

Britain

and the US have acted to prevent the imposition of sanctions. The protective Cloak they have thrown over the regime has encouraged its intransigence and thereby contributed immeasurably to the bloodshed in South Africa, Namibia and southern Africa and helped to retard economic development in the region.

18. The arguments that have been used against sanctions have changed over the years and have often been contradictory. Some can only be explained either by assuming a total ignorance of what is actually happening in South Africa, even before the recent additional censorship measures were introduced, or by an imperial hangover.

We have been told that sanctions won't work/ will not be effective and simultaneously that they will work so effectively that blacks will suffer.

Recently it has been said (by Mrs Thatcher after EPG report) that any action that might be contemplated against apartheid South Africa has to be "effective" and taken collectively.

Strangely enough, this argument is now put forward by the very powers/people/governments who have hitherto prevented mandatory action at the UN by the use of their veto and who have been responsible for preventing or at best diluting other collective action.

b. The absence of vital equipment, technology and fuel will materially affect the regime's repressive and aggressive capacity. There are insufficient domestic sources of capital and skills which can be deployed to manufacture all the goods previously imported without dislocating the economy in other areas, and the regime will be forced to reallocate its domestic resources.

0. The overall effect of sanctions on the economy, on lowering white morale and reducing white comfort and privileges ca4pnlyâ\200\230create further division among the ruling minority and strengthen the forces genuinely arguing for an end to apartheid

d.

One should not forget that vital supplies reached Rhodesia because both colonial Portugal in Mocambique and apartheid South Africa had a vested interest in sustaining the Smith regime and undermining sanctions as an instrument of peace.ful change. In oontrast, South Africa's neighbours now are concerned to bring a speedy end to apartheid

11.

19.

To what should one attribute the failure to impose mandatory sanctions?

Is it, as some have alleged due to racist perceptions/attitudes that prevent action when crimes are committed by a white regime against a black population?

Is it perhaps, simply, a matter of economic interest ~the very substantial returns/profits that apartheid and racial exploitation have brought and which has led to such large western investment in South Africa?

Or is it because our country, with the advantage of geography and rich strategic natural resources has been annexed/claimed as a vital component of/instrument in the global strategy of the western powers, specifically the United States, and that therefore our people's interests and even their lives must remain hostage to these interests?

TEXT:

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(the this is essentially an outline structure and some sections are merely notes)

1.

Appreciation to RCS for providing this opportunity to share our perspectives on situation in SA and what we see as the way forward.

2.

Prophecy of EPG Of downward spiral of violence unless international community particularly Pretoria's friends act.

3.

Almost simultaneous re~oonflrmation by Botha through state of emergency etc of EPG conclusion that he is not prepared to negotiate

4.

Refer to events since in SA in last few days ((do we make point that under cloak of emengenqy'and censorship opponents of apartheid will be eliminated, ostensibly in "black on black conflict" (

5.

These events/developments demonstrate that notwithstanding anything the regime does the people are determined to be free â\200\224 whatever sacrifices demanded of them.

Demonstrate also, that whatever the cost in human suffering and lives Botha is determined to try and maintain white domination.

(DD we concur with EPG conclusion of greatest bloodbath since world war 2 etc?)

14. ANC never seen sanctions as a punishment for criminal behaviour, nor as a means of exacting revenge on our oppressors. Rather sanctions were conceived/ are seen as a vital component of the liberation struggle and can make a significant contribution to it.

15.

It is our considered view that international sanctions are a viable and effective method of putting pressure on the Pretoria regime, affecting its capacity to continue to pursue apartheid policies and maintain them by force and at the same time undermining support for apartheid among the white minority. While it is impossible to schedule an exact scenario, and unrealistic to prophesy miracles certain matters are self evident (and are underlined by the financial crisis last year, and the continuing efforts of the regime and South African businessmen to argue against sanctions.)

a. The withdrawal of financial support for the economy must inevitably affect the resources that the regime can deploy against black resistance without seriously eroding white privileges.

16.

Not often appreciated that South Africa is an outlaw state and extent to which it stands in breach/violation of international norms and law.

Namibia

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and innumerable resolutions of the UN

G.A. & S.C.

Convention on Apartheid/crime

Aggression, breach of peace in region and threat to international peace and security.

Therefore response required from international community in the interests of all nations, for if so persistent and flagrant a violator is seen to be immune then there is a threat to the entire system that we are all trying to build up for a collective and peaceful resolution of disputes.

17.

Thus to

the moral argument for sanctions has been added a legal obligation.

For many years now majority of UN members have seen the need for sanctions and many have taken unilateral and multilateral action.

But in the Security Council, which is the only institution that can universalise action and make it mandatory,

10.

In refusing to impose sanctions concern is also expressed,

in

the context of refusing to impose sanctions, for the suffering of black South Africans and/or for the peoples living in neighbouring states;

but the reality of what the apartheid

regime has wrought over the past decade and the consequences of a failure to act even at this late stage is not taken into account.

Even the fact that the representative organisations of black South Africans and their leaders (with one exception only according to the EPG), as well as the leaders of neighbouring states have all called for sanctions is simply ignored/passed over.

We are no less concerned about the potential for bloodshed and destruction in South Africa, and we have no desire to inherit a country reduced to a wasteland. That is precisely why we have called for international pressure through sanctions. Neither the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia nor the peoples of southern Africa will suffer anew as a consequence of sanctions. That it will add in some measure to their present suffering is acknowledged, but is seen as a sacrifice worth making in the context of bringing a speedier end to apartheid and its continuing bloody toll. Surely, genuine concern on these counts is best expressed by providing assistance to minimise the consequences rather than by adding to the suffering through a failure to act.

13.

22.

In our view the question of sanctions is primarily one of political will.

If that exists, then the questions of methods

' and enforcement

are capable of resolution.

we have noted that

those who express the strongest reservations about sanctions, do not hesitate to impose them in pursuit of their own political ends.

The absence of a political will in the case of South Africa was confirmed by the

absence of the US. UK. FRG (Others???) from the

World Conference on Sanctions that was held last week in Paris.â\200\234%

This Conference, convened in pursuance of a General Assembly

resolution, provided an opportunity for all those seriously

concerned to contribute to bringing an end to/ eradicating

apartheid to come together to discuss strategies and work out the

most effective measures that need to be taken.

The absence of

those countries with the greatest involvement and consequently

with the greatest power

to

reduce the

violence in South Africa was noticeable.

What message did it

send to the oppressed, and what did it signal to the Botha regime?

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14.

It is a fact, and there is no escaping from it, that on the basis of the record the Pretoria regime has good reason to believe that the governments of Britain, and the United States will not only refuse to act decisively themselves but will use their power of veto to prevent the imposition of mandatory sanctions, and will exercise their influence to dilute/ moderate whatever measures other groups of countries are contemplating. How can it be otherwise?

(Comment on success of Paris???)

Yet Britain, the United States and Pretoria's other trading partners (Who do we name here?) are part of a wider international community and in the final analysis cannot remain totally isolated within it. Therein lies our hope for ending apartheid

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NOTE: we should set out our Views on the question of negotiation.

Can we discuss?

That involvement created and shaped the present political scene and continues to effectively buttress and strengthen the forces seeking to maintain existing power relationships/apartheid/the status quo.

12. International involvement in South Africa has never been

"neutral" or inert,

nor is it so now. Spell out in one

paragraph how this operates today: political

,military,,economic,technology,cultural (activity of business and.

multinationals??)

Since the initial call for sanctions we have seen further

evidence of how international links have helped to maintain our

oppression, and assisted the regime in its aggression/

deestablishment/ illegal occupation of Namibia etc.

Spell out here regional activity of regime

13.

It is to take account of these factors

that we have

called

for sanctions. Basically, it has been a call to the international

community to cut the links that are effectively strengthening the

regime. It stands to reason that if this support is removed then

the regime's capacity to maintain apartheid by force is weakened.

(??? Question that remains to be answered in coming weeks is whether Botha's traditional allies : Britain, USA and FRG will continue to maintain their political protection and economic and strategic support.)

6.
Reference to continued white_domination, because notwithstanding rhetoric of reform that is the objective of regime's/Botha's policies.
The reforms proposed planned etc.flow from a recognition amongst rulers that SA cannot continue to be ruled as before. .Ln_thexn
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There has been no "conversion": thus it is acknowledged that apartheid is outdated rather than that it is evil, inhuman and a crime against humanity itself.

7.
As a consequence running through all the reforms are preconditions which effectively/in effect nullify any democratic content that might otherwise appear in the proposals themselves
The_Âfi;stis that control over the process of change, its ultimate objective, its direction and its pace remain vested in the hands of the white minority/ national party.

Regretably, this is a nation to which some western countries also subscribe,and is the

basis of the policy of so called constructive engagement.

12.

If perceived self interest in any one or a combination of these reasons is the explanation for the failure to act, and it is not for the ANC to attribute motives, then we must ask of these governments and of the financial and commercial interests still involved in South Africa:

Where do you think your long term interests really lie?

Or do you genuinely believe that apartheid will last forever and our people will never exercise control over political strategic and economic decisions about South Africa?

20. The oppressed people of South Africa have no doubt at all that we will achieve our liberation/the objectives of our liberation struggle; and there are growing numbers among white South Africans who are aware that apartheid is doomed in both its antique and modernised forms.

Confident of victory we will continue to struggle using all means available to us. Let there be no doubt about that at all.

There will be no surrender, there will be no submission to apartheid.

21.

The questions that remain to be answered are how long will it take, what will be the cost, and what will have been the contribution by way of action or inaction of particular countries. These are interrelated, and international action will affect the answers to the first two.

This I believe was one of the major conclusions of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, and it confirms the basis on which the call for sanctions was initiated.

3.

The segnd__and this flows from the first is that changes must be initiated and implemented by the Bethe regime within political, institutional and ideological parameters set by it and within which negotiations/ consultation/or discussion haveâ\200\230to be confined .

Outside of these parameters all aspirations regardless of the degree of support they command among the population are by state-imposed definition not "legitimate"and therefore cannot be contemplated ..

The_thi:d_

is the notion/dogma/dootrine of group rights etc.

which is the latest reformulation of apartheid ideology.

So like

the South Africa of today, the changed South Africa Botha talks of is to be based on apartheid principles i.e. on an immutable foundation of racial and ethnic divisions,

upon which political

economic and social structures will be built and which will chart all future developments.

8.Thus popular rejection/non acceptance of Botha's reforms is not based on their measure, but on the fact that they are a refashioning of apartheid and merely combine its essential ingredients in a new way.

9. Set out what are the aspirations of majority ~ which they share with peoples throughout the world. At the heart of our objectives is the establishment of a system in which all South Africans, regardless of race or ethnic origin, will be able to participate fully and effectively in the decision making institutions of the country. This means a one person one vote principle in a democratic, non racial, and united South Africa.

10. ABC strategy for achieving these Objectives, based on a recognition that responsibility on oppressed to struggle and liberate themselves: Internal mobilisation of entire population and its organisation into mass political struggle, which is combined with/ reinforced by armed struggle.

(Do we wish to elaborate further on why it was necessary to embark on an armed struggle? Or what role armed struggle can/does play in the situation today?)

[In light of Durban bomb we will need to say something about "soft targets", unless you want to leave it to questions.]

11. There is also an external aspect to our strategy for liberation which has to take account of our heritage/history in which there has been considerable international intervention/involvement in both political and economic development of the country.