have been unarmed and some were alleged to have been shot dead while asleep (Amnesty International Report, 1983).

In 1985 Amnesty International was concerned about several prominent opponents of the government who "disappeared" or were killed by unidentified assailants. In May 1985 three Port Elizabeth community leaders "disappeared" while driving to the local airport. Their families suspected that they had been detained by security police, but the police denied all responsibility. In June 1985 four community leaders from Cradock in the

Eastern Cape, including two former prisoners of conscience, Matthew Goniwe and Fort Calata, were abducted between Port Elizabeth and Cradock and subsequently found murdered. It was widely suggested that they and Victoria Mxenge, a human rights lawyer and wife of Griffiths Mxenge, shot dead on 1 August 1985, had been murdered by people acting on behalf of the authorities. The government denied any responsibility, and a police inquiry and an inquest which finished in 1989 failed to identify those responsible. Amnesty International appealed in 1985 for an inquiry into the reported existence of "death squads", but received no reply from the government (Amnesty International Report, 1986).

The following year Amnesty International reported on suspicions concerning security force involvement in several killings, committed during 1986,including that of Mamelodi community leaders Dr Fabian and Florence Ribeiro (Amnesty International Report, 1987). In 1988 Eric Mntonga's case was reported by Amnesty International, although police involvement in that killing had not at that time been established, as it was by the time of the 1989 report, which highlighted the death in unclear circumstances of six government critics. One of these was 18-year-old Godfrey Sicelo Dhlomo who was shot dead in Soweto in January 1988, five days after appearing in a United States television documentary alleging that he had been tortured while in detention. In June 1988 Stanza Bopape, a leading community activist "disappeared" in suspicious circumstances while in police custody. Police explanations that he had escaped from a police car while being taken to Vereeniging are regarded by many as unconvincing (see Amnesty International Report, 1989). As well as these and many other killings of government opponents, there have been 31 bomb blasts and arson attacks at the property of individuals or organizations known for their anti-apartheid stance, such as the attack on Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, in May 1988, and mysterious robberies of the offices of trade unions and political organizations.

There have been further assassinations of government opponents in 1989 including that of David Webster who was shot outside his Johannesburg home on 1 May with a single shot by a shotgun fired from a white car. At the time of his death, David Webster was writing about what he called "contra"-style assassinations and on human rights abuses in South Africa for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The assassination appeared to have been performed by a professional and well-informed squad, with access to information on Dr Webster's whereabouts and movements gained from close surveillance.

3. The Murder of Griffiths Mxenge

Griffiths Mxenge was a political prisoner on Robben Island for eight years in the 1960s. On his release he started his practice as a lawyer which included representing many political activists. In 1976 he was detained and held without trial for 103 days. At the time of his death he was a member of the Release Mandela Committee and Lawyers for Human Rights.

He was murdered on 19 November 1981 in Durban in a particularly brutal way. His wife, Nonyamezelo Victoria Mxenge said that the body was badly scarred, with "a cut-off ear", "ripped out stomach" and "bashed-in head". Some days before, two bull terrier dogs belonging to the family had been poisoned at the family home in Umlazi, near Durban. At his funeral in Rayi in the nominally-independent "homeland" of Transkei, all the speakers rejected media suggestions that the ANC, of which he was a former member, had murdered him because he had allegedly embezzled funds, and said that the brutal manner of his killing showed that his assassins had wanted to instill fear into other anti-apartheid activists. Subsequent police

inquiries made no progress in establishing responsibility for his murder. However, that responsibility has now been claimed by people who were at the time members of the South African security police. Butana Nofomela pleaded guilty to the murder of Griffiths Mxenge in a brief court hearing in Pietermaritzburg in December 1989 which was adjourned to 28 February 1990.

4. New Claims for Responsibility for Griffiths Mxenge's Killing

Butana Almond Nofomela was sentenced to death on 21 September 1987 for the murder in 1986 of a white farmer, which he denies having committed, claiming that he was falsely incriminated by the police. He says that during his period of imprisonment on death row he was visited several times by security police officers who assured him that steps were being taken to ensure he received a reprieve. After receiving notice of execution in mid-October 1989 he contacted Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), a non-governmental human rights organization of which Griffiths Mxenge was once a member, and swore an affidavit that since 1981 he had been "a member of security branch's assassination squad" and was involved in the killing of Griffiths Mxenge, as well as eight other opponents of the government. In his affidavit he alleged that he was one of four security police officers who murdered Griffiths Mxenge. Butana Nofomela was subsequently granted a stay of execution by the Minister of Justice, H J Coetsee, to last while his allegations were investigated, in particular his claim that he had been ordered by named senior officers in the Security Branch of the South African Police to eliminate opponents of the government, and had been paid for doing so.

The allegations were corroborated in November 1989 by Nofomela's commanding officer from 1980-1982, Captain Dirk Johannes Coetzee, and a colleague in the police unit to which the two belonged, David "Spyker" Tshikalange. Captain Coetzee was interviewed in Mauritius by the Afrikaans language newspaper Vrye Weekblad. He said he had knowledge of, or had taken part in assassinations of several suspected ANC members, both inside South Africa and in neighbouring states. This fitted with Butana Nofomela's claim that several of the extrajudicial executions of supposed ANC members in which he was involved took place outside the country - four in Swaziland, one in Lesotho and one in Botswana. David Tshikalange admitted taking part in several "death squad" murders including that of Griffiths Mxenge and described being based at the Vlakplaas farm near Pretoria where defectors from the ANC known as "Askaris" were sent, whom Captain Coetzee described as the core of the "death squad" operations.

Captain Coetzee described how murders were kept secret by the victims being poisoned or shot and their bodies being burnt. He also confirmed that letter bombs had been used by the security police to kill anti-apartheid activists such as Ruth First in Mozambique in 1982. He also described how explosives used to blow up the ANC offices in London were smuggled through the South African Embassy's diplomatic bag, an allegation denied by the South African government.

In his affidavit Nofomela gave a detailed description of the Griffiths Mxenge killing and the instructions he received from Captain Coetzee. In his own account Captain Coetzee identified several senior officers as being responsible for issuing him with instructions. In both accounts, Captain Coetzee told Nofomela that he and his three fellow assassins were to "eliminate" Mxenge and make the crime appear to have been a robbery by ordinary criminals. After keeping Griffiths Mxenge under surveillance for two days and poisoning his dogs, the assassins faked a breakdown of their "bakkie" (a local term for a pick-up truck) at a point that they knew the victim would pass and waited at their vehicle. He

reportedly stopped as expected and asked if he could help. Nofomela then opened the car door. He says that the lawyer was then taken to Umlazi stadium and hacked to death. "We all stabbed him several times. He immediately died and we carried on butchering him badly. We removed Mxenge's items of value like his money and watch in order to simulate a robbery."

According to Nofomela's account the murderers then took Mxenge's car, had false number plates fixed on it and eventually dumped it and set it alight near the Swaziland border. He claims that he and his fellow assassins were paid 1,000 Rand (US $1,250) each. He claims he was told he might be needed later to kill Mxenge's wife, but received no orders. Victoria Mxenge was murdered in 1985.

In addition to claiming involvement in and pleading guilty to Griffiths Mxenge's murder, Butana Nofomela stated that he was involved in the killing in 1985 of Japie Moponye, the brother of an ANC activist, who was murdered at Vlakplaas farm, Pretoria. He says he was also involved in killings in neighbouring countries.

Captain Coetzee has described other operations of the "death squads" in which he was involved, including the killing of one of two ANC members captured in the South African Defence Force (SADF) raid in 1980 on Maputo, Mozambique, after he was brought back to South Africa; the murder of anti-apartheid activist Patrick Makau and a small child in Swaziland in 1980 and an unsuccessful attempt to murder Chris Hani, military commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, in Lesotho.

Although neither Captain Coetzee or Butana Nofomela make any mention of involvement in murders committed after 1985, other killings committed subsequently bear all the signs of "death squad" assassinations, particularly the murder of four Cradock community leaders in 1985.

5. The Murder of the "Cradock Four"

Four prominent community leaders from Cradock disappeared on 27 June 1985 on their way home from a United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting in Port Elizabeth. The bodies of the four men, all schoolteachers - Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli - were found at different times and places near Bluewater Bay, outside Port Elizabeth, over the succeeding days.

Sicelo Mhlawuli had 25 stab wounds in his chest and seven in his back. His throat was cut and his right hand missing. He also had a gunshot wound in his head and extensive burns. Sparrow Mkhonto died of a gunshot wound in the head and a stab wound in his heart as well as other stab wounds in the chest. Fort Calata's death was also caused by stab wounds in the heart, and parts of his legs were missing. Matthew Goniwe also died from multiple stab wounds and burns. As well as the car being burnt out, a false number plate had been placed by the car.

The inquest into the deaths of the four finished in February 1989 with an open verdict: the magistrate concluded that the deaths were "brought about by a person, persons or group of persons unknown". He described allegations by the families of the deceased that members of the security forces were involved in the killings as "completely unfounded". The senior counsel for the families drew a rather different conclusion. He stated that it was known that before he set off for Port Elizabeth, Matthew Goniwe had telephoned a UDF member to say that he was coming, and that it was known that the telephone was tapped. "We know he said he would stop

only for the police or traffic officers", a promise he also made for the journey home. He claimed that the killings were not consistent with those perpetrated by ordinary robbers. He continued that a false number plate had been placed next to the car in the hope that the owner, Matthew Goniwe, would not be identified, and if the real number plate had not been left behind by mistake, the car would not have been identified and the bodies not found before decomposition.

The families' counsel concluded that whoever was responsible for the killings was sufficiently strong and well organized to be armed with guns and knives, to stop a car, overpower the occupants and take their bodies up to 14 kilometres from the car. Furthermore, they knew whom they were looking for and knew the area well, since the UDF members were led down remote paths in the Bluewater Bay area. Independent forensic experts indicated that there was no evidence that the car had been forced off the road and concluded that the four were alive when they were taken from the car.

There were claims that the men might have been killed as a result of rivalry between the UDF and a black consciousness organization, the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO), but counsel for the families of the deceased pointed out that there was no conflict between AZAPO and UDF in Cradock and that Matthew Goniwe had no links with the conflict that was taking place in Port Elizabeth. In a statement on 4 July 1985 Louis Nel, the Minister of Information, denied that the police or other state agents might have been responsible for the deaths and suggested that the four had been killed by a rival political organization. No further evidence is available yet to indicate who committed the murder.

6. Evidence of State Involvement in "Death Squads"

Evidence before 1989

Rumours of "death squads" had been current for some time before the recent evidence became available. In the mid 1970s, for example, General "Lang" Hendrik van der Bergh, the head of South Africa's national security service, claimed that he had men who would carry out killings for him. In the early 1980s, there were claims by former members of the Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), Mozambique National Resistance, an organization involved in armed opposition to the Mozambican government and given considerable assistance in the past by South Africa, that RENAMO's Secretary General, Orlando Cristina, was murdered by members of the South African security forces at a farm near Pretoria in 1983, as well as Mozambican airforce defector Adriano Bomba and his brother Boaventura.

Hard evidence to support such allegations before the confessions of Nofomela, Coetzee and Tshikalange was difficult to obtain, although there were a number of disquieting pointers. At the April 1988 murder trial of two policemen, Captain Jack Le Grange and Sergeant Robert Van der Merwe, incriminating evidence was revealed of police knowledge of death squad activity. Sergeant Van der Merwe admitted killing two suspected ANC members and drug smugglers, Bennie Ogle and Godfrey Pillay, on Captain Le Grange's orders. He expalined to the court that he had killed them without hesitation because, he said, " I knew it had happened before". The precedent he claimed to know of was the killing in Swaziland of ANC executive member Cassius Make. No official comment was made by the police about Sergeant Van der Merwe's admission to murder, for which he and Captain Le Grange were sentenced to death (their sentences were subsequently commuted).

After the murder of Dr Fabian and Florence Ribeiro (the sister of the late Pan African Congress (PAC) leader, Robert Sobukwe) in 1986, there were eye - witness accounts which indirectly incriminated the police. The witnesses said that a white Nissan Skyline car with the registration number GHN 107T had pulled up at the house before and after the assassinations. The vehicle was later shown to be registered in the name of the Commanding Officer of the Security Police branch in Schoeman Street, Pretoria, although it was registered as a Ford Cortina.

Recent Evidence

There is both material and circumstantial evidence to support the various allegations made by Butana Nofomela in his October 1989 statement to Lawyers for Human Rights. Members of Lawyers for Human Rights located a number of items in his home which appear to bear out his statement: for example they found a passport which contained an entry stamp into Swaziland, but no exit stamp. This is consistent with Butana Nofomela's claim to have entered Swaziland openly on an otherwide clandestine mission, but to have left the country secretly. In cases such as this, internal consistency in the various claims and allegations made by a former security operative may be one of the strongest indicators that his story is true.

Butana Nofomela also named other security force personnel he said were involved in "death squads" and who have been identified in quite different circumstances as playing a role in "anti-terrorist" squads. Some of the same people have been named by Captain Coetzee. Five of those police officers named as members of "death squads" have been relieved of their duties pending the results of investigations. Both Captain Coetzee and Butana Nofomela cite the same brigadier as being head of the security police assassination squads and being aware of all the activities in which Coetzee and Nofomela were engaged. This officer has been named in a court case as the head of the security police "C Section" at Pretoria and the officer who signed an authorization document on 3 June 1986 for an AK47 semi-automatic rifle to be used on an "anti-terrorist" mission in Durban by the special police unit "Section C1". On 20 October 1989, the day after he was informed by Lawyers for Human Rights that they were going to take a statement from Butana Nofomela, he announced his retirement from the security police at the end of October 1989, although the police have denied that this retirement has any connection with Butaana Nofomela's claims.

Further evidence of the existence of former ANC "Askari" guerrillas operating as police "death squads" came in the evidence of Bongani Abednego Jonas at a treason trial in June 1989. Bongani Jonas refused to testify for the prosecution in the trial after initially having agreed to do so. He described being captured by the "Askaris" or "A-Team" of former ANC guerrillas in September 1987. Such guerrillas may well have been trained in ANC camps in Tanzania, since "Askari" means "soldier" in Swahili, Tanzania's official language, and this name is used for the turncoats operating on behalf of the South African security forces.

According to Bongani Jonas the work of the "Askaris" was to "go into the townships acting on information from the security police and seek and kill their former colleagues". He believed there were at least two "Askari" units , one in Pretoria and one operating from East London. Another was to have been formed in Cape Town to which Bongani Jonas was told he would be recruited. This account was substantially corroborated by Captain Coetzee who said that there were five units being trained at Vlakplaas in 1980. "Each group comprised two white policemen, two black policemen and our rehabilitated terrorists. The blacks visited places... in their search for ANC guerrillas....[whom they] would kill or kidnap".

Similar allegations were made in Amsterdam in December 1989 by Mervyn Malan, who said he was an adopted cousin of South Africa's Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. Mervyn Malan described his work in a SADF unit known as Recce (Reconnaissance Commando). As well as describing operations in neighbouring countries, particularly against SWAPO, Mervyn Malan talked of special units of the SADF called kleinspanne (small teams) of black soldiers under white officers sent into South African townships to identify ANC "targets". He described how later "the operational group [of these teams] would get the targets", suggesting they were deliberately killed.

Although it is not conclusive proof, such claims add to the material and circumstantial evidence that units of the security forces have carried out deliberate killings of opponents of the government.

To this can be added the government's publicly admitted policy of attacking the ANC overseas. In February 1988 General Malan stated that "wherever the ANC is, we will eliminate it". This was followed by the murder in March 1988 of the Paris ANC representative, Dulcie September.

In 1988, in response to public criticism about the apparent lack of police activity on bombings and attacks and killings of anti-apartheid activists, Major-General Joubert of the South African Police's Criminal Investigation Division was appointed to head a special investigation into right-wing attacks on anti-apartheid organizations. He was subsequently appointed to head inquiries into the death of David Webster, although it was not until late 1989, after Butana Nofomela's allegations were published, that the authorities announced several arrests in connection with the inquiries into the deaths of David Webster and of Anton Lubowski, a lawyer and SWAPO member murdered in 1989 in Namibia. Those arrested were Calla Botha and Ferdie Barnard both ex-policemen, and also an Irish national, Donald Acheson. On 6 December 1989 police announced that five people described as "extreme right-wingers" had been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act (ISA) in connection with the discovery of a large arms cache and a hit-list of prominent South Africans.

7. Amnesty International Concerns and Appeals to the South African Government

Amnesty International is urging that the investigation into all the claims about the operations of "death squads", in particular the allegations of Butana Almond Nofomela, Dirk Johannes Coetzee and David Tshikalange, should be a full and open judicial inquiry, should be clearly independent and impartial and that details of the investigation as well as its findings, should be made public as soon as possible. In the context of South Africa, the most appropriate person to carry out such an inquiry would probably be a senior judge, heading a judicial inquiry. Judicial inquiries have investigated the activities of the security forces in the past, for example following the killing of over 40 demonstrators by soldier's in the township of Langa, near Uitenhage, in 1985. However, the country's parliament, composed of representatives of the white, "coloured" and Indian communities, but excluding any black South Africans, could decide also to launch a parliamentary inquiry.

Amnesty International's Secretary General wrote to State President de Klerk on 29 November 1989 reiterating the organization's concern that unlawful killings of government opponents or critics appear to have been carried out by agents of the government, acting under orders or on their own account, and may thus constitute extrajudicial executions. Amnesty International's Secretary General noted that the South African government

had appointed the Attorney-General of the Orange Free State, assisted by a senior police officer, to investigate the allegations made by Butana Nofomela. He urged State President de Klerk not only to make the results of this internal investigation public as soon as possible, but to set up a full, independent, open and impartial inquiry to be conducted by a Supreme Court judge, assisted by other persons whose independence, competence and impartiality would command widespread respect. Since that time, the Attorney-General of the Orange Free State has handed in his report which remains secret.

An open judicial inquiry would, in Amnesty International's experience, be able to overcome any obstacles which the units responsible for clandestine security service operations may put in its way more effectively than an internal police inquiry, and would have a wider scope than a murder trial of self-confessed member of a "death squad". A judicial inquiry should also be authorized to examine recent murders of government critics, as well as the killings for which three former members of the security forces have claimed responsibility. Amnesty International is particularly concerned that security force personnel might still be acting effectively as "death squads" in South Africa, and considers that a judicial inquiry would be an appropriate body to examine this possibility.

In terms of procedure, any inquiry should have the following characteristics:

- it should have the power to compel witnesses to give evidence before it, and to subpoena logbooks, patrol records, and monitoring and surveillance records of uniformed and plainclothes security force personnel;

- the right to appear before the inquiry with appropriate safeguards should be available to all relatives of alleged victims of extrajudicial executions or "disappearances", and other persons or organizations acting on their behalf or having pertinent evidence to submit;

- the inquiry should be capable of acting on its own initiative, without having to receive formal complaints, since otherwise its findings may be limited by the reluctance of some witnesses and possible victims to come forward with complaints;

- the inquiry should examine the security forces existing system for checking on the issue of arms and ammunition to the security forces, as well as their use,including ensuring that paraffin tests are carried out on the hands of security personnel after unexplained shootings.

Despite the advantages of a judicial inquiry over many other types, on 7 December 1989 State President de Klerk announced his refusal to set up such an inquiry, claiming that it would take too long to complete its investigations.

Clearly a judicial inquiry is not the only one which could conduct a thorough and impartial investigation of the claims that the security forces have organized unlawful killings by clandestine units. However, it is important that any inquiry should be clearly impartial and independent.

Billy Hawkes

M. U.N. OF IRELAND NYC TO: 780628 FEB 2, 1990 4:31PM #085 P.06

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

ANC

de Klerk speech

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO AND OTHER LEADERS
OF THE ANC CURRENTLY VISITING SWEDEN

TODAY, PRETORIA'S PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK MADE IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS WHICH GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS CREATING A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS.

WE WELCOME THE LIFTING OF THE BANS ON THE ANC AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS. WE ALSO WELCOME OTHER POSITIVE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY E KLERK SUCH AS THE SUSPENSION OF THE DEATH SENTENCE, THE OF SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE ENDING OF MEDIA AND THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON EX-DETAINEES

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Pres. de Klerk Speech to Parliament

2 Feb 90

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

deKlerk speech

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE ANC CURRENTLY VISITING SWEDEN

TODAY, PRETORIA'S PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK MADE IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS WHICH GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS CREATING A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS.

WE WELCOME THE LIFTING OF THE BANS ON THE ANC AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS. WE ALSO WELCOME OTHER POSITIVE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY FW DE KLERK SUCH AS THE SUSPENSION OF THE DEATH SENTENCE, THE RELEASE OF SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE ENDING OF MEDIA RESTRICTIONS AND THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON EX-DETAINEES.

WE ARE HOWEVER GRAVELY CONCERNED THAT THE PRETORIA REGIME HAS TAKEN THE DECISION THAT SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL NOT BE RELEASED, THAT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IS NOT LIFTED IN ITS ENTIRETY AND THAT THE PRACTICE OF DETENTION WITHOUT TRAIL WILL CONTINUE.

THESE DECISIONS SUBTRACT RATHER THAN ADD TO THE PROCESS OF CREATING THE PROPER POLITICAL CLIMATE. THEY MUST BE REVIEWED AND CHANGED WITHOUT DELAY.

WE URGE THE PRETORIA REGIME TO RELEASE NELSON MANDELA WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY. QUESTIONS CONCERNING HIS PERSONAL SECURITY CANNOT BE AND ARE NOT THE EXCLUSIVE CONCERN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. THEY MUST BE DECIDED TOGETHER WITH HIS ORGANISATION, THE ANC.

THE ANC WILL TAKE URGENT MEASURES TO REVIEW THE NEW SITUATION THAT HAS EMERGED. TO DETERMINE THE STEPS WE HAVE TO TAKE TO MOVE OUR COUNTRY FURTHER FORWARD TOWARDS FINALLY ENDING THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THIS WILL INCLUDE A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION WITH THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF OUR COUNTRY AND ALL OTHER ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES.

THE NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD MUST CONTINUE TO DEPEND ON ENDING THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. WE THEREFORE EXPECT THAT NO COUNTRY COMMITTED TO ENDING WHITE MINORITY DOMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL DO ANYTHING TO LESSEN THE ISOLATION OF THE APARTHEID REGIME.

THE ANC REMAINS COMMITTED TO DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO END THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, AND BY ALL MEANS POSSIBLE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS.

THE REVIEW OF THE NEW SITUATION WILL THEREFORE INCLUDE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS OF GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

THIS SITUATION ALSO CALLS FOR THE GREATEST UNITY OF ALL FORCES WITHIN OUR COUNTRY THAT ARE COMMITTED TO THE PERSPECTIVE OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA. WE THEREFORE CALL ON ALL OUR PEOPLE TO WORK FOR THIS UNITY WITH EVEN GREATER VIGOUR.

FEBRUARY 2, 1990

801 Second Ave., Suite 405, N.Y., N.Y. 10017 Tel (212) 490-3487 Tlx:225602 Fax: (212) 972-6499

de Klerk 2 Feb speech 2/2/90 198(3)

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I was greatly encouraged by the speech which President De Klerk delivered to the South African Parliament on Friday in which he announced among other measures that Nelson Mandela would be unconditionally freed from prison soon, and that restrictions would be lifted on the activities of anti-apartheid organizations including the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

This is a promising beginning to a process which I hope will lead to the dismantling of apartheid and the building of a non-racial democracy in which all the citizens of South Africa, regardless of race or colour, will be able to participate fully, a system which would ensure justice and equality for all.

2 February 1990

198(5)

2 February 1990

Pl for Parliament

PRESIDENT OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY
COMMENTS ON EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The President of the UN General Assembly, H.E. Major-General Joseph N. Garba has expressed as "most welcome" the announcement by the South African President to lift the ban on the African National Congress and other political groups, and the impending unconditional release of Mr. Nelson Mandela.

However, Mr. Garba feels that while the South African President has gone a long way towards meeting the conditions for negotiations outlined in the consensus declaration of the UN Special Session on Apartheid, apartheid has not yet been removed in South Africa. He calls for the maintainance of pressure against the South African regime, and continued support for the opponents of apartheid, until apartheid is completely dismantled.

He is certain that Mr. Mandela's release, and his participation in the negotiating process, will be a catalyst for further changes that would lead to a peaceful non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Billy Hawkes
Political Division
DFA

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SA Desk -
pocket on
de Klerk speech

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Forwarded with the compliments of

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We spoke.

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AS YOU POINT OUT, US POLICY VIS A VIS SANCTIONS ON
IS GOVERNED BY THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID AC

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF 18 FEBRUARY:

BEGINS

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF FEBRUARY 10 CONCERNING PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY 2 AND THE THEN IMPENDING RELEASE OF MR NELSON MANDELA. I FIND MYSELF IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH YOUR EVALUATION OF THE STEPS PRESIDENT DE KLERK HAS TAKEN SINCE HE TOOK OFFICE LAST YEAR. HIS DECISIONS ARE UNPARALLELED IN THE LAST 40 YEARS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY. THEY INDICATE TO US THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS SERIOUS ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT DE KLERK UNDERSTANDS CLEARLY THE WAY FORWARD FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IS THROUGH NEGOTIATINS AND IS MOVING TOWARDS THEM. I ALSO SHARE YOUR CONCERN THAT THE VARIOUS OPPOSITION GROUPS NOT PASS UP THIS OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS. WE ARE URGING THEM TO DO SO WITHOUT GETTING BOGGED DOWN INDEFINATELY IN DISPUTES OVER WHETHER OR NOT ALL DEMANDS ON PRECONDITIONS MUST BE MET COMPLETELY BEFORE A DIALOGUE CAN BEGIN.

I SOUGHT TO GIVE A BOOST TO THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS THROUGH PHONE CALLS TO DE KLERK AND MANDELA, INVITATIONS FOR THEM TO VISIT WASHINGTON, AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS APPLAUDING DE KLERK'S BOLD LEADERSHIP. IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE STEPPING-UP OFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS CONTINUING TO REACH OUT TO A BROAD SPECTRUM OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

AS YOU POINT OUT, US POLICY VIS A VIS SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA IS GOVERNED BY THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986. THOUGH THE PROGRESS MADE BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK IN PREPARING THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN HAS BEEN REMARKABLE, THE ACTIONS OF HIS GOVERNMENT DO NOT YET FULFIL ALL THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED BY OUR LAW. NEVERTHELESS, I FEEL STRONGLY THAT WHEN SOMEONE DOES WHAT YOU HAVEE BEEN ASKING OF HIM, YOU RECOGNISE THAT FACT. ON OUR PART, JUST AS WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO OBEYING OUR LAW, WE WILL NOT MOVE THE GOALPOSTS WHICH THE CONGRESS SET IN 1986. WHEN THE CRITERIA WAS ESTABLISHED BY OUR LAW HAVE BEEN MET, WE PLAN TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS. OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE THEIR OWN SET OF REQUIREMENTS IN THIS REGARD. WE ALL SHARE THE OBJECTIVE OF ENCOURGING THE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN PARTIES TO NEGOTIATIONS. I BELIEVE THE STEPS YOU ARE TAKING ARE POSITIVE ONES, AND THAT EACH OF US SHOULD PROCEED TO RECOGNISE PROGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE MANNER ALLOWED BY OUR OWN INDIVIDUAL CIRCUMSTANCES

ENDS

pls cc UNSG
SA Dec - de K speech

United Nations

Press Release

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

GA/AP/1959
2 February 1990

ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE WELCOMES MEASURES ANNOUNCED TODAY BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Following is a statement issued today by Acting Chairman Glodys Saint-Phard (Haiti) of the Special Committee against Apartheid:

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the significant measures announced today in Parliament by F.W. De Klerk: the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid organizations, the release of certain political prisoners, the suspension of the imposition of the death penalty and the relaxation of media restrictions, as well as the announcement of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, the appropriate climate for negotiations can only be created when the following measures are also implemented, as set forth in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989: the end of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; the removal of all troops from the townships and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

We expect that the international community, recognizing the importance of the decisions announced by Mr. De Klerk, will, none the less, remain fully aware that the system of apartheid, which cannot be reformed, remains intact.

So long as the principles and objectives for negotiations as set out in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa are not met, the Special Committee against Apartheid deems entirely premature any change of policy by the international community towards the apartheid regime.

* *** *

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From: P. Murnaghan

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Briefing Points

- It is fully acknowledged that in his statement on 2 February President de Klerk announced a number of positive and encouraging measures, which go quite some way towards creating a climate in which negotiations with the black community on a new South Africa could take place.

- The significant points in the statement were:

  - the legalisation of the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party as well as the lifting of restrictions under the emergency regulations on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the trade union movement, COSATU;

  - a moratorium on executions, greater judicial discretion in the imposition of the death penalty, and an automatic right of appeal for those sentenced to death;

  - the release of political prisoners, excluding, however, persons sentenced for murder, terrorism or arson; the limiting of the period of detention without trial to six months and the granting of a right to legal representation to detainees;

  - the repeal during the current session of Parliament of the Separate Amenities Act, 1953.

- These measures, together with release of Mandela on 11 February, meet some of the basic demands which Ireland and the Twelve have long stated to be necessary for the establishment of a climate conducive to genuine negotiations. They should not, however, cloud the fact that other steps have not so far been taken and that the fundamentals of apartheid still remain firmly in place. The state of emergency, for example, has not been lifted and President de Klerk took no action on the repeal of such fundamental legislation as the Group Areas Act or the Population Registration Act.

- The Twelve have set as their objective the complete abolition of apartheid and they agreed at the European Council in Strasbourg last December "to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained."

- It is against this background that Ministers for Foreign Affairs issued their statement on 5 February welcoming the reforms announced by de Klerk. They indicated that "to the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position" (in particular, on sanctions), in accordance with the European Council statement. From an Irish perspective, the time is not yet ripe for a relaxation of pressure.

P.08/90

Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

DRAFT
REV. II
9.12.89

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Strasbourg, 8-9 December 1989)

DECLARATION BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa has, for a year, been the scene of developments of such importance as consistently to demand the attention of the Twelve.

1. The most obvious of these concerns Namibia. Almost a year ago the signature of the New York Agreements opened the way for implementation of Resolution 435 as the Twelve have constantly wished. Up to now the transitional process has unfolded in a satisfactory manner and the Twelve wish, on this occasion, to express their appreciation of the vital role played by the Secretary General of the UN and his Special Representative for Namibia. The first valid and free elections have permitted the appointment of a Constituent Assembly which truly reflects the wishes of the Namibian people. The foundations of the new state are taking shape before our eyes.

Independent Namibia's needs will be significant. The Community and its member States are already prepared to contribute to meeting these through appropriate aid programmes. This effort will be in addition to the assistance envisaged by all of the member States on a bilateral level. Namibia will also be welcomed into the new Lomé Convention as soon as it expresses a wish to join it. The Troika has already made known this position to the representatives of the ACP States at their recent Ministerial meeting to discuss southern Africa.

2. A measure of progress has also been achieved in the process of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. A favourable international climate has been availed of with courage and determination on the part of those with authority in these two States in order to make significant advances on the road to peace. The recent mission of the Troika of Political Directors to Angola brought out the real will of the leaders of this country to put an end to the conflict which has for too many years encumbered the economic development and well-being of its people.

The Community and its member States are resolved to match these developments by efforts to aid the reconstruction and development of both these countries.

3. Finally, in South Africa, President De Klerk's accession to power has been followed by several acts of clemency and a degree of freedom of expression which the Twelve have welcomed. These measures, however, are still insufficient with respect to the immense task posed by the dismantlement of apartheid. The objective of the Twelve remains the achievement through peaceful means of a democratic and multiracial system in South Africa. In this regard they support any process which can lead rapidly to the cessation of violence on all sides and to a dialogue between the parties. Only broad-based negotiations bringing together the true leaders of the different constituent parts of the South African people can result in a lasting settlement. In this respect the Conference for a Democratic Future, which is being held in Johannesburg from 9 to 12 December, is a step in the right direction.

In this context the Community and its member States have recalled their support for the programme of positive measures intended to help the victims of apartheid. With a view to preparing for the developments which are inescapable in South Africa, this programme will be strengthened over the next two years by granting new scholarships for study in Europe and in multi-racial South African universities. The purpose of this action is to facilitate exchanges between the different communities while allowing their least privileged members to attain a better level of education and thus to contribute to the training of the skilled personnel of which a multi-racial South Africa will have crucial need in the medium term.

The Community and its member States have, moreover, decided to maintain the pressure that they exert on the South African authorities in order to promote the profound and irreversible changes which they have repeatedly stood for and to reconsider it when there is clear evidence that these changes have been obtained.

A new South Africa, free from racial discrimination, in which all South Africans can live in peace and harmony and enjoy equal rights, is not a Utopian ideal. Its achievement will also be of vital importance to the peace, stability, security and economic development of the whole region and will allow South Africa once more to find its proper place within the international community.

Statement on South Africa issued by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve on 16 September 1986

1. The Foreign Ministers of the Twelve reviewed their policy towards South Africa in the light of decisions adopted at The Hague European Council on 26/27 June. They heard a report from Sir Geoffrey Howe on the mission to the region which he undertook at the request of Heads of State and Government.

2. Ministers expressed their grave concern that the situation in South Africa appeared to have entered a new phase of increased tension under the State of Emergency. They shared the widespread anxiety within the member States over reports of the conditions in which some detainees are being held. They once again condemned the practice of detention without trial. They called for the release of all people so detained under the State of Emergency, which they wished to see brought to an end.

3. The Ministers underlined the importance they attached to the strengthening and more effective co-ordination of the positive measures being taken to assist the victims of apartheid both by member States and by the Community itself. They noted that the draft Community budget for 1987 forwarded to the European Parliament by the Council on 10 September contained an increased provision for the Community programme, with particular emphasis on training.

4. Ministers reaffirmed the urgent need for a genuine national dialogue, across lines of colour, politics and relgion. They deplored the fact that the South African Government was not yet prepared to ake the steps necessary to make this possible. Two steps in particular were identified at The Hague:

- the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;

- the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties.

They undertook to work towards a programme of political action designed to promote the achievement of these objectives.

5. In view of the South African Government's failure to respond and after consultation with other industrialised countries Ministers decided that the Twelve should now proceed to adopt a package of restrictive measures on the lines envisaged at The Hague. This consists of bans on new investment and on the import of iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa. On implementation, they took an immediate decision to suspend imports of iron and steel in the famework of the ECSC Council with effect from 27 September. Ministers also decided to ban the import of gold coins originating in South Africa and new investments in that country, without prejudice to the means of implementation of these measures which will be the subject of further examination by the Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Political Committee.

6. Most partners were also willing to implement a ban on the import of coal from South Africa if a consensus on this could be achieved. On this question, the Presidency will continue to seek consensus on the basis of the statement made by The Hague European Council.

Measures taken by the Twelve against South Africa

The 1985 measures combined both positive and restrictive measures comprised:

1. **Restrictive measures**:

- A rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and para-military equipment from the RSA.
- Refusal to cooperate in the military sphere.
- Recall of military attaches accredited to the RSA, and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from the RSA.
- Discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it; and freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting and security spheres.
- Cessation of oil exports to the RSA.
- Cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces of the RSA.
- Prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector.

2. Positive Measures

- Code of conduct : adaptation, reinforcement and publicity.
- Programmes of assistance to non-violent anti-apartheid organisations, particularly to the churches.
- Programmes to assist the education of the non-white community, including grants for study at the universities in the countries originating the programmes.
- Intensification of contacts with the non-white community in the political, trade union, business, cultural, scientific and sporting sectors, etc.
- Programmes to assist the SADCC* and the Front-Line States.
- Programme to increase awareness among the citizens of Member States resident in the RSA.

* South African Development Co-ordination Conference

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P.08/90 Brussels, 5 February 1990

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ri-a-DeKlerk-reforms
Wh.t De Klerk announced

CAPE TOWN, Feb 2 (AFP) - The most spectacular moves announced day by South African President Frederik de Klerk were the ending a 30-year-ban on the African National Congress and plans onditionally to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr. De Klerk also unbanned the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), a al to the guerrilla-backed ANC, and the ANC's partner, the South ican Communist Party.

He also announced:

- the scrapping of restrictions on 33 restricted organisations, luding the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of th African Trade Unions (COSATU)
- the release of political prisoners, excluding murderers, rorists and arsonists
- an end to press restrictions, although pictures of violence l still be under "effective control"
- the abolition of powers to restrict prisoners after their ease, with 374 immediate beneficiaries
- a six-month limit on detention without trial
- a moratorium on executions
- a discretionary rather than mandatory death penalty for der, with an automatic right of appeal
- an end to the state of emergency "as soon as circumstances tify it"
- the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act reserving choice ilities for whites.

ms/nb/ak

AFP 021619 GMT FEB 90

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION

DRAFT
REV. II
9.12.89

EUROPEAN COUNCIL
(Strasbourg, 8-9 December 1989)

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1. The most obvious of these concerns Namibia. Almost a year ago the signature of the New York Agreements opened the way for implementation of Resolution 435 as the Twelve have constantly wished. Up to now the transitional process has unfolded in a satisfactory manner and the Twelve wish, on this occasion, to express their appreciation of the vital role played by the Secretary General of the UN and his Special Representative for Namibia. The first valid and free elections have permitted the appointment of a Constituent Assembly which truly reflects the wishes of the Namibian people. The foundations of the new state are taking shape before our eyes.

Independent Namibia's needs will be significant. The Community and its member States are already prepared to contribute to meeting these through appropriate aid programmes. This effort will be in addition to the assistance envisaged by all of the member States on a bilateral level. Namibia will also be welcomed into the new Lomé Convention as soon as it expresses a wish to join it. The Troika has already made known this position to the representatives of the ACP States at their recent Ministerial meeting to discuss southern Africa.

2. A measure of progress has also been achieved in the process of national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique. A favourable international climate has been availed of with courage and determination on the part of those with authority in these two States in order to make significant advances on the road to peace. The recent mission of the Troika of Political Directors to Angola brought out the real will of the leaders of this country to put an end to the conflict which has for too many years encumbered the economic development and well-being of its people.

The Community and its member States are resolved to match these developments by efforts to aid the reconstruction and development of both these countries.

3. Finally, in South Africa, President De Klerk's accession to power has been followed by several acts of clemency and a degree of freedom of expression which the Twelve have welcomed. These measures, however, are still insufficient with respect to the immense task posed by the dismantlement of apartheid. The objective of the Twelve remains the achievement through peaceful means of a democratic and multiracial system in South Africa. In this regard they support any process which can lead rapidly to the cessation of violence on all sides and to a dialogue between the parties. Only broad-based negotiations bringing together the true leaders of the different constituent parts of the South African people can result in a lasting settlement. In this respect the Conference for a Democratic Future, which is being held in Johannesburg from 9 to 12 December, is a step in the right direction.

In this context the Community and its member States have recalled their support for the programme of positive measures intended to help the victims of apartheid. With a view to preparing for the developments which are inescapable in South Africa, this programme will be strengthened over the next two years by granting new scholarships for study in Europe and in multi-racial South African universities. The purpose of this action is to facilitate exchanges between the different communities while allowing their least privileged members to attain a better level of education and thus to contribute to the training of the skilled personnel of which a multi-racial South Africa will have crucial need in the medium term.

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- the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political parties.

They undertook to work towards a programme of political action designed to promote the achievement of these objectives.

5. In view of the South African Government's failure to respond and after consultation with other industrialised countries Ministers decided that the Twelve should now proceed to adopt a package of restrictive measures on the lines envisaged at The Hague. This consists of bans on new investment and on the import of iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa. On implementation, they took an immediate decision to suspend imports of iron and steel in the famework of the ECSC Council with effect from 27 September. Ministers also decided to ban the import of gold coins originating in South Africa and new investments in that country, without prejudice to the means of implementation of these measures which will be the subject of further examination by the Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Political Committee.

6. Most partners were also willing to implement a ban on the import of coal from South Africa if a consensus on this could be achieved. On this question, the Presidency will continue to seek consensus on the basis of the statement made by The Hague European Council.

Measures taken by the Twelve against South Africa

The 1985 measures combined both positive and restrictive measures comprised:

1. **Restrictive measures**:

- A rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and para-military equipment from the RSA.
- Refusal to cooperate in the military sphere.
- Recall of military attaches accredited to the RSA, and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from the RSA.
- Discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it; and freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting and security spheres.
- Cessation of oil exports to the RSA.
- Cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces of the RSA.
- Prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector.

2. Positive Measures

- Code of conduct : adaptation, reinforcement and publicity.
- Programmes of assistance to non-violent anti-apartheid organisations, particularly to the churches.
- Programmes to assist the education of the non-white community, including grants for study at the universities in the countries originating the programmes.
- Intensification of contacts with the non-white community in the political, trade union, business, cultural, scientific and sporting sectors, etc.
- Programmes to assist the SADCC* and the Front-Line States.
- Programme to increase awareness among the citizens of Member States resident in the RSA.

* South African Development Co-ordination Conference

With Compliments

CONSULATE GENERAL OF IRELAND

PRIVATE BAG A67 • MASERU 100 • LESOTHO

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STREET ADDRESS: 2ND FLOOR, LESOTHO BUILDING FINANCE
CORPORATION, KINGSWAY, MASERU

Rec'd 13/2/90

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STATE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH
AFRICA, HIS EXCELENCY MR. F.W. DE KLERK,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF PARLIAME

THE GOVERNMENT OF LESOTHO VIEWS THE MEASUR
ANNOUNCED AS VERY ENCOURAGING AND CONDUCI
TO A HEALTHY CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS LEA
TO A NON-RACIAL AND PEACEFUL SOUTH AFRICA
IT IS HOPED OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES WILL
BE GIVEN URGENT ATTENTION.

cc P. Mueneghan

PRESS RELEASE

THE GOVERNMENT OF LESOTHO HAS NOTED WITH APPRECIATION THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE STATE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, HIS EXCELENCY MR. F.W. DE KLERK, ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LESOTHO VIEWS THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED AS VERY ENCOURAGING AND CONDUCIVE TO A HEALTHY CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO A NON-RACIAL AND PEACEFUL SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS HOPED OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES WILL BE GIVEN URGENT ATTENTION.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
2nd February, 1990.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MASERU

LGL
AA0358 3 I 0220 /AFP-FZ79
Afri-a-DeKlerk-reforms
Wh_t De Klerk announced

CAPE TOWN, Feb 2 (AFP) - The most spectacular moves announced riday by South African President Frederik de Klerk were the ending f a 30-year-ban on the African National Congress and plans nconditionally to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr. De Klerk also unbanned the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), a ival to the guerrilla-backed ANC, and the ANC's partner, the South frican Communist Party.

He also announced:

- the scrapping of restrictions on 33 restricted organisations, ncluding the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of outh African Trade Unions (COSATU)
- the release of political prisoners, excluding murderers, errorists and arsonists
- an end to press restrictions, although pictures of violence ill still be under "effective control"
- the abolition of powers to restrict prisoners after their elease, with 374 immediate beneficiaries
- a six-month limit on detention without trial
- a moratorium on executions
- a discretionary rather than mandatory death penalty for urder, with an automatic right of appeal
- an end to the state of emergency "as soon as circumstances ustify it"
- the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act reserving choice acilities for whites.

ms/nb/ak

AFP 021619 GMT FEB 90

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02.02.90 11.30 HRS

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Ms Monaghan

RESTRICTED

SANS CLASSIFICATION

OBJET: SOUTH AFRICA: PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH
1. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WISHES TO INFORM PARTNERS THAT IT ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH ON 2 FEBRUARY OPENING THE NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.
BEGINS
WE WARMLY WELCOME THE DECISION TO RELEASE MR MANDELA. THIS IS AN HISTORIC LANDMARK ON THE ROAD TO A NEW SOUTH AFRICA. WE HAVE LONG URGED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO SET HIM FREE. PRESIDENT DE KLERK IS TO BE CONGRATULATED ON HIS DECISION. MR MANDELA WILL HAVE A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY IN SHAPING HIS COUNTRY'S FUTURE. HIS RELEASE WILL GIVE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS ON A CONSTITUTION FAIR TO THE WHOLE POPULATION. WE ENCOURAGE THEM TO DO SO.
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN MAJOR STEPS TO OPEN THE WAY TO START NEGOTIATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEGOTIATING CONCEPT PROPOSED BY THE COMMONWEALTH EMINENT PERSONS' GROUP. WE LOOK TO THE ANC AND OTHER GROUPS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY AND PEACEFULLY TO THE OFFER NOW BEING MADE TO JOIN IN NEGOTIATIONS TO WORK OUT A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA.
THE CHANGES NOW TAKING PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA VINDICATE A POLICY OF CONTACT RATHER THAN ISOLATION. WE DO NOT SEE THAT CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC OR ACADEMIC BOYCOTTS MAKE SENSE OR CONTRIBUTE TO THE WEAKENING OF APARTHEID. IN FUTURE WE SHALL NOT DISCOURAGE ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS AND ACADEMICS FROM GOING TO SOUTH AFRICA OR FROM JOINING IN MEETINGS WITH SOUTH AFRICANS. WE HOPE THAT INDIVIDUALS WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH OPPORTUNITIES TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE AMONG SOUTH AFRICANS. WE SHALL CONSIDER FURTHER POSITIVE STEPS AS SOON AS MR MANDELA IS RELEASED.
THE PRIME MINISTER LOOKS FORWARD TO HAVING AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY OF DISCUSSING THESE ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS WITH BOTH PRESIDENT DE KLERK AND MR MANDELA. SHE HAS INVITED PRESIDENT DE KLERK TO AN EARLY MEETING AT CHEQUERS. SHE WILL SIMILARLY INVITE MR MANDELA TO MAKE A VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM WHEN HE IS FREE.
ENDS

COREU LONDON
FIN DE TEXTE

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COREU DUBLIN 90.02.12 14.15

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ALLXATH
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Ms Murtagh

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE

OBJET: SOUTH AFRICA - PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH

GREECE INFORMS PARTNERS THAT LAST WEEK THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT WELCOMING THE POLICY INTENTIONS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK AT THE OPENING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT AND EXPRESSING THE CONVINCTION THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE ANNOUNCEMENTS, AS WELL AS THE ADOPTION OF FURTHER MEASURES BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WILL ENCOURAGE THE DIALOGUE, AMONG ALL AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION, WHICH WILL LEAD TO THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ATH COREU
FIN DE TEXTENNNN

77062 UKERK

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SAfrica-DeKlerk-reforms
What De Klerk announced

CAPE TOWN, Feb 2 (AFP) - The most spectacular moves announced Friday by South African President Frederik de Klerk were the ending of a 30-year-ban on the African National Congress and plans unconditionally to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr. De Klerk also unbanned the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), a rival to the guerrilla-backed ANC, and the ANC's partner, the South African Communist Party.

He also announced:

- the scrapping of restrictions on 33 restricted organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
- the release of political prisoners, excluding murderers, terrorists and arsonists
- an end to press restrictions, although pictures of violence will still be under "effective control"
- the abolition of powers to restrict prisoners after their release, with 374 immediate beneficiaries
- a six-month limit on detention without trial
- a moratorium on executions
- a discretionary rather than mandatory death penalty for murder, with an automatic right of appeal
- an end to the state of emergency "as soon as circumstances justify it"
- the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act reserving choice facilities for whites.

ms/nb/ak

AFP 021619 GMT FEB 90

Mr Hawkins,
to see plse.
2/2

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
== SECRETARIAT ==

Charlemagne Building
170, Rue de la Loi
1048 Brussels

Telephone :
Fax : 234 8043
Enquiries : 234 8040/41

UNCLASSIFIED
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

PRECEDENCE: Priorité

FROM: EPC-SECRETARIAT BRUSSELS

TO : Dept of Foreign Affairs

ATT.: Ms P. Murnaghan

ORIGINATOR: P McDonagh

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS:

Nr.: 105 PAGES (INCLUSIVE COVER): 4

DATE: 2/2/90 TIME: 12a

SOUTH AFRICAN [illegible]
TO THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
RUE DE LA LOI 28 (Bte 14-15)
1040 BRU[illegible]
TELEX : 6306[illegible]
TELEGR. : [illegible]
TEL. : (02) [illegible]

SUID-AFRIKAANSE MISSIE
BY DIE
EUROPESE GEMEENSKAPPE
WETSTRAAT 28 (Bus 14-15)
1040 BRUSSEL

Ref./Verw. 8/2/1/1

Brussels, 2 February 1990

URGENT

Mr [illegible]zi
EPC [illegible]ariat

Attached are the salient points of State President De Klerk's speech at the opening of the SA Parliament today. The full speech will follow soonest.

Yours sincerely

AMBASSADOR

(1)

SALIENT POINTS FROM OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK - 900202

HERE FOLLOW. THE SALIENT POINTS OF PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT TODAY. PLEASE NOTE THE EMBARGO: 11:00 SA TIME. FULL SPEECH FOLLOWS SHORTLY.

1.'...THE DEATH PENALTY SHOULD BE LIMITED AS AN OPTION OF SENTENCE TO EXTREME CASES, AND SPECIFICALLY THROUGH BROADENING JUDICIAL DESCRETION IN THE IMPOSITION OF SENTENCE, AND ... AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF APPEAL BE GRANTED TO THOSE UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH. THEREFORE, ALL EXECUTIONS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED AND NO EXECUTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE UNTIL PARLIAMENT HAS TAKEN A FINAL DECISION ON THE NEW PROPOSALS. IN THE EVENT OF THE PROPOSALS BEING ADOPTED, THE CASE OF EVERY PERSON INVOLVED WILL BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW GUIDELINES. NO EXECUTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE NOVEMBER 14, 1989.'

2.'THE SEPERATE AMENITIES ACT, 1953... WILL BE REPEALED DURING THIS SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.'

3.'THE PROHIBITION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS, THE SA COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NUMBER OF SUBSIDIARY ORGANISATIONS IS BEING RESCINDED.'

4.'PEOPLE SERVING PRISON SENTENCES MERELY BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF ONE OF THESE ORGANISATIONS OR BECUASE THEY COMMITTED ANOTHER OFFENCE WHICH WAS MERELY AN OFFENCE BECAUSE A PROHIBITION ON ONE OF THE ORGANISATIONS WAS IN FORCE, WILL BE IDENTIFIED AND RELEASED. PRISONERS WHO HAVE BEEN SENTENCED FOR OTHER OFFENCES SUCH AS MURDER, TERRORISM OR ARSON ARE NOT AFFECTED BY THIS.'

5.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEGIN ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

6.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEING ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

7.'THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE AMENDED TO STILL MAKE PROVISION FOR EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER VISUAL MATERIAL PERTAINING TO SCENES OF UNREST.'

8.'THE RESTRICTIONS IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ON 33 ORGANISATIONS ARE BEING RESCINDED. THE ORGANISATIONS INCLUDE

(2)

THE FOLLOWING:
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE
SA NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
COSATU
DIE BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING VAN SA'.

9.'THE CONDITIONS IMPOSED IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ON 374 PEOPLE ON THEIR RELEASE, ARE BEING RESCINDED AND THE REGULATIONS WHICH PROVIDE FOR SUCH CONDITIONS ARE BEING ABOLISHED.'

10.'THE PERIOD OF DETENTION IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE LIMITED HENCEFORTH TO SIX MONTHS. DETAINEES ALSO ACQUIRE THE RIGHT TO LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING.'

11.'IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE IMMEDIATE AND, WHERE NECESSARY, NOTICES WILL APPEAR IN THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE FROM TOMORROW.'

12/'ON THE STATE OF EMERGENCY I HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, WHICH JUSTIFIES THESE SPECIAL MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN RETAINED, STILL EXISTS. THERE IS STILL CONFLICT WHICH IS MANIFESTING ITSELF MAINLY IN NATAL, BUT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE COUNTRYWIDE POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT RADICALS ARE STILL TRYING TO DISRUPT THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATION BY MEANS OF MASS VIOLENCE. IT IS MY INTENTION TO TERMINATE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY COMPLETELY AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES JUSTIFY IT AND I REQUEST THE CO-OPERATION OF EVERYBODY TOWARDS THIS END.

13.'I WISH TO PUT IT PLAINLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A FIRM DECISION TO RELEASE MR MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY. I AM SERIOUS ABOUT BRINGING THIS MATTER TO FINALTY WITHOUT DELAY. THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE A DECISION SOON ON THE DATE OF HIS RELEASE. UNFORTUNATELY, A FURTHER SHORT PASSAGE OF TIME IS UNAVOIDABLE. NORMALLY THERE IS A CERTAIN PASSAGE OF TIME BETWEEN THE DECISION TO RELEASE AND THE ACTUAL RELEASE BECAUSE OF LOGISTICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS. IN THE CASE OF MR MANDELA THERE ARE FACTORS IN THE WAY OF HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE, OF WHICH HIS PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND SAFETY ARE NOT THE LEAST. HE HAS NOT BEEN AN ORDINARY PRISONER FOR QUITE SOME TIME. BECAUSE OF THAT, HIS CASE REQUIRES PARTICULAR CIRCUMSPECTION.'

—11—

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~~SA Dead.~~ de Klerk speech

UDF wants more sanctions, while right is 'stunned' by De Klerk

CAPE TOWN, Feb 2 (AFP) - The United Democratic Front called its first legal press conference since February 1988 on Friday shortly after President Frederik de Klerk announced sweeping reforms including the impending release of Nelson Mandela.

At the other end of the political spectrum, an official of the extremist pro-apartheid Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) told Agence France-Presse that his organization was "still too stunned too react properly - this is just unbelievable, unbelievable."

Of the South African president's decision to unban the African National Congress (ANC) and to lift restrictions on the UDF, its publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota told reporters: "Freedom is in sight."

Anti-apartheid cleric Archbishop Desmond Tutu hailed the news of the raising of political restrictions, on top of the imminent release of ANC leader Mr. Mandela as "an incredible announcement ... marvellous."

But the Conservative Party described the decisions as "shocking" and "most revolutionary," and called in a statement for immediate elections "to give white voters the chance to pronounce on the ... drastic ... and very dangerous steps."

In Johannesburg, hundreds of ANC supporters took to the streets, cheering, waving flags and giving victory salutes, sweeping delighted bystanders up in the throng. "This is cool," one said, before some 80 police in riot gear moved in with batons and tear gas.

Mr. Lekota warned that: "Now, more than ever before, there is a greater urgency to intensify the struggle on all fronts. Now is the time to pressurise the De Klerk government to move rapidly towards democracy."

Appealing to the international community, Mr. Lekota said: "Sanctions must be maintained and indeed intensified. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process."

He added that Mr. De Klerk's concessions showed "the pressures we have been calling for and the demands for sanctions have been pointing in the right direction."

Mr. Lekota made a special appeal to "our Afrikaner compatriots in particular and to the whites in general. We urge them to to shed their fears of the past about the return of the ANC to our political life as a public participant."

The UDF, which forms the core of the loose Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) anti-apartheid alliance, is widely seen as the internal wing of the ANC, which has its exiled headquarters in Lusaka.

more

AFP 021509 GMT FEB 90

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(CAPE TOWN)

"Over the years the government has drummed into the minds of our compatriots that the ANC is a threat to them, that it is their enemy.

"We want to appeal to them to shed those notions, to see the ANC as one of those constructive parties that want to shape a better future for all of us."

He also called for the creation of a constituent assembly as "the only proper one which could take the country towards a democratic solution."

The assembly "would have to consist of truly representative leaders of the people of South Africa," he said.

But Mr. Lekota and others, including Mandela family lawyer Dullah Omar, betrayed the haste with which they had called the conference when they tried to maintain that the ANC had not been unconditionally unbanned since exiles had been granted no immunity.

Mr. Lekota said he believed ANC President Oliver Tambo, recovering in Sweden from a stroke, would be arrested the moment he set foot in the country, despite a specific assurance Friday from Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen that no returnee would be prosecuted unless he already faced murder or terrorism charges, which Mr. Tambo does not.

Asked if the unbanning of the ANC and the promised release Mr. Mandela meant the ANC would start negotiations, delegates said they had no brief to speak for the ANC.

In Lusaka, ANC leaders declined to comment immediately, saying they were studying the full text of Mr. de Klerk's speech.

UDF lawyer Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "It is for the regime to unilaterally create the climate for negotiation," by fulfilling all five pre-conditions set out in the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration last August.

To do that the president would still have to free all political prisoners regardless of their crimes, end rather than dilute the state of emergency, stop all political trials and executions (which he suspended Friday), and withdraw troops from the townships.

The liberal Democratic Party's co-leader Zach de Beer said Mr. De Klerk's speech seemed to "open the road to a non-racial democracy."

Bringing "a marvellous sense of relief," Mr. De Klerk had given notice that "normal politics seem to be returning to South Africa after thirty years and more," Mr. De Beer added.

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AFP 021510 GMT FEB 90

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SAfrica-supporters lead-1
Police baton-charge, teargas ANC supporters

JOHANNESBURG, Feb 2 (AFP) - Police baton-charged and teargassed hundreds of celebrating African National Congress (ANC) supporters only hours after President Frederik de Klerk announced the unbanning of the movement.

An Agence France-Presse reporter said some 80 policemen clad in riot gear moved in on supporters here after they weaved through the streets in a celebratory march.

The police, growing increasingly agitated at the jovial crowd, which they said was disrupting traffic, fired teargas at the revellers three times, shouted at them to disperse and let off sirens.

The ANC supporters fled from the police but regrouped further into the city centre, where they continued to throng the streets, dodging traffic while chanting freedom slogans and singing freedom songs.

As the news of the unbanning spread among workers in town, the crowd snowballed to more than 1,000.

People waved ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) flags, while hundreds of onlookers clogged street corners and peered out of office windows.

The atmosphere grew tense as people grouped near the offices of the liberal New Nation newspaper, waving placards and running into the street.

"These people must go back to Soweto to celebrate ... That's where they belong," said an irate white shopowner, while other white shoppers shouted racist slogans and looked on disparagingly.

The crowds rushed past stall-holders selling T-shirts emblazoned with "Free Mandela" and "Stop apartheid" across the front, shouting: "We are one step closer to freedom."

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AFP 021503 GMT FEB 90

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SAfrica-supporters lead-2last
(JOHANNESBURG)

Raising their fists and giving victory salutes, the crowds ran through the city centre, some of them waving ANC flags and dressed in the its colours of green, black and gold.

Some delighted bystanders left their shopping or work and joined the march.

"I'm thrilled. This is cool It's the greatest news we've heard for years," said Jabulani Mpofu. Said Isaac Mhlobo: "I feel great. I'm very happy."

Others were pleased but more cautious, some were worried by the dramatic decision, and some were downright grim and shocked.

"Today's euphoria will be tempered by tomorrow's hunger," said trade unionist Hassen Lorgat. "There will be no easy solutions," he added.

"De Klerk is a sharp guy -- he is assisting in creating a general political debate, but he is also stealing the ANC's thunder."

Fruit seller John Mabata said the unbanning was a "dangerous move" which would cause an upsurge in violence.

"I'm worried," a white doctor told AFP. "De Klerk should have discussed his moves (to unban the organisations) with pro-government black leaders first.... He is merely capitulating to the world by unbanning the ANC."

A grim-faced right-winger told AFP: "They (ANC followers) are savages ... I hope the people celebrating trample all the pregnant black women as they throng the streets."

Other white right-wing radicals looked ashen-faced and shocked: "This is ludicrous, shocking and we will not stand for it," a shop owner told AFP. "South Africa must expect a right-wing backlash."

(no pickup)
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AFP 021505 GMT FEB 90

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SAfrica-ANC
ANC reserves comment on unbanning

LUSAKA, Feb 2 (AFP) - African National Congress officials at the movement's headquarters in exile here declined to comment immediately on the announcement Friday by South African President Frederik de Klerk that the guerrilla-backed organisation was unbanned.

ANC militants huddled around radios at the headquarters, listening to a South African broadcast of Mr. de Klerk's speech.

Asked for reaction to the unbanning, spokesman Tom Sebina said:''At the moment we have nothing to say. We are studying the full text of the speech.''

He said there would be a press briefing later which would possibly be addressed by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

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SAfrica-reax-EEC
De Klerk move "significant," EEC executive says

BRUSSELS, Feb 2 (AFP) - The European Commission praised the impending release of South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela and other measures by Pretoria Friday as "a significant contribution to the creation of the necessary conditions for national dialogue."

"The Commission especially salutes the legalisation of the ANC (African National Congress) and other organisations that are called upon to play a leading role in this dialogue," a statement said.

But the European Economic Community's executive added that Mr. Mandela should "now be released without additional delay for the envisaged negotiations to be fruitful."

"There must be the complete abolition of the state of emergency and the establishment of a climate of trust," it said.

The Commission stressed that South Africa's dialogue must aim for the "complete abolition of apartheid" and "the creation of a new democratic and multi-racial South Africa."

But it made no reference to any relaxation of the EEC's ban on imports of South African steel and gold coins that were imposed in September 1986 to protest at Mr. Mandela's imprisonment and the outlawing of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

The ban accounted for six per cent of South Africa's exports to the Community, which were 380 million dollars in 1985.

But, largely at British insistence, coal -- South Africa's biggest export -- was not included in the bar.

In 1985, the Community decided to ban all arms sales to Pretoria and institute "positive" measures of humanitarian, medical and social help for church organisations and individuals involved in the combat against apartheid.

The Community also forbade new investment in South Africa in 1986, and set down a "code of conduct" for European firms which already had assets there.

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AFP 021541 GMT FEB 90

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SAfrica-reax-ANC 1
De Klerk has not met conditions for negotiations: ANC

dek

HARARE, Feb 2 (AFP) - The African National Congress Friday welcomed the fact that it has been unbanned but stressed that the "package" of preconditions it has set for negotiations with the South African government has not been met.

"The ANC is obviously pleased with the unbanning," ANC information chief Pallo Jordan told Agence France-Presse in response to Friday's key policy speech by South African President Frederik de Klerk.

"But at the same time, we would say that the regime has retained quite a formidable repressive capacity in the shape of a number of laws on the South African statute book which it can still use against the democratic movement," he said.

"Also, De Klerk has not responded to the comprehensive package contained in the Harare Declaration on demands for creating a climate for negotiation.

"The state of emergency remains in place, only some political prisoners will be released, detention without trial remains on the statute books.

"All he has responded to is the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations."

The ANC's preconditions for negotiations were adopted as the Harare Declaration by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) last August, and have since been endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement and, in a slightly amended form, by the United Nations General Assembly.

more
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SAfrica-reax-ANC 2-last
(HARARE)

Earlier Friday, officials at ANC headquarters in exile in the Zambian capital Lusaka refused to comment officially on Mr. de Klerk's speech to parliament in which he announced the unbanning of the ANC as well as its South African Communist Party ally and other organisations, saying they were studying the full text.

It is understood the organisation may issue an official statement Saturday.

Mr. Jordan said the unbanning of the organisation was "a major step forward, it would be silly to deny it, but it must be realistically appraised".

He refused to be drawn on the possibility of the return of ANC leaders in exile, saying that there was no guarantee that some would not be arrested on arrival under "repressive legislation" which has not been repealed.

He pointed out that the Harare Declaration demanded "the repeal of all legislation ... designed to circumscribe political activity".

He said the aim of the Harare Declaration was to ensure that parties entering into negotiations did so as equals, and that this could not happen as long as the government had the right to proscribe the ANC's activities.

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AFP 021550 GMT FEB 90

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NO. 207

DATE: 5/2/90 Time: 3.50 p.m. (N.Y.T.)

To: A. Q.

For: P. Murnaghan

From: G. Corr

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 4

Brief description of material: ① Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - Press Release. ② Untag Press Briefing - Namibia.

Any special instructions: ③ Press Release re: Apartheid

Transmitting operator: M. Glynn

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207 (1)

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Observer Mission to the United Nations

211 East 43rd Street • Suites #506-507 • New York, NY 10017 • *Tel: (212) 986-7378 • Fax: (212) 682-3109 • Telex: 237884*

91 Jan
P Murray

PRESS RELEASE

PAC CONGRATULATES AZANIAN MASSES FOR COMPELLING RACIST REGIME TO UNBAN PEOPLE's ORGANISATIONS. FACED WITH PRINCIPLED AND DETERMINED RESISTANCE OF OUR PEOPLE AND ISOLATED INTERNATIONALLY, REGIME NOW EMPLOYING NEW TACTICS TO PERPETUATE APARTHEID COLONIALISM.

FOCUS OF OUR STRUGGLE WAS NEVER TO REALISE THE UNBANNING OF PAC, BUT NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE OPPRESSED AND DISPOSSESSED AZANIAN MASSES. DE KLERK DID NOT ADDRESS THE FIVE POLITICAL PILLARS OF APARTHEID. MOREOVER, THESE FIVE POLITICAL PILLARS OF APARTHEID ARE NON-NEGOTIABLE. THEY ARE:-

1. THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT;
2. THE 1913 AND 1936 LAND ACTS ON WHICH IS BASED THE GROUP AREAS ACT;
3. THE SO-CALLED BANTU EDCATION ACT;
4. THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT SYSTEM;
5. THE SO-CALLED BANTUSTANS.

IN LIGHT OF THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES PAC MUST INTENSIFY ALL ROUND STRUGGLE UNTIL TOTAL ERADICATION OF THE EVIL SYSTEM.

ISSUED BY:

JOHNSON MLAMBO
CHAIRMAN PAC
FEBRUARY 2, 1990.

FM LIS COREU
TO PRES/DUB COREU PRIORITE
INFO ALL COREU

ACTION COPY
Ms Murpaghan

CPE/LIS 38
05.02.90 14.00LT

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE

PORTUGAL INFORMS PARTNERS THAT PM CAVACO SILVA ISSUED A STATEMENT WELCOMING THE IMPORTANT STEPS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK SPEECH IN THE OPENING SESSION OF S.A.PARLIAMENT, AND EXPRESSING THE PORTUGUESE CONVICTION THAT THESE MEASURES WILL ENCOURAGE THE NEGOTIATION OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

LIS COREU

FIN DE TEXTE

NNNN

77055 LIRDO

''''

COREU DUBLIN

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.06 17.15

ZCZC 170234 291111
ALLXMAD
+++

FM MAD COREU
TO DUB COREU PRIORITE
INFO ALL COREU PRIORITE

CPE/MAD 48
6-2-9 0 17.05 HRS

ACTION COPY
Ms Baxter

SANS CLASSIFICATION

OBJET: DECLARATION ESPAGNOLE SUR L'AFRIQUE DU SUD.

L'ESPAGNE TRANSMET CI-JOINT LE TEXTE DE LA DECLARATION SUR L'AFRIQUE DU SUD QUI A ETE FAITE PUBLIQUE LE 5 FEVRIER 1990:

''LE GOUVERNEMENT ESPAGNOL CONSIDERE QUE LES MESURES RECEMMENT ANNONCEES PAR LE PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE D'AFRIQUE DU SUD, M. DE KLERK -PARMI ELLES, LA LEGALISATION DU CONGRES NATIONAL AFRICAIN ET L'ANNONCE DE LA DECISION DE LIBERER SANS CONDITIONS M. NELSON MANDELA- CONSTITUENT UN PAS IMPORTANT POUR LA CREATION D'UN CLIMAT DE CONFIANCE DANS LEQUEL PEUVENT SE DEVELOPPER LES NEGOCIATIONS POUR L'AVENIR POLITIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE DU SUD.

L'ESPAGNE ESTIME POSITIVES CES IMPORTANTES INITIATIVES POLITIQUES DU GOUVERNEMENT SUDAFRICAIN, REVELATRICES DE SA VOLONTE DE REFORMES, TOUT EN ESPERANT QUE CES MESURES PUISSENT S'APPROFONDIR DANS UN PROCHE AVENIR. NOTAMMENT, L'ESPAGNE ESPERE QUE LA DECISION DE LIBERER M. MANDELA -DECISION SUR LAQUELLE LE GOUVERNEMENT ESPAGNOL INSISTE DEPUIS LONG TEMPS- SOIT RAPIDEMENT MISE EN PRATIQUE.

LE GOUVERNEMENT ESPAGNOL ENCOURAGE LES AUTORITES SUDAFRICAINES ET LES ORGANISATIONS DE L'OPPOSITION A RESOUDRE LEURS DIFFERENDS PAR LA VOIE DE LA NEGOCIATION, CONVAINCU QUE UNIQUEMENT CES MOYENS FAVORISERONT LA RESOLUTION DEFINITIVE DU SYSTEME DE L'APARTHEID''.

FIN DE TEXTE
MADRID COREUVNNNN

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.05 18.32

ZCZC 170183 241875
ALLXPAR
+++
FM PARIS COREU
TO ALL COREU ROUTINE
INFO UN MISSION NEW YORK/AND GENEVE
CPE/PAR/43
05 02 90 1818

ACTION COPY
ms Monaghan

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE
OBJET : DECLARATIONS DU PRESIDENT DE KLERK.

LA FRANCE SOUHAITE FAIRE SAVOIR A SES PARTENAIRES QU'ELLE A RENDU PUBLIQUE, LE 2 FEVRIER, LA DECLARATION SUIVANTE :

DEBUT DE CITATION :

'LA LIBERATION DE NELSON MANDELA EST UN EVENEMENT QUE LE MONDE ENTIER ATTENDAIT. LA FRANCE SE REJOUIT DE CETTE MESURE QUI VA METTRE FIN AU LONG MARTYR DU CHEF HISTORIQUE DE LA LUTTE CONTRE L'APARTHEID.

CETTE DECISION JOINTE A LA LEGALISATION DE L'ANC ET D'AUTRES ORGANISATIONS POLITIQUES ET SYNDICALES ANTI-APARTHEID,

PAGE DEUX

CONTRIBUERA A FAVORISER EN AFRIQUE DU SUD LES EVOLUTIONS QUE LA FRANCE N'A CESSE DE PRECONISER, ET D'ABORD L'OUVERTURE DU DIALOGUE, CONDITION INDISPENSABLE A L'AVENEMENT D'UN REGIME DEMOCRATIQUE ET NON RACIAL.

LA FRANCE APPRECIE A SA JUSTE MESURE LA VOLONTE DE REFORMES AINSI MANIFESTEE PAR LE PRESIDENT DE KLERK ET SON GOUVERNEMENT. ELLE EXPRIME LE VOEU QUE LES MESURES ANNONCEES SERONT RAPIDEMENT MISES EN OEUVRE ET PERMETTRONT LE DEMANTELEMENT COMPLET DU REGIME ODIEUX DE L'APARTHEID.

ELLE SALUE LE COURAGE ET LA DIGNITE DE NELSON MANDELA PENDANT SES LONGUES ANNEES D'EPREUVES'.

FIN DE CITATION.

PARIS COREU.
FIN DE TEXTE./.

,,,,

To: Frank Brady

From: Philomena Murnaghan, Africa Section

Further to our telephone conversation, the following is a summary quote from South African President de Klerk's speech today, Friday, at the opening of Parliament:

"I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finalty (sic) without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable. Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection."

At this stage we feel that the Minister for Social Welfare can do little no more than welcome the announcement of a firm decision by the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela, while noting that still no precise date has been set.

2 February, 1990

(1)

SALIENT POINTS FROM OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK - 900202

HERE FOLLOW THE SALIENT POINTS OF PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT TODAY. PLEASE NOTE THE EMBARGO: 11:00 SA TIME. FULL SPEECH FOLLOWS SHORTLY.

1.'...THE DEATH PENALTY SHOULD BE LIMITED AS AN OPTION OF SENTENCE TO EXTREME CASES, AND SPECIFICALLY THROUGH BROADENING JUDICIAL DESCRETION IN THE IMPOSITION OF SENTENCE, AND ... AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF APPEAL BE GRANTED TO THOSE UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH. THEREFORE, ALL EXECUTIONS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED AND NO EXECUTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE UNTIL PARLIAMENT HAS TAKEN A FINAL DECISION ON THE NEW PROPOSALS. IN THE EVENT OF THE PROPOSALS BEING ADOPTED, THE CASE OF EVERY PERSON INVOLVED WILL BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW GUIDELINES. NO EXECUTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE NOVEMBER 14, 1989.'

2.'THE SEPERATE AMENITIES ACT, 1953,... WILL BE REPEALED DURING THIS SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.'

3.'THE PROHIBITION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS, THE SA COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NUMBER OF SUBSIDIARY ORGANISATIONS IS BEING RESCINDED.'

4.'PEOPLE SERVING PRISON SENTENCES MERELY BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF ONE OF THESE ORGANISATIONS OR BECUASE THEY COMMITTED ANOTHER OFFENCE WHICH WAS MERELY AN OFFENCE BECAUSE A PROHIBITION ON ONE OF THE ORGANISATIONS WAS IN FORCE, WILL BE IDENTIFIED AND RELEASED. PRISONERS WHO HAVE BEEN SENTENCED FOR OTHER OFFENCES SUCH AS MURDER, TERRORISM OR ARSON ARE NOT AFFECTED BY THIS.'

5.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEGIN ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

6.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEING ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

7.'THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE AMENDED TO STILL MAKE PROVISION FOR EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER VISUAL MATERIAL PERTAINING TO SCENES OF UNREST.'

8.'THE RESTRICTIONS IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ON 33 ORGANISATIONS ARE BEING RESCINDED. THE ORGANISATIONS INCLUDE

(2)

THE FOLLOWING:
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE
SA NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
COSATU
DIE BLANKE GEVAARVOINGSBEWEGING VAN SA'.

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10.'THE PERIOD OF DETENTION IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS SHALL BE LIMITED HENCEFORTH TO SIX MONTHS. DETAINEES ALSO ACQUIRE THE RIGHT TO LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING.'

11.'IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE IMMEDIATE AND, WHERE NECESSARY, NOTICES WILL APPEAR IN THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE FROM TOMORROW.'

12/'ON THE STATE OF EMERGENCY I HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, WHICH JUSTIFIES THESE SPECIAL MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN RETAINED, STILL EXISTS. THERE IS STILL CONFLICT WHICH IS MANIFESTING ITSELF MAINLY IN NATAL, BUT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE COUNTRYWIDE POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT RADICALS ARE STILL TRYING TO DISRUPT THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATION BY MEANS OF MASS VIOLENCE. IT IS MY INTENTION TO TERMINATE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY COMPLETELY AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES JUSTIFY IT AND I REQUEST THE CO-OPERATION OF EVERYBODY TOWARDS THIS END.

13.'I WISH TO PUT IT PLAINLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A FIRM DECISION TO RELEASE MR MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY. I AM SERIOUS ABOUT BRINGING THIS MATTER TO FINALTY WITHOUT DELAY. THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE A DECISION SOON ON THE DATE OF HIS RELEASE. UNFORTUNATELY, A FURTHER SHORT PASSAGE OF TIME IS UNAVOIDABLE. NORMALLY THERE IS A CERTAIN PASSAGE OF TIME BETWEEN THE DECISION TO RELEASE AND THE ACTUAL RELEASE BECAUSE OF LOGISTICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS. IN THE CASE OF MR MANDELA THERE ARE FACTORS IN THE WAY OF HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE, OF WHICH HIS PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND SAFETY ARE NOT THE LEAST. HE HAS NOT BEEN AN ORDINARY PRISONER FOR QUITE SOME TIME. BECAUSE OF THAT, HIS CASE REQUIRES PARTICULAR CIRCUMSPECTION.'

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.03 09.06

ZCZC 170149 181992
ALLXROM
++++

ACTION COPY
ms mcnaghan

FM ROM COREU
TO PRES/DUB COREU PRIORITE
INFO ALL COREU PRIORITE
CPE/ROM 66
03/02/1990 HRS 0830

OBJET: PROPOSAL FOR A JOINT DECLARATION ON SOUTH AFRICA .

AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENCY IN CAPE TOWN ITALY TRANSMITS THE PROPOSAL OF THE E.C. AMBASSADORS FOR A JOINT DECLARATION ON SOUTH AFRICA.
FOLLOWING TODAY'S SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA ON THE OCCASION OF THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION IN CAPE TOWN, THE AMBASSADORS OF THE EEC COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA UNANIMOUSLY SUGGEST THAT THE COMMUNITIES ISSUE AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT IN ORDER TO:

- EXPRESS SATISFACTION FOR THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK
- TAKE NOTE OF THE ENCOURAGING REACTIONS OF THE OPPOSITIONS AND
- INVITE ALL PARTIES CONCERNED TO ADOPT A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POSSIBILITY TO OVERCOME THEIR DIFFERENCES THROUGH A PEACEFUL PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.

CPE/ROM
FIN DE TEXTE

POPO XI

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.03 15.27

ZCZC 170158 101724
ALLXBRU
+++

ACTION COPY
Ms Murnaghan

FM BRU COREU
TO DUB COREU - ROUTINE
INFO ALL COREU - ROUTINE
CPE BRU 42
030290 15H00

SANS CLASSIFICATION
OBJET : AFRIQUE DU SUD - DISCOURS DU PRESIDENT DE KLERK DU 020290
LE GOUVERNEMENT BELGE A DIFFUSE LE COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE SUIVANT A L'OCCASION DU DISCOURS SOUS RUBRIQUE
QUOTE
LA BELGIQUE A PRIS NOTE AVEC GRAND INTERET DU DISCOURS PRONONCE CE MATIN PAR LE PRESIDENT SUD-AFRICAIN FREDERIK DE KLERK A L OCCASION DE L OUVERTURE DE LA SESSION PARLEMENTAIRE.
ELLE SE REJOUIT PLUS PARTICULIEREMENT D Y RETROUVER DES MESURES POSITIVES POUR LESQUELLES ELLE A TOUJOURS OEUVRE.
AINSI, L ANNONCE DE LA LIBERATION PROCHAINE ET INCONDITIONNELLE DE M. NELSON MANDELA, EMPRISONNE DEPUIS PLUS DE 25 ANNEES, LA LEVEE DE L INTERDICTION FRAPPANT L A.N.C. , LE P.A.C. , LE PARTI COMMUNISTE SUD-AFRICAIN AINSI QUE D AUTRES ORGANISATIONS POLITIQUES ET LA SUSPENSION PROVISOIRE DE L APPLICATION DE LA PEINE DE MORT CONTRIBUERONT SANS CONTESTE A LA CREATION D UN CLIMAT DE NEGOCIATION FAVORABLE A DES CHANGEMENTS PROFONDS ET IRREVERSIBLES.
DANS CETTE OPTIQUE, LA BELGIQUE, EN COOPERATION AVEC LES DOUZE, CONTINUERA SA POLITIQUE INCITANT TOUTES LES PARTIES CONCERNEES A REALISER DE FACON PACIFIQUE UNE DEMOCRATIE AUTHENTIQUE IMPLIQUANT LE DEMANTELLEMENT TOTAL DE L APARTHEID.
BRUXELLES LE 2 FEVRIER 1990
UNQUOTE
BRU COREU
FIN DE TEXTE ..
NNNN

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.03 15.50

ZCZC 170161 181999
ALLXROM
+++

FM ROM COREU
TO DUB COREU PRIORITE
INFO ALL COREU PRIORITE

CPE/ROM 068

3/2/1990 14.30 HRS

ACTION COPY
Ms Murtagh

SANS CLASSIFICATION

OBJET: AFRIQUE DU SUD. DISCOURS DU PRESIDENT DE KLERK.

A LA SUITE DU DISCOURS PRONONCE PAR M. DE KLERK AU PARLEMENT SUDAFRICAIN, L'ITALIE A RENDU PUBLIQUE LE TEXT QUI SUIT:
'LE GOUVERNEMENT ITALIEN A ACCUEILLI AVEC INTERET ET SATISFACTION LES INDICATIONS POSITIVES ET ENCOURAGEANTES QUI PARVIENNENT DE L'AFRIQUE DU SUD. L'ANNONCE FAIT PAR LE PRESIDENT DE KLERK LORS DE L'OUVERTURE DE LA SESSION PARLEMENTAIRE - QUI RESULT CONFORME A CE QU'IL AVAIT PREANNONCE PENDANT SA VISITE A ROME AVANT D'ASUMER SA CHARGE - AU SUJET DE LA LEVEE DE L'INTERDICTION VIS A VIS DES ORGANISATIONS ANTI-APARTHEID ET DE LA LIBERATION DE M. MANDELA, CONSTITUE, EN MEME TEMPS QUE D'AUTRES SIGNAUX EGALEMENT POSITIFS, UN ELEMENT QUI DONNE LIEU A UN SENTIMENT D'ESPOIR. LE GOUVERNEMENT ITALIEN EST CONFIANT QU'AIENT ETE PLACEES LES BASES POUR L'AMORCE D'UN VERITABLE DIALOGUE ENTRE LES REPRESENTANTS DE TOUTE LA POPULATION DE L'AFRIQUE DU SUD, DIALOGUE EN MESURES DE GARANTIR DES CONDITIONS SEMBLABLES ET D'EGAL DIGNITE POUR TOUS LES CITOYENS DU PAYS.'
CPE/ROM
FIN DE TEXTE
NNNN

COREU DUBLIN 90.02.02 23.53

ZCZC 170142 021806
ALLXHAG
+++

FM LA HAYE COREU
TO DUB COREU - ROUTINE
INFO ALL COREU - ROUTINE

CPE/HAG 53
2.2.90 19.00 HRS. L.T.

ACTION COPY
Mrs Murnaghan

SANS CLASSIFICATION

OBJET: SOUTH AFRICA - PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH

A STATEMENT WAS ISSUED BY THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT ON THE OCCASION OF PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S SPEECH ON 2 FEBRUARY AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION:

QUO

THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN NOTE WITH GREAT SATISFACTION OF A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT POLICY INTENTIONS ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK TODAY, SUCH AS THE INTENTION TO FREE NELSON MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY, THE LIFTING OF THE PROHIBITION OF ANC, PAC AND OTHER POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE ANNOUNCEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK WITH REGARD TO ALL THESE POINTS TO BE ENCOURAGING AND HOPEFUL. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ANNOUNCED INTENTIONS OFFER A REALISTIC PROSPECT FOR A DIALOGUE IN WHICH ALL AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION SHALL BE ABLE TO TAKE PART, AND WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO THE COMPLETE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID AND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENUINELY PLURALISTIC, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA. AS THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT THE KLERK ARE ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED, THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT WILL EXAMINE, TOGETHER WITH ITS EUROPEAN PARTNERS, WHEN AND HOW POLICIES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE ADJUSTED.

IF ASKED:
IF MR MANDELA FINDS THAT HE HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT FOREIGN COUNTRIES AFTER HIS RELEASE, HE WILL OF COURSE BE A VERY WELCOME GUEST IN THE NETHERLANDS.

UNQUO

HAG COREU
FIN DE TEXTE./.

FAX COVER SHEET

Fax No: 60

Date: 2 Feb 90 Time: 14[45] pm

To: B. Lyons HQ

For: B. Lyons

From: Y. BRADY

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: _____

Brief description of material: Material added to Ministers address to CHA by Political Director

Any special instructions: please cc. B. HAWKES

Transmitting operator: NATHALIE

This material is being sent from Fax phone No. 732 81 06

This number should be used for return Faxing.

If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at (021)732 85 50.

I UNDERSTAD THAT, EVEN AS I SPEAK, THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT IS ANNOUNCING SOME IMPORTANT NEWS. I NOTE THAT SOME OF THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED WOULD MEET SOME OF THE DEMANDS THE TWELVE HAVE MADE. THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA IS THE FIRST OF THESE DEMANDS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT HAS ANNOUNCED HIS FIRM DECISION TO RELEASE HIM UNCONDITIONALLY, BUT HAS NOT YET SET A DATE FOR THIS. WE [redacted] OF COURSE WELCOME HIS RELEASE BUT ALSO A FIRM COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE SOUT AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE ALL THE STEPS NEEDED TO END THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
== SECRETARIAT ==

Charlemagne Building
170, Rue de la Loi
1048 Brussels

Telephone :
Fax : 234 8843
Enquiries : 234 8040/41

UNCLASSIFIED
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

PRECEDENCE: Priorité

FROM: EPC-SECRETARIAT BRUSSELS

TO : Dept of Foreign Affairs

ATT.: Ms P. Murnaghan

ORIGINATOR: P McDonagh

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS:

Nr.: 105 PAGES (INCLUSIVE COVER): 4

DATE: 2/2/90 TIME: 12a

E RETARIAT BRUSSELS 002 P02

2308032

1990-02-02 11:26 SABEL BRUSSELS 02.02.90 10:13

2308032 P.01

SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION
TO THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

RUE DE LA LOI 26 (Bus 14-15)
1040 BRUSSEL

TELEX : 63048 SAMIS B
TELEGR. : SAMISSION
TEL. : (02) 230 47 60

SUID-AFRIKAANSE MISSIE
BY DIE
EUROPESE GEMEENSKAPPE

WETSTRAAT 26 (Bus 14-15)
1040 BRUSSEL

Réf. / Verw. 8/2/1/1

Brussels, 2 February 1990

URGENT

Mr G Barrovecchi
EPC Secretariat

Attached are the salient points of State President De Klerk's speech at the opening of the SA Parliament today. The full speech will follow soonest.

Yours sincerely

AMBASSADOR

(1)

SALIENT POINTS FROM OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK - 900202

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7.'THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE AMENDED TO STILL MAKE PROVISION FOR EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER VISUAL MATERIAL PERTAINING TO SCENES OF UNREST.'

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(2)

THE FOLLOWING:
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE
SA NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
COSATU
DIE BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING VAN SA'.

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10.'THE PERIOD OF DETENTION IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE LIMITED HENCEFORTH TO SIX MONTHS. DETAINEES ALSO ACQUIRE THE RIGHT TO LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING.'

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—11—

Sent

ACTION COPY
Ms Murnaghan

FROM DUBLIN COREU
TO ALL COREU IMMEDIAT DESK BY 1330Z
CPE PRES DUB 081.
2.2.1990 12.00

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE
OBJET: SOUTH AFRICA - PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT, 2 FEBRUARY 1990

THE PRESIDENCY PROPOSES THAT THE AFRICA WORKING GROUP ON 6 FEBRUARY HAVE AN IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION ON THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT DE KLERK AND ON WHETHER A TWELVE REACTION IS CALLED FOR.

COREU DIPLO DUBLIN
FIN DE TEXTE./.

Mr Hanlon,
to see pls
from
2/2

EUROPEAN POLITICAL
COOPERATION SECRETARIAT

Telephone:
Fax : 234 8843
Enquiries: 234 8868/41

UNCLASSIFIED
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

PRECEDENCE: _____

FROM: EPC - SECRETARIAT BRUSSELS

TO : Dept. Foreign Affairs

ATT.: P. Hannaghan.

ORIGINATOR: Philip McDonagh.

SUBJECT: _____

COMMENTS: _____

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ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟ · INFORMAZIONE ALLA STAMPA · MEDEDELING AAN DE PERS

Bruxelles, le 2 février 1990

AFRIQUE DU SUD

DECLARATION DE LA COMMISSION

La Commission se félicite des déclarations faites aujourd'hui par le Président sud-africain F.W. de Klerk. Les mesures qu'il vient d'annoncer constituent une contribution significative à la création des conditions nécessaires pour le grand dialogue national d'où devront émaner les changements profonds et irréversibles nécessaires pour l'abolition complète de l'Apartheid. Ce dialogue avec la participation de tous les représentants authentiques des différentes composantes de la population sud-africaine, est indispensable pour la création d'une nouvelle Afrique du Sud démocratique et multiraciale, à laquelle le Conseil européen de Strasbourg et les parties contractantes de la Convention de Lomé IV ont souscrit.

La Commission salue, notamment, la légalisation de l'ANC et des autres organisations appelées à jouer un rôle primordial dans ce dialogue et souhaite que Nelson Mandela soit maintenant libéré sans délai supplémentaire.

Pour que les négociations envisagées soient fructueuses, il faut l'abolition complète de l'état d'urgence et l'établissement du climat de confiance.

La Commission fait appel à tous les sud-africains et leurs organisations de ne pas compromettre le processus vers le dialogue.

La Communauté continuera à poursuivre activement sa politique visant à contribuer à l'abolition totale, par des moyens pacifiques, du régime de l'Apartheid. Comme déjà annoncé par le Conseil européen de Strasbourg, elle renforcera à cette fin son programme de mesures positives.

Pour renseignements complémentaires, veuillez contacter :
X. PRATS : 236 12 30

KOMMISSIONEN FOR DE EUROPÆISKE FÆLLESSKABER - KOMMISSION DER EUROPÄISCHEN GEMEINSCHAFTEN
COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES - COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES - ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΩΝ
COMMISSIONE DELLE COMUNITÀ EUROPEE - COMMISSIE VAN DE EUROPESE GEMEENSCHAPPEN

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FAX NO. 704

DATE: 5/2/90 Time: _____

To: HQ

For: P. Murnaghan

From: J. Corr

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 16

Brief description of material: ~~FW de Clerk's statement at the opening of the 2nd session of the 9th~~ Parliament

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THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SOUTH AFRICA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
326 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

2 February 1990

Your Excellency

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the address by the State President of South Africa, Mr F W de Klerk, DMS, at the opening of the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa on Friday, 2 February 1990 in Cape Town.

You will observe that his statement addresses further aspects of the reform process which he announced immediately after the elections held in South Africa on 6 September 1988.

Topics dealt with include the unbanning of various organisations and the lifting of restrictions on others, the establishment of a climate for negotiations by all interested parties on a constitutional settlement for South Africa which will include an entrenched bill of rights for all South Africans, the release of so-called political prisoners i.e. those whose offences against legislation did not include common law, crimes or misdemeanours and regional co-operation in southern Africa.

The statement gives a clear indication of the Government's legislative programme and calls upon all men of goodwill to assist in the peaceful negotiating process. Should the level of violence decrease sufficiently, the Government will also examine closely the possibilities of lifting the state of emergency. Your Excellency will also note the references to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the new limitations placed on the imposition by the Courts of the death penalty. Moreover, such sentences will be subject to automatic appeal.

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May I express the hope that the text will receive the careful study it clearly merits.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Jeremy B Shearar
Permanent Representative

H.E. Mr Fr ancis Mahon Hayes
Permanent Mission of Ireland to the UN
One Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza
885 Second Avenue, 19th Floor
NEW YORK NY 10017

ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK, DMS, AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE NINTH PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, FRIDAY, 2 FEBRUARY 1990.

"Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament.

The general election on September the 6th, 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No-one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour - constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority :

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

- Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal, complimentary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

1. FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well. Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either. The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge : Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan. The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states. During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda. These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events. This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this Parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which concludes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore, it would be inappropriate for the Government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The Government accepts the principle of recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justifiable by an independent judiciary. However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear. Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that any group - in whichever way it may be defined - shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include :

- the identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;

- an analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and

- possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

3. THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April the 27th, 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the Government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the Government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

- that reform in this area is indicated;
- that the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- that an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines. In the meantime, no executions have taken place since the November the 14th, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in

isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

5. THE ECONOMY

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this, the Government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message it that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the sixties, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price

even brought prosperity with it for a while. The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy. The Government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions , privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.

This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- the gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners;

- the encouragement of personal initiative and savings;

- the subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;

- rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and

- the encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties. The Government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged its special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

The Government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy of with the recent course of the economy.

I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the Government for some time, namely State expenditure.

The Government's financial year ends only in two month's time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of Government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years. The financial figures will show:

- that Government expenditure is thoroughly under control;

- that our normal financial programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest; and

- that we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals - namely:

- that the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;

- that our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and

- that we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the Government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

6 NEGOTIATION

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because of prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.

- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following:

National Education Crisis Committee

South African National Students Congress

United Democratic Front

Cosatu

Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.

- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the Government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members of the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following:

- The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

- The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

- There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.
About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condonation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the Government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardised. The Government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might. Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law, will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle. In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the mean time, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the Government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the Government has taken, it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by the way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what Black leaders - also Mr Mandela - have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived or their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner : -

- The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.

Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stand. These include all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following :

"All reasonable people in this country - by far the majority - anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand :

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.
- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.
- Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction

I ask of Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through uncharted waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament,

I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

De Klerk Speech

Ian Murphy, Sean Kelly
Grn/6.2.-
you might wish to see.
2/2

EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION
== SECRETARIAT ==

2.2.90

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UNCLASSIFIED
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

PRECEDENCE: Immediate

FROM: EPC-SECRETARIAT BRUSSELS

TO : Department of Foreign Affairs

ATT.: Ms P Murnaghan

ORIGINATOR: P McDonagh

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS:

Nr.: PAGES (INCLUSIVE COVER): 16

DATE: 2.2.90 TIME: 1730

ZUIDAFRIKAANSE MISSIE BIJ DE
EUROPESE GEMEENSCHAPPEN

MISSION D'AFRIQUE DU SUD AUPRES
DES COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES

ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK, DMS, AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE NINTH PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, FRIDAY, 2 FEBRUARY 1990.

"Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament.

The general election on September the 6th, 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being ofall in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation.

No-one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour - constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority :

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

- Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal, complimentary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

1. FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Government is aware of the important part the world at large has to play in the realisation of our country's national interests.

Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens. The dynamic developments in international politics have created new opportunities for South Africa as well. Important advances have been made, among other things, in our contacts abroad, especially where these were precluded previously by ideological considerations.

I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either. The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge : Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from

the industrial countries of the world. Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan. The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived.

Recently there have, indeed, been unusually positive results in South Africa's contacts and relations with other African states. During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaunda. These leaders expressed their sincere concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development.

Our positive contribution to the independence process in South West Africa has been recognised internationally. South Africa's good faith and reliability as a negotiator made a significant contribution to the success of the events. This, too, was not unnoticed. Similarly, our efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict situations in Mozambique and Angola have received positive acknowledgement.

At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means

of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this Parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which concludes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore, it would be inappropriate for the Government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The Government accepts the principle of recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justifiable by an independent judiciary. However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear. Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that any group - in whichever way it may be defined - shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at

the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution.

The terms of reference also include :

- the identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;

- an analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and

- possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

3. THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April the 27th, 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the Government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the Government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

- that reform in this area is indicated;
- that the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and

- that an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines. In the meantime, no executions have taken place since the November the 14th, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

5. THE ECONOMY

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this, the Government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message is that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the sixties, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while. The recovery of the world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy. The Government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions , privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.

This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- the gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners;

- the encouragement of personal initiative and savings;

- the subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;

- rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and

- the encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties. The Government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged its special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

The Government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy of with the recent course of the economy.

I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the Government for some time, namely State expenditure.

The Government's financial year ends only in two month's time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of Government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years. The financial figures will show:

- that Government expenditure is thoroughly under control;

- that our normal financial programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest; and

- that we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals - namely:

- that the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;

- that our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and

- that we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the Government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because of prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.

- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following:

National Education Crisis Committee

South African National Students Congress

United Democratic Front

Cosatu

Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.

- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the Government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members or the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.
The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following:

- The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

- The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

- There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

- The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the Government has taken, it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by the way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision

to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what Black leaders - also Mr Mandela - have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner :

- The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.

- The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

- The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a fait accompli. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: -

Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stand. These include all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following :

"All reasonable people in this country - by far the majority - anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will for ever be held against us.

History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the

tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand :

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.
- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.
- Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction.

I ask of Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through uncharted waters and will bless our labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament,

I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

END of internal file

cc P. McKeaghan

8/1

South African Trade Mission
Private Bag A266
MASERU
100

02 February 1990

5/2/90

Dear Mr Barry

have the honour to attach hereto a copy of Mr FW
President of the Republic of South Africa, o
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With Compliments

Ms Brisine

CONSULATE GENERAL OF IRELAND

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CORPORATION, KINGSWAY, MASERU

c.c P. McKnaghan

8/1

South African Trade Mission
Private Bag A266
MASERU
100

02 February 1990

5/2/90

Dear Mr Barry

I have the honour to attach hereto a copy of Mr FW de Klerk, State President of the Republic of South Africa, opening speech to Parliament today.

Some of the salient points are the following:

1. The death penalty - all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals.

2. The Seperate Amenities Act, 1953 will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

3. The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the SA Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

4. People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of these organisations was in force, will be identified and released.

5. The Media Emergency Regulations and Education Emergency Regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

6. The Security Emergency Regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

7. The restrictions in terms of the Emergency Regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded.

8. The conditions imposed in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being

abolished.

9. The period of detention in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations will be limited henceforth to six months.

10. Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

11. It is the intention to terminate the State of Emergency as soon as circumstances justify it.

12. The Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release.

I have the honour to remain.

Yours faithfully

ACTING TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Mr D Barry
Consul General
Consulate General of Ireland
MASERU
100

ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK, DMS, AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE NINTH PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, FRIDAY, 2 FEBRUARY 1990.

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The general election on September the 6th, 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace.

The alternative is growing violence, tension and conflict. That is unacceptable and in nobody's interest. The well-being of all in this country is linked inextricably to the ability of the leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation. No-one can escape this simple truth.

On its part, the Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour - constitutional, social and economic.

I hope that this new Parliament will play a constructive part in both the prelude to negotiations and the negotiating process itself. I wish to ask all of you who identify yourselves with the broad aim of a new South Africa, and that is the overwhelming majority :

- Let us put petty politics aside when we discuss the future during this session.

- Help us build a broad consensus about the fundamentals of a new, realistic and democratic dispensation.

- Let us work together on a plan that will rid our country of suspicion and steer it away from domination and radicalism of any kind.

During the term of this new Parliament, we shall have to deal, complimentary to one another, with the normal processes of legislation and day-to-day government, as well as with the process of negotiation and renewal.

Within this framework I wish to deal first with several matters more closely concerned with the normal process of government before I turn specifically to negotiation and related issues.

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I hope this trend will be encouraged by the important change of climate that is taking place in South Africa.

For South Africa, indeed for the whole world, the past year has been one of change and major upheaval. In Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom.

The year of 1989 will go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired.

These developments will entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they will also be of decisive importance to Africa. The indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa.

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on

with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa, should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either. The new situation in Eastern Europe also shows that foreign intervention is no recipe for domestic change. It never succeeds, regardless of its ideological motivation. The upheaval in Eastern Europe took place without the involvement of the Big Powers or of the United Nations.

The countries of Southern Africa are faced with a particular challenge : Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the Southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless the countries of Southern Africa achieve stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, they will be faced by further decline and ruin.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions with other Southern African countries with the aim of formulating a realistic development plan. The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of Southern African states have now been removed sufficiently.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

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At present the Government is involved in negotiations concerning our future relations with an independent Namibia and there are no reasons why good relations should not exist between the two countries. Namibia needs South Africa and we are prepared to play a constructive part.

Nearer home I paid fruitful visits to Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and intend visiting Bophuthatswana soon. In recent times there has been an interesting debate about the future relationship of the TBVC countries with South Africa and specifically about whether they should be re-incorporated into our country.

Without rejecting this idea out of hand, it should be borne in mind that it is but one of many possibilities. These countries are constitutionally independent. Any return to South Africa will have to be dealt with, not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in this Parliament. Naturally this will have to be preceded by talks and agreements.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS

Some time ago the Government referred the question of the protection of fundamental human rights to the South African Law Commission. This resulted in the Law Commission's interim working document on individual and minority rights. It elicited substantial public interest.

I am satisfied that every individual and organisation in the country has had ample opportunity to make representations to the Law Commission, express criticism freely and make suggestions. At present, the Law Commission is considering the representations received. A final report is expected in the course of this year.

In view of the exceptional importance of the subject of human rights to our country and all its people, I wish to ask the Law Commission to accord this task high priority.

The whole question of protecting individual and minority rights, which concludes collective rights and the rights of national groups, is still under consideration by the Law Commission. Therefore, it would be inappropriate for the Government to express a view on the details now. However, certain matters of principle have emerged fairly clearly and I wish to devote some remarks to them.

The Government accepts the principle of recognition and protection of the fundamental individual rights which form the constitutional basis of most Western democracies. We acknowledge, too, that the most practical way of protecting those rights is vested in a declaration of rights justifiable by an independent judiciary. However, it is clear that a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a well-rounded and balanced whole. South Africa has its own national composition and our constitutional dispensation has to take this into account. The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean that the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear. Any new constitution which disregards this reality will be inappropriate and even harmful.

Naturally, the protection of collective, minority and national rights may not bring about an imbalance in respect of individual rights. It is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that any group - in whichever way it may be defined - shall be favoured above or in relation to any of the others.

The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as of collective units, associations,

minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution

The terms of reference also include :

- the identification of the main types and models of democratic constitutions which deserve consideration in the aforementioned context;

- an analysis of the ways in which the relevant rights are protected in every model; and

- possible methods by means of which such constitutions may be made to succeed and be safeguarded in a legitimate manner.

3. THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty has been the subject of intensive discussion in recent months. However, the Government has been giving its attention to this extremely sensitive issue for some time. On April the 27th, 1989, the honourable Minister of Justice indicated that there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area. Since 1988 in fact, my predecessor and I have been taking decisions on reprieves which have led, in proportion, to a drastic decline in executions.

We have now reached the position in which we are able to make concrete proposals for reform. After the Chief Justice was consulted, and he in turn had consulted the Bench, and after the Government had noted the opinions of academics and other interested parties, the Government decided on the following broad principles from a variety of available options:

- that reform in this area is indicated;
- that the death penalty should be limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases, and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and
- that an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

Should these proposals be adopted, they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences on the one hand, and on the other, should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death, will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

These proposals require that everybody currently awaiting execution, be accorded the benefit of the proposed new approach. Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals. In the event of the proposals being adopted, the case of every person involved will be dealt with in accordance with the new guidelines. In the meantime, no executions have taken place since the November the 14th, 1989.

New and uncompleted cases will still be adjudicated in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed, will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution.

The legislation concerned also entails other related principles which will be announced and elucidated in due course by the Minister of Justice. It will now be formulated in consultation with experts and be submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

I wish to urge everybody to join us in dealing with this highly sensitive issue in a responsible manner.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

A changed dispensation implies far more than political and constitutional issues. It cannot be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demand practical solutions. Poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, inadequate education and training, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life.

The conservation of the physical and human environment is of cardinal importance to the quality of our existence. For this the Government is developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

All of these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner. Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision.

From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible Ministers during the course of the session. One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement, is the Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Pursuant to my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announce that this Act will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.

The State cannot possibly deal alone with all of the social advancement our circumstances demand. The community at large, and especially the private sector, also have a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people.

5. THE ECONOMY

A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment. With a view to this, the Government has taken thorough cognisance of the advice contained in numerous reports by a variety of advisory bodies. The central message it that South Africa, too, will have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

The period of exceptionally high economic growth experienced by the Western world in the sixties, was brought to an end by the oil crisis in 1973. Drastic structural adaptations became inevitable for these countries, especially after the second oil crisis in 1979, when serious imbalances occurred in their economies. After considerable sacrifices, those countries which persevered with their structural adjustment programmes, recovered economically so that lengthy periods of high economic growth and low inflation were possible.

During that particular period, South Africa was protected temporarily by the rising gold price from the necessity of making similar adjustments immediately. In fact, the high gold price even brought prosperity with it for a while. The recovery of the

world economy and the decline in the price of gold and other primary products, brought with them unhealthy trends. These included high inflation, a serious weakening in the productivity of capital, stagnation in the economy's ability to generate income and employment opportunities. All of this made a drastic structural adjustment of our economy inevitable.

The Government's basic point of departure is to reduce the role of the public sector in the economy and to give the private sector maximum opportunity for optimal performance. In this process, preference has to be given to allowing the market forces and a sound competitive structure to bring about the necessary adjustments.

Naturally, those who make and implement economic policy have a major responsibility at the same time to promote an environment optimally conducive to investment, job creation and economic growth by means of appropriate and properly co-ordinated fiscal and monetary policy. The Government remains committed to this balanced and practical approach.

By means of restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions , privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure, substantial progress has been made already towards reducing the role of the authorities in the economy. We shall persist with this in a well-considered way.

This does not mean that the State will forsake its indispensable development role, especially in our particular circumstances. On the contrary, it is the precise intention of the Government to concentrate an equitable portion of its capacity on these aims by means of the meticulous determination of priorities.

Following the progress that has been made in other areas of the economy in recent years, it is now opportune to give particular attention to the supply side of the economy.

Fundamental factors which will contribute to the success of this restructuring are:

- the gradual reduction of inflation to levels comparable to those of our principal trading partners;

- the encouragement of personal initiative and savings;

- the subjection of all economic decisions by the authorities to stringent financial measures and discipline;

- rapid progress with the reform of our system of taxation; and

- the encouragement of exports as the impetus for industrialisation and earning foreign exchange.

These and other adjustments, which will require sacrifices have to be seen as prerequisites for a new period of sustained growth in productive employment in the nineties. The Government has also noted with appreciation the manner in which the Reserve Bank has discharged its special responsibility in striving towards our common goals.

The Government is very much aware of the necessity of proper co-ordination and consistent implementation of its economic policy. For this reason, the establishment of the necessary structures and expertise to ensure this co-ordination is being given preference. This applies both to the various functions within the Government and to the interaction between the authorities and the private sector.

This is obviously not the occasion for me to deal in greater detail with our total economic strategy of with the recent course of the economy.

I shall confine myself to a few specific remarks on one aspect of fiscal policy that has been a source of criticism of the Government for some time, namely State expenditure.

The Government's financial year ends only in two month's time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year are still subject to refinements at this stage. Nonetheless, several important trends are becoming increasingly clear. I am grateful to be able to say that we have apparently succeeded to a substantial degree in achieving most of our economic aims in the past year.

In respect of Government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years. The financial figures will show:

- that Government expenditure is thoroughly under control;

- that our normal financial programme has not exerted any significant upward pressure on rates of interest; and

- that we will close the year with a surplus, even without taking the income from the privatisation of Iscor into account.

Without pre-empting this year's main budget, I wish to emphasise that it is also our intention to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way that will enable us to achieve the ensuing goals - namely:

- that the present downturn will take the form of a soft landing which will help to make adjustments as easy as possible;

- that our economy will consolidate before the next upward phase so that we will be able to grow from a sound base; and

- that we shall persist with the implementation of the required structural adaptations in respect, among other things, of the following: easing the tax burden, especially on individuals; sustained and adequate generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments; and the reconstruction of our gold and foreign exchange reserves.

It is a matter of considerable seriousness to the Government, especially in this particular period of our history, to promote a dynamic economy which will make it possible for increasing numbers of people to be employed and share in rising standards of living.

6 NEGOTIATION

In conclusion, I wish to focus the spotlight on the process of negotiation and related issues. At this stage I am refraining deliberately from discussing the merits of numerous political questions which undoubtedly will be debated during the next few weeks. The focus, now, has to fall on negotiation.

Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part, are advanced. Some of the reasons being advanced are valid. Others are merely part of political chess game. And while the game of chess proceeds, valuable time is being lost.

Against this background I committed the Government during my inauguration to giving active attention to the most important obstacles in the way of negotiation. Today I am able to announce far-reaching decisions in this connection.

I believe that these decisions will shape a new phase in which there will be a movement away from measures which have been seized upon as a justification for confrontation and violence. The emphasis has to move, and will move now, to a debate and discussion of political and economic points of view as part of the process of negotiation.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the new opportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing all manner of new conditions that will delay the negotiating process.

The steps that have been decided, are the following:

- The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.

- People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because of prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.

- The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulations are being abolished in their entirety.

- The security emergency regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

- The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on 33 organisations are being rescinded. The organisations include the following:

National Education Crisis Committee

South African National Students Congress

United Democratic Front

Cosatu

Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika.

- The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release, are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.

- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

These decisions by the Cabinet are in accordance with the Government's declared intention to normalise the political process in South Africa without jeopardising the maintenance of the good order. They were preceded by thorough and unanimous advice by a group of officials which included members or

the security community.

Implementation will be immediate and, where necessary, notices will appear in the Government Gazette from tomorrow.

The most important facets of the advice the Government received in this connection, are the following:

- The events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, to which I have referred already, weaken the capability of organisations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters.

- The activities of the organisations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

- There have been important shifts of emphasis in the statements and points of view of the most important of the organisations concerned, which indicate a new approach and a preference for peaceful solutions.

- The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organisations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organisations.

About one matter there should be no doubt. The lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations does not signify in the least the approval or condemnation of terrorism or crimes of violence committed under their banner or which may be perpetrated in the future. Equally, it should not be interpreted as a deviation from the Government's principles, among other things, against their economic policy and aspects of their constitutional policy. This will be dealt with in debate and negotiation.

At the same time I wish to emphasise that the maintenance of

and order dare not be jeopardised. The government will not forsake its duty in this connection. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might. Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation. No democratic country can tolerate that.

Strong emphasis will be placed as well on even more effective law enforcement. Proper provision of manpower and means for the police and all who are involved with the enforcement of the law, will be ensured. In fact, the budget for the coming financial year will already begin to give effect to this.

I wish to thank the members of our security forces and related services for the dedicated service they have rendered the Republic of South Africa. Their dedication makes reform in a stable climate possible.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures which have been retained, still exists. There is still conflict which is manifesting itself mainly in Natal, but as a consequence of the countrywide political power struggle. In addition, there are indications that radicals are still trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. Those responsible for unrest and conflict have to bear the blame for the continuing state of emergency. In the mean time, the state of emergency is inhibiting only those who use chaos and disorder as political instruments. Otherwise the rules of the game under the state of emergency are the same for everybody.

Against this background the Government is convinced that the decisions I have announced are justified from the security point of view. However, these decisions are justified from a political point of view as well.

Our country and all its people have been embroiled in conflict, tension and violent struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

With the steps the Government has taken, it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by the way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

Today's announcements, in particular, go to the heart of what Black leaders - also Mr Mandela - have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence. The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations.

Without conceding that violence has ever been justified, I wish to say today to those who argued in this manner : -

- The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace.

- The unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely.

- The justification for violence which was always advanced, no longer exists.

These facts place everybody in South Africa before a fait accompli. On the basis of numerous previous statements there is no longer any reasonable excuse for the continuation of violence. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: -

Walk through the open door, take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

Henceforth, everybody's political points of view will be tested against their realism, their workability and their fairness. The time for negotiation has arrived.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stand. These include all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organisa-

tions and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders.

Through their participation and discussion they have made an important contribution to this moment in which the process of free political participation is able to be restored. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

CONCLUSION

In my inaugural address I said the following :

"All reasonable people in this country - by far the majority - anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically with courage and conviction. If we fail in that, the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress, will forever be held against us.

History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or fail."

This is where we stand :

- Deeply under the impression of our responsibility.
- Humble in the face of the tremendous challenges ahead.
- Determined to move forward in faith and with conviction

I ask of Parliament to assist me on the road ahead. There is much to be done.

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

I pray that the Almighty Lord will guide and sustain us on our course through uncharted waters and will bless your labours and deliberations.

Mr Speaker, Members of Parliament,

I now declare this Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.

END of internal file

SOUTH AFRICAN
PERMANENT MISSION
GENEVA

65, RUE DU RHÔNE 94 ✆735 78 03

03/90

de K speech

2 February 1990

SALIENT POINTS FROM OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA 2 FEBRUARY 1990

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DE KLERK
SPEECH 2/2/1990

STATEMENT BY "12"
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2. 'The Separate Amenities Act, 1953 ... will be repealed during this Session of Parliament.'

3. 'The prohibition on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the SA Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organisations is being rescinded.'

4. 'People serving prison sentences merely because they were members of one of these organisations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organisations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this.'

5. 'The Media Emergency Regulations as well as the Education Emergency Regulations are being abolished in their entirety.'

6. 'The Security Emergency Regulations will be amended to still make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.'

P.08/90 Brussels, 5 February 1990

STATEMENT BY THE TWELVE ON SOUTH AFRICA

Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the reforms announced by President de Klerk on 2 February. They look forward to the implementation of these measures in the very near future. They also expect further measures leading to the complete abolition of apartheid. To the degree that dialogue is instituted in South Africa, the Twelve will be prepared to reconsider their position in accordance with the Declaration made by the Heads of Government in Strasbourg on 9 December. They agreed to discuss developments in South Africa on this basis at their next meeting which will be devoted to issues of European Political Cooperation, in Dublin on 20 February.

Newspaper article(s)/cutting(s) have not been copied

END of internal file

To: Frank Brady

From: Philomena Murnaghan, Africa Section

94

Further to our telephone conversation, the following is a summary quote from South African President de Klerk's speech today, Friday, at the opening of Parliament:

"I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finalty (sic) without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable. Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection."

At this stage we feel that the Minister for Social Welfare can do little no more than welcome the announcement of a firm decision by the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela, while noting that still no precise date has been set.

2 February, 1990

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From: Ms P Murnaghan, DFA

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For: Mr Dennis Barry

From: Mrs P Whittington DEA

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SALIENT POINTS FROM OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT BY STATE PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK - 900202

HERE FOLLOW THE SALIENT POINTS OF PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S OPENING SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT TODAY. PLEASE NOTE THE EMBARGO: 11:00 SA TIME. FULL SPEECH FOLLOWS SHORTLY.

1.'...THE DEATH PENALTY SHOULD BE LIMITED AS AN OPTION OF SENTENCE TO EXTREME CASES, AND SPECIFICALLY THROUGH BROADENING JUDICIAL DESCRETION IN THE IMPOSITION OF SENTENCE, AND ..., AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF APPEAL BE GRANTED TO THOSE UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH. THEREFORE, ALL EXECUTIONS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED AND NO EXECUTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE UNTIL PARLIAMENT HAS TAKEN A FINAL DECISION ON THE NEW PROPOSALS. IN THE EVENT OF THE PROPOSALS BEING ADOPTED, THE CASE OF EVERY PERSON INVOLVED WILL BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW GUIDELINES. NO EXECUTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE NOVEMBER 14, 1989.'

2.'THE SEPERATE AMENITIES ACT, 1953... WILL BE REPEALED DURING THIS SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.'

3.'THE PROHIBITION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS, THE SA COMMUNIST PARTY AND A NUMBER OF SUBSIDIARY ORGANISATIONS IS BEING RESCINDED.'

4.'PEOPLE SERVING PRISON SENTENCES MERELY BECAUSE THEY WERE MEMBERS OF ONE OF THESE ORGANISATIONS OR BECUASE THEY COMMITTED ANOTHER OFFENCE WHICH WAS MERELY AN OFFENCE BECAUSE A PROHIBITION ON ONE OF THE ORGANISATIONS WAS IN FORCE, WILL BE IDENTIFIED AND RELEASED. PRISONERS WHO HAVE BEEN SENTENCED FOR OTHER OFFENCES SUCH AS MURDER, TERRORISM OR ARSON ARE NOT AFFECTED BY THIS.'

5.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEGIN ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

6.'THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE BEING ABOLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY.'

7.'THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WILL BE AMENDED TO STILL MAKE PROVISION FOR EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER VISUAL MATERIAL PERTAINING TO SCENES OF UNREST.'

8.'THE RESTRICTIONS IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ON 33 ORGANISATIONS ARE BEING RESCINDED. THE ORGANISATIONS INCLUDE

(2)

THE FOLLOWING:
NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE
SA NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
COSATU
DIE BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING VAN SA'.

9.'THE CONDITIONS IMPOSED IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ON 33 PEOPLE ON THEIR RELEASE, ARE BEING RESCINDED AND THE REGULATIONS WHICH PROVIDE FOR SUCH CONDITIONS ARE BEING ABOLISHED.'

10.'THE PERIOD OF DETENTION IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS SHALL BE LIMITED HENCEFORTH TO SIX MONTHS. DETAINEES ALSO ACQUIRE THE RIGHT TO LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING.'

11.'IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE IMMEDIATE AND, WHERE NECESSARY, NOTICES WILL APPEAR IN THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE FROM TOMORROW.'

12/'ON THE STATE OF EMERGENCY I HAVE BEEN ADVISED THAT AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, WHICH JUSTIFIES THESE SPECIAL MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN RETAINED, STILL EXISTS. THERE IS STILL CONFLICT WHICH IS MANIFESTING ITSELF MAINLY IN NATAL, BUT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE COUNTRYWIDE POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT RADICALS ARE STILL TRYING TO DISRUPT THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATION BY MEANS OF MASS VIOLENCE. IT IS MY INTENTION TO TERMINATE THE STATE OF EMERGENCY COMPLETELY AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES JUSTIFY IT AND I REQUEST THE CO-OPERATION OF EVERYBODY TOWARDS THIS END.

13.'I WISH TO PUT IT PLAINLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A FIRM DECISION TO RELEASE MR MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY. I AM SERIOUS ABOUT BRINGING THIS MATTER TO FINALTY WITHOUT DELAY. THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE A DECISION SOON ON THE DATE OF HIS RELEASE. UNFORTUNATELY, A FURTHER SHORT PASSAGE OF TIME IS UNAVOIDABLE. NORMALLY THERE IS A CERTAIN PASSAGE OF TIME BETWEEN THE DECISION TO RELEASE AND THE ACTUAL RELEASE BECAUSE OF LOGISTICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS. IN THE CASE OF MR MANDELA THERE ARE FACTORS IN THE WAY OF HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE, OF WHICH HIS PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND SAFETY ARE NOT THE LEAST. HE HAS NOT BEEN AN ORDINARY PRISONER FOR QUITE SOME TIME. BECAUSE OF THAT, HIS CASE REQUIRES PARTICULAR CIRCUMSPECTION.'

No. 785806

~~No. 785806~~

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