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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE THE 641st MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 22 June 1990, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. GAMBARI

(Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT EARTHQUAKE IN IRAN

1. On the proposal of the Chairman, the members of the Committee observed a minute of silence in sympathy with the victims of the recent earthquake in Iran.

SPECIAL MEETING TO WELCOME NELSON MANDELA

2. The CHAIRMAN said that a man who was a legend in his own time was about to address the assembly of nations; a man who for many years had been identified with the struggle against racism; a man who had become the moral conscience of the world and an embodiment of the finest in the human spirit in the universal struggle for peace, justice and freedom; yet who at the same time, remarkably, combined greatness with humility.

3. In welcoming Nelson Mandela, he recalled that in 1963, while the infamous Rivonia trial was in progress in South Africa, the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> had been instrumental in the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution calling for an end to the trial and the unconditional release of all political prisoners and opponents of <u>apartheid</u>. Since then, countless resolutions had been adopted, countless speeches had been made - all ending with a familiar refrain calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa as well as an end to the <u>apartheid</u> system. Now Nelson Mandela stood in their midst, a free man. Perhaps the greatest lesson for the international community was that, like him, it must learn the virtues of fortitude, commitment and perseverance. From Nelson Mandela and from the independence of Namibia, the world must learn that an individual and a nation alike could make a difference to the course of history.

4. He reiterated the world body's commitment to keeping sanctions in place until <u>apartheid</u> was completely eradicated.

5. <u>The SECRETARY-GENERAL</u> said that the presence of Nelson Mandela was a landmark in the Organization's long involvement in the struggle by the people of South Africa against the <u>apartheid</u> system. Indeed, his visit took place at a time when developments in South Africa were uppermost in the thoughts of the world community. He welcomed him as a champion of freedom who had inspired millions around the world.

6. Despite the violence that had been inflicted on Nelson Mandela during his long and unjust detention, the message he brought was one of peace, justice and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the people of South Africa. The statements he had made since his release sounded no note of rancour or vengeance. They simply expressed his vision for a democratic, non-racial society and for an end to the suffering and indignities that the <u>apartheid</u> system had imposed on his people.

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(The Secretary-General)

7. No other human rights situation had caused so much concern and so much distress to the United Nations as that of <u>apartheid</u>. The issues at stake struck at the very heart of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For <u>apartheid</u>, as a system, embraced the uprooting of people from their homes, mass deportations, the denial of equal rights before the law, of citizenship or of proper education, and the imposition of harsh, repressive and unjust practices based solely on race.

8. He was glad that the current Government in South Africa had committed itself nationally and internationally to dismantling <u>apartheid</u> and had already embarked on measures to bring that about. The United Nations would watch with great interest the nature of those measures and the pace at which they were instituted. However, such a dramatic change would not have come about but for the great courage and perseverance of the people of South Africa, as symbolized by Nelson Mandela. Even though his long years of detention had robbed them of his physical presence and leadership, the people had drawn strength from his unswerving commitment to the defeat of <u>apartheid</u>, in their struggle against that iniquitous system.

9. In welcoming Mr. Mandela to the United Nations he welcomed, at the same time, Mrs. Mandela. As a young mother, she had been called upon to take up daunting national responsibilities at great personal risk. She was to be respected for her courage and steadfastness.

10. Nelson Mandela was now called upon to be one of the main architects of a new South Africa. In the period immediately ahead, he must steer the country through the preliminary stages of the dismantling of <u>apartheid</u>. That would usher in an atmosphere free of violence. Next would come the challenging stage of preparing a new constitution and redressing social and economic injustices. The uprooting of <u>apartheid</u>, however, could not stop at the eradication of unjust institutions, laws and practices. It would also require a change in human attitudes. In that regard, few had contributed more than Nelson Mandela: the ebbing of <u>apartheid</u> and of racial discrimination from people's hearts and minds would be his major gift, not only to South Africans but to the international community as a whole. As a champion of freedom and justice for all, Mr. Mandela was in his own house that day.

11. <u>Mr. GARBA</u> (Nigeria), President of the General Assembly, said that, on such a historic occasion, he felt especially privileged, as a son of Africa, to join all others in welcoming Nelson Mandela, the symbol of black South Africa's aspiration for freedom. It was gratifying to see the first fruits of the resilience displayed by Nelson and Winnie Mandela and the members of the African National Congress (ANC), and of the profound sacrifices they had made in the struggle to liberate South Africa.

12. In the five months since his release from prison, the world had come to know the man behind the legend and to realize why he was indeed a fitting leader of South Africa's quest for peace and non-racial democracy. Since Nelson Mandela's release, his pronouncements, which for years had been an inspiration to the liberation movement, had assumed even greater importance.

(<u>Mr. Garba, Nigeria</u>)

13. Nelson Mandela's long and varied experience had prepared him for the exceptional burden of leadership now resting on his shoulders. His generosity of spirit was a great factor in the rapport that existed between the two negotiating teams in South Africa. Mr. Mandela had emerged as a unifying force, bringing hope to a tormented country. The joy at having him present, a free man at last, was tempered by the knowledge that neither he nor any black South African was yet truly free. The ongoing discussions between ANC and the South African Government were encouraging, but they were only the first step. Freedom would come with the demise of <u>apartheid</u>.

14. It was evident that Pretoria had come to realize that negotiations offered the only way out of their political crisis and international isolation, and the recent breakthroughs heralded a crucial transition towards the liberation that was for so long a distant goal. While there was reason for some optimism, the international community must continue to pledge its full and effective support to those who must negotiate the eradication of <u>apartheid</u>.

15. In December 1989, at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, the United Nations Declaration on <u>Apartheid</u> and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa had been unanimously adopted. That historic document (resolution S-16/1) clearly spelt out the international community's vision of a new South Africa and the foundations on which it could be built. The Declaration specifically called for the non-relaxation of existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African Government to eradicate <u>apartheid</u> until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible change. Nelson Mandela's first-hand assessment of the progress made thus far in South Africa would help the General Assembly, when it reconvened to consider the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Declaration, to reach a decision on the crucial question of sanctions.

16. The United Nations was elated that Nelson Mandela had honoured it with his presence.

17. <u>Mr. BLANC</u> (France), President of the Security Council, observed that the occasion was deeply moving, bringing to a successful culmination the persistent efforts of the Council to secure Nelson Mandela's long-overdue release. In his person and in his fight for the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Nelson Mandela symbolized the moral force and legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of <u>apartheid</u> and the establishment of a society in which all South Africans would enjoy equal and full rights and participate freely in the determination of their destiny.

18. As early as 1963, the Security Council had called on the South African Government to release all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of <u>apartheid</u>; in 1985 it had called upon South Africa to release immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. It was therefore a source of satisfaction to all members of the Council to welcome Nelson Mandela to the United Nations.

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(Mr. Blanc, France)

19. The Security Council had more than once affirmed that <u>apartheid</u> was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, that it was incompatible with human rights and that it was a serious threat to international peace and security. The Council had called upon the Government of South Africa to take immediate measures to eliminate <u>apartheid</u> as the prerequisite for the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society based on self-determination and the principles of majority rule through the full and free exercise of the right to vote by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa. The members of the Council, encouraging the people of South Africa to unite around the negotiating table, pledged to do everything in their power, under the Charter of the United Nations, to promote the exercise by all South Africans of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

20. <u>Mr. CUOMO</u> (Governor of the State of New York) said that the people of New York, on behalf of the entire nation, had tried in many ways to express their great respect for Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela since they had arrived in the city two days earlier. It had been a joy for them. Nelson Mandela was one of those rare individuals who touched something deep in people, who renewed their hope in the future. With the unfailing support of Winnie Mandela he was a symbol of hope for his people, for all of Africa, for the world.

21. There could hardly be a more congenial setting for that grand spirit than the great hall of the United Nations. There, the world was called to the higher aspirations of the human family - to live at peace with each other, to work towards the day when every child and woman and man on the planet would be free and equal, under the law, in dignity and rights.

22. In the twentieth century - together, as the United Nations; separately, as sovereign nations; and as individuals - people had failed, at times tragically, to realize those goals. But the international community had with it that day a man who reminded it that despite all the disappointments, despite even terrible travail, the goal was worth the struggle. His magnificent faith restored one's own. One saw how Nelson Mandela's courage and sacrifice were helping to achieve justice in South Africa; how his dream had begun to take on the clear outline of a bright new reality.

23. The world welcomed the release in South Africa of some political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations, the holding of anti-<u>apartheid</u> rallies and the lifting of the state of emergency in most of the country. But it knew, as Mr. Mandela had instructed it, that until the bondage of <u>apartheid</u> was finally severed, until a non-racial, non-sexist democratic community was irreversibly established in South Africa, until Mr. Mandela and all South Africans were fully free, the call for sanctions against Pretoria should not be softened or eliminated. All knew they must stay the course until then, for there was no victory without final victory.

(Mr. Cuomo)

24. He was sure that all New Yorkers and the entire nation would follow with intense interest the negotiations that would take place within South Africa on the dismantling of <u>apartheid</u> and the establishment of true democracy. In whatever small ways the people of New York could encourage that peaceful change, they would do so.

25. Three decades earlier, when Nelson Mandela had been tried for treason, the great French thinker, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, had written that the earth was more likely to stop turning than was mankind, as a whole, likely to stop organizing and unifying itself. The people of New York thanked Nelson Mandela for justifying their faith in peace, their faith in the future, and for all the ways in which he had brightened their spirit.

26. <u>Mr. PEJIC</u> (Yugoslavia), speaking on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, said that Nelson Mandela personified ideals for which the non-aligned countries had striven since the Movement's establishment in 1961. Not even three decades of imprisonment had swayed Nelson Mandela's resolve to attain freedom and dignity for the majority population of South Africa. He had proved that the most brutal repression could not break man's freedom-loving spirit.

27. The process begun by Nelson Mandela's release and the legalization of the African National Congress of South Africa and other anti-<u>apartheid</u> organizations was irreversible. However, it was the responsibility of the South African authorities to see to it that that process evolved much more rapidly. The persistence of a shameful system of racial discrimination stood in sharp contrast to the international developments which characterized the end of the twentieth century. The international community must continue to support the just struggle of the apartheid system. South Africa must be transformed into a society free of racial discrimination in which the entire population enjoyed all rights. The non-aligned countries would continue to lend their full support to that struggle.

28. <u>Mr. MOUSSA</u> (Egypt), speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, said that in Nelson Mandela's person, the United Nations welcomed a man of resolve. Nelson Mandela symbolized the denial of subjugation and unjust discrimination and was a living embodiment of the right to self-determination. In receiving him, the world community received one of the most famous people to be imprisoned for the cause of freedom in the twentieth century. Nelson Mandela sent a message to all oppressive régimes which acted contrary to the rules of law. He was proof that, in the end, no situation rooted in injustice could endure. The Organization of African Unity was gratified that he stood in solidarity with other freedom-fighters, defending, in particular, the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the restoration of its occupied land.

29. The heroic people of South Africa would continue to enjoy the support of all the world's peoples until the Pretoria régime recognized that there was no alternative to eliminating <u>apartheid</u>. Despite positive changes, the struggle had not yet been fully won, and sanctions must therefore remain in place.

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(<u>Mr. Moussa, Egypt</u>)

30. Mr. Mandela's presence at the United Nations was further testimony to the Organization's important role in sensitizing world public opinion to the just cause of the oppressed South African majority and in mobilizing the world community to exert pressure on the racist Pretoria régime. Africa would continue to support the cause of dignity and freedom in South Africa, for the continent would not know true freedom until equality prevailed in all of its countries.

31. <u>Mr. PEERTHUM</u> (Mauritius), speaking on behalf of the Group of African States, said that Nelson Mandela's presence at the United Nations honoured the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> and was a reminder to the world community that pressure on the Pretoria régime must continue until <u>apartheid</u> was finally eliminated. The sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, at which it had adopted the Declaration on <u>apartheid</u> and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (S-16/1) had been a prelude to important developments. Nelson Mandela's presence at the United Nations was testimony to the irreversible process of change in South Africa.

32. In South Africa, the will to reach a negotiated settlement existed and recent developments pointed to further positive changes. No progress would be achieved, however, without a genuine climate for negotiations. Although ANC had shown flexibility, negotiations could not take place while thousands of political prisoners remained behind bars and the Group Areas Act and Bantustan system remained in effect.

33. The South African régime had an opportunity to build a non-racial and democratic State and the entire African continent was watching it to see what it would do. The impact of Nelson Mandela's international tour attested to his own significant role, and to the place that a free South Africa would occupy in the world community. There was no doubt that a strong South African economy would be crucial to the future of all sub-Saharan countries. More importantly, a free South Africa would become a genuine model of statehood on the African continent.

34. <u>Mr. AHMED</u> (Pakistan), speaking on behalf of the Group of Asian States, hailed Nelson Mandela as a guardian of human dignity and an unrivalled champion of self-determination. His presence at the United Nations rekindled hope for the future of mankind. At the same time, it served as a reminder of the many difficult challenges which still lay ahead, in Africa and elsewhere in the world. In February 1990, the peoples of Asia, the world's most populous continent, had joined in the celebration of Nelson Mandela's release from prison. His long detention, far from breaking his indomitable spirit, had strengthened his resolve. His release had coincided with an upsurge in democracy and self-determination all over the globe.

35. The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on political organizations and the partial lifting of the state of emergency in South Africa, were conducive to negotiations on the nation's political future. However, <u>apartheid</u> persisted in South Africa: indeed, Nelson Mandela himself had pointed out that when he was imprisoned in the 1960s, he was not eligible to vote and, on his release 27 years later, he still had no vote.

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

36. Nelson Mandela brought a message to the United Nations that the world-wide struggle against <u>apartheid</u> must continue. The Group of Asian States firmly supported Nelson Mandela's appeal to the international community to maintain and intensify sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

37. Transcending the boundaries of South Africa and the African continent, Nelson Mandela's message embodied the aspirations of all peoples who continued to struggle for self-determination, human dignity and fundamental rights. The Group of Asian States would steadfastly support Nelson Mandela until victory over apartheid had been achieved.

38. The Government of Pakistan had recently been privileged to bestow its highest civil award on Nelson Mandela. The Pakistani people and the peoples of other Asian countries looked forward to welcoming him on their soil. Just as the Berlin Wall, symbol of tyranny and a divided Europe, had collapsed, the time was not far off when the evil edifice of <u>apartheid</u> would crumble.

39. <u>Mr. SOTIROV</u> (Bulgaria), speaking on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, welcomed Nelson Mandela as a symbol of hope, and of the struggle for liberty, equality and justice. The entire world had learned from his display of courage and patience throughout 27 years of imprisonment.

40. The anachronism of the <u>apartheid</u> system was particularly striking in the light of the general improvement in the international situation. Clearly, the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace in the world could not be achieved unless <u>apartheid</u> was abolished.

41. The Group of Eastern European States welcomed the positive steps taken by the South African Government. However, while such measures helped to create an atmosphere of confidence and a climate for negotiations, they marked only a beginning. Genuine freedom was inconceivable as long as the black majority continued to be deprived of virtually all fundamental rights and freedoms. <u>Apartheid</u> could be neither reformed nor changed; it must be eradicated. In that respect, the United Nations had played an important role in elaborating concrete measures to put an end to the <u>apartheid</u> system. The Eastern European States which had consistently supported that objective, reiterated their support for the Declaration adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. The implementation of that Declaration remained a vital task of the international community.

42. <u>Mr. VAZQUEZ</u> (Argentina), speaking on behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, said that rarely in the history of the United Nations had a meeting been convened for so gratifying a purpose, for Nelson Mandela symbolized the aspirations of subjugated, exploited and oppressed peoples everywhere.

43. Latin America and the Caribbean, like Africa, had emerged from a difficult colonial past, and the two regions continued to be faced with similar concerns. Both continents sought a future of well-being for their peoples within the

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(Mr. Vazquez, Argentina)

framework of liberty and, in that quest, Nelson Mandela shone as an example of perseverance and courage. For 27 years, his tenacity, and the clarity of his ideas, had broken through the prison walls to proclaim to peoples and to their oppressors that men and peoples would ultimately triumph because they had faith in life, liberty and justice.

44. As the anti-<u>apartheid</u> struggle entered what would perhaps be its most difficult phase, Nelson Mandela was the ideal person to seek a negotiated political settlement. Negotiations - based on the principle of equality for all - would undoubtedly lead to a solution. Pretoria had taken certain steps which were very encouraging. However, partial reform must not constitute an end in itself. The Latin American and Caribbean States hoped that the process of democratic change in South Africa would continue until the policy of <u>apartheid</u> was replaced by a united, non-racial and democratic Republic of South Africa.

45. <u>Mr. BRAUTIGAM</u> (Federal Republic of Germany), speaking on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States, said that although it was the first time that delegations had had the satisfaction of welcoming Mr. Mandela to the United Nations, his struggle for human rights and against racial discrimination had been of concern to the Organization for decades. Never compromising his principles and convictions, Mr. Mandela had fought tirelessly against <u>apartheid</u> even from his prison cell. Mr. Mandela's tenacity in fighting for what was right had strongly encouraged the international community in its commitment to democracy and justice for all South Africans.

46. The United Nations had unanimously characterized <u>apartheid</u> as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. Permanent peace and stability in southern Africa could not be achieved until the system of <u>apartheid</u> had been abolished. He extended full support to Mr. Mandela and to all who were striving for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. The States on whose behalf he spoke remained convinced that a solution must be arrived at by peaceful means.

47. Positive changes had taken place in South Africa since President de Klerk had come to power, including the recent contacts between ANC and the South African Government. Those changes were an important contribution to the establishment of the necessary climate for free political discussions. The outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by the people of South Africa and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

48. The road ahead was difficult. As long as <u>apartheid</u> persisted, the international community would abide by its commitment to do everything in its power to ensure change in South Africa and to speed up the process.

49. Mr. Mandela had embarked on the difficult road of dialogue with dignity and in a spirit of reconciliation. The Western European and Other States had confidence in his ability to build the necessary bridges and to bring all the citizens of South Africa together. For his people and for the world, Mr. Mandela was a symbol of statesmanship and the hope for freedom.

The meeting was suspended at 12.20 p.m. and resumed at 12.27 p.m.

50. <u>Mr. MANDELA</u> (Deputy President of the African National Congress of South Africa) expressed his gratitude to the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> and to the Secretary-General and the Member States of the United Nations for inviting him to address the meeting. It was tragic that the meeting had been made necessary by the continued existence of a crime against humanity, when it would have been much better to celebrate the achievement of victory, the triumph of justice over tyranny, and the realization of the aims of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

51. The crime of <u>apartheid</u> would forever remain a blight on human history. Future generations would surely ask what error had been committed to enable the <u>apartheid</u> system to become established even after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the aftermath of the Nuremberg trials. Such questions would arise because what had spurred the founding of the United Nations had been the determination of all mankind that racist theory and practice should never again be permitted to drive the world into the deathly clutches of war and genocide.

52. None the less, a racist tyranny had been established in South Africa. Its brutality could be measured by the numbers of children it had killed and the orphans, widows and widowers it had created. And still it lived on, provoking strange and monstrous debates over the means which its victims were obliged to use in order to rid themselves of an intolerable scourge. Those who chose not to act argued that to do nothing must be accepted as the very essence of civilized opposition to racism.

53. It was an inviolable principle that racism must be opposed by all the means which mankind had at its disposal. All forms of racism were inherently a challenge to human rights, because racism denied that all human beings were of equal worth and treated entire peoples as subhuman. For that reason, it had been correct to characterize the <u>apartheid</u> system as a crime against humanity. It had been appropriate for the international community to decide that <u>apartheid</u> should be suppressed and that its perpetrators should be punished. For that decision, and for similar actions, he paid tribute to the United Nations.

54. He also commended the Special Committee, which had been and remained an important instrument in the struggle against the oppressive policies of the South African Government, and its members, who had been unrelenting in their resolve to mobilize world action against <u>apartheid</u>.

55. The Declaration on <u>Apartheid</u> and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (General Assembly resolution S-16/1), adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, would go down in history as one of the most important documents in the international community's struggle against <u>apartheid</u>. Its adoption by consensus was in itself a blow against the <u>apartheid</u> system and a vital statement of international unity with regard to the resolution of the South African question. He looked forward to the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on South Africa,

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(<u>Mr. Mandela</u>)

which would provide a basis for further decisions and actions by the United Nations.

56. What must be made clear, however, was that the <u>apartheid</u> system remained in place. None of the principles laid down in the Declaration had been implemented, so as to provide what the Declaration had characterized as an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question. Moreover, the profound and irreversible changes envisioned in the Declaration had not yet occurred.

57. The obvious conclusion was that nothing which had happened in South Africa called for a revision of the positions taken by the United Nations in its struggle against <u>apartheid</u>. He therefore strongly urged that there should be no relaxation of existing measures. The sanctions imposed by the United Nations and by individual Governments should remain in place.

58. In addition, the Organization should do everything in its power to maintain the unity which it had achieved by its adoption of the Declaration on South Africa. He hoped that all Member States would continue to act in concert, so as not to create any situation which might be an encouragement to those who were resisting change in his country. He appealed to the States members of the European Community, at their forthcoming summit meeting, to remain faithful to the purposes of the Declaration in whose elaboration they had participated and for which they had voted.

59. At the initiative of ANC, a process had begun which could lead to a just political settlement in his country. At their recent meeting in Cape Town, ANC and the South African Government had agreed on the removal of the obstacles to negotiations which were identified in the Declaration. The process of implementing that agreement had begun. However, much remained to be done before it could be said that a climate conducive to negotiations had been created and before the further steps outlined in the Declaration could be undertaken, leading to negotiations for the adoption of a new, democratic constitution. The fact that a good beginning had been made in Cape Town should not lead to the conclusion that further progress was assured or that major obstacles would not have to be confronted in the future.

60. President de Klerk and his colleagues in the ruling party were people of integrity who would abide by the decisions which had been reached in the course of discussions and negotiations with ANC. That in itself was an important victory for the common struggle. It was that struggle which had made the cost of maintaining the <u>apartheid</u> system too high and had helped to convince the ruling group that change could no longer be resisted.

61. However, there were also many whites who were still committed to maintaining the evil system of white minority domination, either because of their ideological adherence to racism or because they feared democratic majority rule. Some of them were to be found within the ranks of the army and the police. Other whites were working feverishly to establish paramilitary groups whose stated aim was the

(<u>Mr. Mandela</u>)

physical liquidation of ANC, its leadership and membership. The threat which those right-wing terrorist groups posed to the process of working towards a just political settlement could not be underestimated.

62. ANC was determined to do everything in its power to ensure steady advancement towards the peaceful abolition of <u>apartheid</u>. It was engaged in many initiatives within South Africa aimed at bringing into the negotiating process all the people and representative political formations in the country. It was necessary to overcome the mistrust existing on both sides and to strengthen the understanding that the aim should be the victory of the people as a whole, not the victory of one party over another.

63. While those processes obviously were not easy, he was inspired by the experience of the people of Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization in overcoming the divisions and mistrust created by the <u>apartheid</u> system and in carrying out a peaceful political process within a relatively short time. Namibia was now a proud nation of independent people. He paid tribute to the Namibian representatives who were present at the meeting and acknowledged the contribution which the Namibian people had made to South Africa's struggle for liberation.

64. He also expressed appreciation to the front-line States of southern Africa and the other African countries for their enormous contribution to the struggle against <u>apartheid</u>, and to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the rest of the world's peoples for their efforts on behalf of the common cause. He urged all those forces to maintain their unity in support of the United Nations and Harare declarations on South Africa. The pace of progress towards liberation would depend upon the success of efforts to sustain that resolve.

65. He thanked those present for their efforts over past decades to secure his release and that of other South African political prisoners from Pretoria's dungeons, and pledged his unfaltering commitment to the shared vision of transforming South Africa into a country of democracy, justice and peace. He also extended warm greetings to all those who were fighting for their liberation and human rights, including the peoples of Palestine and Western Sahara. Through joint actions, a situation could be created in which the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would become part of the body of law on which the political and social order of a new South Africa would be based.

66. <u>The CHAIRMAN</u> said that the Special Committee would do everything possible to ensure the maintenance of sanctions and to prevent the international community from being lulled into relaxing its pressure on South Africa.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

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