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MANAGING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

DRAFT DISCUSSION DOCUMENT ON SANCTIONS: NOVEMBER 19, 1990.

AA: THIRTY YEARS AGO, THE ANC CALLED FOR THE IMPOSITION OF INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AS PART OF THE STRUGGLE TO END THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. THIS ULTIMATELY CULMINATED IN THE CALL FOR COMPREHENSIVE AND MANDATORY SANCTIONS.

BB: AFTER MANY YEARS OF HARD WORK, THIS METHOD OF STRUGGLE WAS ADOPTED BY THE GREATER PART OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND IMPORTANT SECTIONS OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY.

CC: THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA ULTIMATELY BECAME ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO THE STRUGGLE TO END APARTHEID. THIS HAS INVOLVED GOVERNMENTS, INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS, ANTI-APARTHEID AND OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS, DRAWING IN MILLIONS OF PEOPLE INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

DD: THIS INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE DEVELOPED TO ENCOMPASS THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

1.0. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, INCLUDING:

1.1. TRADE SANCTIONS;

1.2. INVESTMENT SANCTIONS;

1.3. FINANCIAL SANCTIONS;

1.4. BOYCOTT OF CONSUMER GOODS.

2.0. SPORTS SANCTIONS TO ISOLATE APARTHEID SPORT.

2.1. THIS FOCUSSED ESSENTIALLY ON ENDING ALL INTERNATIONAL SPORTS CONTACT, CONCENTRATING ON ENDING ALL SPORTS TOURS AS WELL AS ENSURING THE EXCLUSION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM WORLD AND REGIONAL SPORTS EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS.

3.0. THE ACADEMIC BOYCOTT.

3.1. THIS FOCUSSED ON ENSURING THAT THERE WAS NO MOVEMENT OF ACADEMICS IN AND OUT THE COUNTRY INTO THE RESPECTIVE ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS ENSURING THE EXCLUSION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCES AND ORGANISATIONS.

4.0. THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT.

4.1. THIS FOCUSSED ON ENDING INTERACTION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD IN SUCH AREAS AS THEATRE, MUSIC, CINEMA AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS.

5.0. DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION.

5.1. THIS FOCUSSED ON OUR CALL TO THE REST OF THE WORLD NOT TO RECOGNISE THE PRETORIA REGIME AS LEGITIMATE. THIS MEANT THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD WOULD NOT GRANT THIS REGIME ANY DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION BY MAINTAINING EMBASSIES IN SOUTH AFRICA OR ALLOWING

SOUTH AFRICA TO MAINTAIN EMBASSIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE REGIME WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS THE OAU, THE NAM AND THE UN AND ITS RELATED AGENCIES.

6.0. THE ARMS EMBARGO.

6.1. THIS WAS IMPOSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1977. IT IS THE ONLY MANDATORY SANCTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WHOSE OBSERVANCE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS THEREFORE OBLIGATORY.

7.0. THE OIL EMBARGO.

7.1. THIS IS A VOLUNTARY EMBARGO WHICH IS MONITORED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

8.0. FOR MANY YEARS, THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN WAS UNDERSTOOD AND CARRIED OUT AS A CAMPAIGN TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA.

8.1. IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT INSIDE THE COUNTRY AND THE NEED TO ADDRESS THE THEN EMERGING SITUATION OF INCREASED CONTACT BETWEEN THIS MOVEMENT AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, THE NEC, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT INSIDE THE COUNTRY, REVIEWED OUR STAND ON SANCTIONS IN 1987.

8.2. IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE CALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BE RESTATED AS FOLLOWS: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY UNITED AGAINST APARTHEID, FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. THIS POSITION

WAS ENDORSED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CONVENED BY THE ANC IN DECEMBER, 1987 IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA.

8.3. THE EFFECT OF THIS WAS:

8.3.1. TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE POINT THAT WE WERE CALLING FOR THE ISOLATION OF THE APARTHEID FORCES AND STRUCTURES;

8.3.2. TO INCREASE THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT INSIDE THE COUNTRY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, AND TO PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH WE COULD, IN FACT, ENCOURAGE SUCH CONTACT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

8.3.3. THE LATTER RESULTED ESPECIALLY IN A GROWING INTERNATIONAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE APARTHEID AND THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, IN PARTICULAR WITH REGARD TO THE APPLICATION OF THE ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL BOYCOTTS. AFTER SOME DEBATE, AS WELL AS AMOUNT OF RESISTANCE, OUR FORCES INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT CAME TO UNDERSTAND THAT THIS WAS NOT A SCALING DOWN OF SANCTIONS OR PRESSURE AGAINST THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THEY ACCEPTED IT AS A MEANS OF FURTHER REINFORCING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID.

9.0. AS THE BALANCE OF FORCES CHANGED AND IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE ISSUE OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WAS COMING ONTO THE AGENDA, THE NEC AND THE MDM TOOK AN INITIATIVE WHICH LED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE HARARE AND UN DECLARATIONS.

9.1. THE HARARE DECLARATION PROVIDED THAT SANCTIONS WOULD BE

LIFTED AT THE POINT OF THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

9.2. THE UN DECLARATION PUT THIS MATTER DIFFERENTLY WHEN IT SAID THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD ONLY BE REVIEWED WHEN "PROFOUND AND IRREVERSIBLE" CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE, IN KEEPING WITH THE OBJECTIVES CONTAINED IN THE DECLARATION.

9.3. THE ABOVE (9.1. AND 9.2.) CONSTITUTE THE CURRENT POLICY POSITIONS OF THE THE MOVEMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON THE ISSUE OF THE POINT AT WHICH SANCTIONS SHOULD BE REVIEWED, GIVEN THAT AN EARLIER DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN NOT TO ISOLATE THE DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL FORCES. (SEE ALSO 10.3. BELOW.)

10.0. BUT IT HAS BECOME VERY IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT FOR A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE PROCESS OF CLEARING THE OBSTACLES TO THE NEGOTIATION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION AND NOT JUST THE ADOPTION OF THIS CONSTITUTION, AS VISUALISED IN THE HARARE DECLARATION, IS ITSELF SEEN AS EVIDENCE OF "IRREVERSIBILITY".

10.1. THE VIEW HAS EMERGED THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD BE USED FURTHER TO STRENGTHEN THE IRREVERSIBILITY OF THE PROCESS AS A WHOLE BY SCALING THEM DOWN, IN TANDEM WITH THE PROCESS OF CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

10.2. WE HAVE SO FAR ARGUED PRECISELY THE OPPOSITE, THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED TO ENSURE THE IRREVERSIBILITY OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

10.3. WE SHOULD ALSO MAKE THE POINT THAT FOR SOME MONTHS ALREADY, AND IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, (10.1. & 10.2.), WE HAVE NOT MADE THE DEMAND FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF SANCTIONS BUT RATHER INSISTED ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO, UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE REALISTICALLY TO CALL FOR THE ESCALATION OF THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN.

11.0. THE CHALLENGE FACING THE MOVEMENT NOW ARISES FROM THE FACT THAT SANCTIONS ARE BEGINNING TO ERODE OVER A WIDE FRONT, ARISING OUT OF AN INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTION THAT THE COUNTRY HAS EMBARKED ON AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS OF CHANGE TOWARDS A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

11.1. FURTHERMORE, WE ARE APPROACHING THE POINT WHEN ESPECIALLY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE FORMAL DECISIONS PROGRESSIVELY TO REDUCE SANCTIONS. IN THESE AREAS OF THE WORLD, SANCTIONS WERE IMPOSED WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING SPECIFIC STATED OBJECTIVES SUCH AS THE UNBANNING OR ORGANISATIONS, THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, LIFTING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, REPEALING APARTHEID LEGISLATION AND THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND GENUINE LEADERS OF THE MAJORITY.

11.1.1. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WILL MEET AT MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT LEVELS FROM DECEMBER 19, 1990 AND WILL DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA AT THESE SESSIONS. THE US CONGRESS WILL BEGIN ITS SESSIONS ON JANUARY 16, 1990 AT WHICH POINT THE US PRESIDENT IS LIKELY TO DETERMINE THAT THE CONDITIONS LAID DOWN IN THE COMPREHENSIVE

ANTI-APARTHEID ACT (THE CAAA) HAVE BEEN MET, ENABLING THE ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE STEPS TO TERMINATE SOME OF SANCTIONS IMPOSED BY THIS AND OTHER PIECES OF US LEGISLATION.

11.2. WHAT WOULD THEN HAPPEN IS THAT THE PERCEPTION WILL BE CREATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS SCORED A MAJOR VICTORY OVER THE ANC, HAVING SUCCEEDED TO PERSUADE THE WORLD TO LIFT SANCTIONS CONTRARY TO THE VIEWS OF THE MOVEMENT ON THIS MATTER.

11.2.1. SO FAR, ONE OF THE ELEMENTS THAT HAS LENT STRENGTH TO THE ANC EVEN WITHIN THE COUNTRY, HAS BEEN THE FACT THAT, BY AND LARGE, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED TO KEEP THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON OUR SIDE, HAVING WON ITS ALLEGIANCE TO OUR CAUSE, CONTRARY TO THE VIEWS AND THE DESPARATE ACTIONS OF THE REGIME TO KEEP THIS COMMUNITY ON ITS SIDE OR AT LEAST TO NEUTRALISE IT.

11.3. MANY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION ARE URGING THAT THE ANC SHOULD RETHINK ITS POSITION ON SANCTIONS AND THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS ARE ADVANCED:

11.3.1. SANCTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO ERODE REGARDLESS OF THE RESISTANCE WE OFFER TO TRY TO STOP THIS PROCESS, RESULTING IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARGINALISATION OF THE ANC;

11.3.2. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE ANC REESTABLISH ITS AUTHORITY OVER THE ISSUE OF THE NATURE AND THE EVOLUTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD BY PROVIDING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH A WELL-CONSIDERED PROGRAMME FOR THE DESCALATION OF THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN AND THEREFORE THE RESTRUCTURING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;

11.3.3. WE WOULD NOT LOSE THE WEAPON OF SANCTIONS EVEN IF WE PROGRESSIVELY REDUCE THEM DURING THE PROCESS OF CHANGE, AS THERE WOULD BE A STRONG ADVERSE INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO ANY REGRESSION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AWAY FROM PROGRESSIVE CHANGE AND BACKWARDS TOWARDS THE PERPETUATION OF THE SYSTEM OF WHITE MINORITY DOMINATION.

12.0. WE CORRECTLY ARGUE THAT REGARDLESS OF THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, THE APARTHEID SYSTEM REMAINS IN PLACE. AS HAS BEEN SAID BEFORE, WE CONSIDERED THAT THE ADOPTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION WOULD BE THE CRITICAL BENCHMARK BY WHICH TO JUDGE WHETHER CHANGE HAD REACHED THE POINT OF IRREVERSIBILITY.

12.1. NEVERTHELESS, A IMPORTANT SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONSIDERS THE FOLLOWING CHANGES TO BE OF FUNDAMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THEMSELVES AND ARE OF SUCH A NATURE AS TO MAKE THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IRREVERSIBLE:

12.1.1. THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS. IT IS THOUGHT THAT THIS PLACES THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN A BETTER POSITION THAN IN THE PAST, IN FACT TO INFLUENCE THE SITUATION TOWARDS MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

12.1.2. THE FACT OF FORMAL TALKS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CONCLUSION OF BINDING AGREEMENTS IS TAKEN TO DEMONSTRATE THE COMMITMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO NEGOTIATING A NEW ORDER WITH GENUINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJORITY OF THE

PEOPLE.

12.1.3. THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, INCLUDING SUCH OUTSTANDING LEADERS AS NELSON MANDELA, AND THE RETURN OF THE EXILES, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WHICH WILL BE CROWNED BY THE RETURN OF THE PRESIDENT, OLIVER TAMBO, ARE ALSO TAKEN AS EVIDENCE THAT GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE CRITICAL ROLE THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF ESPECIALLY THE ANC MUST PLAY IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE.

12.1.4. THE REPEAL OF THE SEPARATE AMENITIES ACT AND THE UNDERTAKING MADE PUBLICLY AND TO INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS TO REPEAL THE GROUP AREAS AND LAND ACTS, ARE ALSO VIEWED AS DEMONSTRATING THE SINCERITY OF THE GOVERNMENT WHEN IT SAYS IT IS COMMITTED TO ENDING THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID.

12.1.5. THIS IS REINFORCED BY THE DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY TO TRANSFORM ITSELF INTO A NON-RACIAL ORGANISATION, WHICH IS TAKEN AS CONFIRMATION OF ITS RADICAL DEPARTURE FROM ITS EARLIER CHARACTER AS AN AFRIKANER OR WHITE PARTY WHICH WOULD THEREFORE NECESSARILY SEEK TO DEFEND AND PROMOTE WHITE INTERESTS.

12.1.6. THE VIEW THAT IS EMERGING AMONG THE SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO WHICH WE HAVE REFERRED IS THAT ALL OF THESE STEPS ARE BOTH IMPORTANT IN THEMSELVES AND ARE IRREVERSIBLE AND THAT THEY THEMSELVES CREATE THE SITUATION WHICH MAKES THE PROCESS OF CHANGE ITSELF TO BE IRREVERSIBLE.

13.0. SOME OF THE FACTUAL ELEMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE ISSUE OF

SANCTIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

13.1. TRADE SANCTIONS ARE MAKING LITTLE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY WHICH CONTINUES TO EXPERIENCE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SURPLUSES REFLECTING AN EXCESS OF EXPORTS OVER IMPORTS.

13.2. UP TO THIS POINT DURING THE PRESENT CALENDAR YEAR, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY YEARS, THE ECONOMY HAS EXPERIENCED A NET INFLOW OF CAPITAL AS OPPOSED TO THE FLIGHT OF CAPITAL WHICH OCCURRED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE REFUSAL BY CHASE MANHATTAN BANK TO ROLL OVER ITS LOANS IN 1985.

13.3. ECONOMIC LINKS WITH THE AFRICAN CONTINENT SEEM TO BE GROWING, AS REFLECTED BY GROWING TRADE AND OTHER RELATIONS WITH THE SADCC COUNTRIES AND THE CONCLUSION OF AGREEMENTS WITH SUCH COUNTRIES AS MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS, SENEGAL AND OTHERS.

13.4. THE DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF THE REGIME, IN TERMS OF DIRECT ACCESS BY THE STATE PRESIDENT AND OTHER MINISTERS TO VARIOUS CAPITALS, INCLUDING THOSE IN AFRICA, HAS ALSO WEAKENED CONSIDERABLY. CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE, MARKED BY ACCESSION TO POWER OF FORCES WITH WHOM WE NEVER HAD CONTACT, SOME OF WHICH SEE US AS FRIENDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES THAT HAVE BEEN OUSTED FROM POWER, HAVE GIVEN NEW SPACE FOR THE PRETORIA REGIME IN WHICH TO EXPAND ITS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTACTS.

13.5. THE FACT OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE ANC HEADQUARTERS FROM LUSAKA TO JOHANNESBURG HAS ALSO LED TO GROWING PRESSURE FROM SOME OF OUR OLDEST FRIENDS TO ESTABLISH A DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE WITHIN THE COUNTRY SO AS TO KEEP CONTACT WITH THE ANC AND TO PLAY

WHATEVER ROLE THEY CAN TO SUPPORT US IN THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE.

13.5.1. ALREADY THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH AN "INTERESTS SECTION" IN THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY IN PRETORIA, DESPITE OUR OPPOSITION TO THIS MOVE. CUBA IS ALSO INTERESTED TO ESTABLISH A PRESENCE AND IS BEING ENCOURAGED BY PRETORIA TO DO SO. A "MINISTERIAL" DELEGATION FROM SWEDEN HAS ALREADY VISITED THE COUNTRY FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ANC AND THE MDM. INDIA HAS STARTED PREPARING FOR ITS RE-ENTRY BY SENDING A RESIDENT PRESS CORRESPONDENT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 40 YEARS. A FOREIGN MINISTER OF ONE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES HAS INDICATED THAT THESE STATES ARE, IN GENERAL, INTERESTED TO MAINTAIN A DIPLOMATIC PRESENCE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

14.0. IT WOULD THEREFORE SEEM NECESSARY THAT THE MOVEMENT SHOULD REDISCUSS THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN AS IT HAS DONE IN THE PAST WHEN, FOR INSTANCE, IT TOOK THE DECISION TO ALLOW CONTACT BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND THE REST OF THE WORLD AND WHEN IT DECIDED TO CALL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO RATHER THAN FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN.

15.0. CLEARLY, THE TIME HAS NOT YET ARRIVED WHEN WE SHOULD CALL FOR THE LIFTING OF ALL EXISTING SANCTIONS. IT IS HOWEVER ALSO CLEAR THAT WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO CALL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF EXISTING MEASURES WITHOUT RUNNING THE RISK OF PLACING OURSELVES IN A POSITION IN WHICH WE WILL BE SEEN TO HAVE SUFFERED A MAJOR

DEFEAT AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN FACT ACTS IN A MANNER WHICH RESULTS IN THE EROSION OF SANCTIONS.

mb 16.0. THE CRITICAL OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE THAT WE TAKE CHARGE OF THE PROCESS OF DE-ESCALATION OF THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN BY WORKING OUT A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF ACTION AIMED AT ATTACHING SUCH DE-ESCALATION TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL TRANSFORMATION.

16.1. THIS PROGRAMME COULD BE BUILT AROUND THE TWO RELATED OBJECTIVES OF SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, WHICH IS ALREADY INCORPORATED AMONG THE OBJECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ACTION, AND THE NOTION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS CONTAINED IN BOTH THE HARARE AND THE UN DECLARATIONS.

16.2. WE SHOULD THEREFORE TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL BOYCOTTS, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN IN 1987, WITH A VIEW TO WIDENING THEM ON THE BASIS THAT MANY MORE INSTITUTIONS THAN THOSE THAT FALL IMMEDIATELY WITHIN THE MDM, CAN BE SAID TO HAVE ADOPTED ANTI-APARTHEID POSITIONS. WE COULD DEMONSTRATE THAT EVEN IN INSTITUTIONAL TERMS, THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES PREDOMINATE OVERWHELMINGLY OVER THOSE THAT SUPPORT APARTHEID AND THUS FURTHER ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF THE FORCES COMMITTED TO THE PERSPECTIVE OF A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

16.3. WITH REGARD TO SPORT, OVER THE LAST 2 TO 3 YEARS, WE HAVE FOCUSSED OUR CAMPAIGN ON THE CREATION OF ONE NON-RACIAL CONTROLLING BODY IN EVERY CODE AND THE PRACTICAL TRANSFORMATION OF EACH CODE ALONG NON-RACIAL LINES AT ALL LEVELS. THE REPEAL OF

THE SEPARATE AMENITIES AND THE GROUP AREAS ACTS REMOVE ALL LEGAL OBSTACLES TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES. WE SHOULD THEREFORE TAKE A FIRM POSITION THAT ONCE THE UNITED, NON-RACIAL BODY HAS BEEN CREATED, AND GIVEN THE REPEAL OF THE SEPARATE AMENITIES AND THE GROUP AREAS ACTS, WE WOULD WORK FOR THE READMISSION OF THE AFFECTED CODE INTO INTERNATIONAL SPORT.

16.4. THE MASSES OF THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE FACED WITH A WHOLE SERIES OF BURNING SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THESE INCLUDE JOBS, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND HEALTH. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE MOVEMENT SHOULD BE SEEN BY THESE MASSES TO BE ADDRESSING BOTH THEIR POLITICAL AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS.

16.4.1. WE SHOULD MAKE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO ADDRESS THE LATTER NOW, WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION TO BE EFFECTED. IN ADDITION TO GENERATING THE NECESSARY ECONOMIC RESOURCES INSIDE THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THOSE FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR, WE SHOULD MAKE AN INTERNATIONAL APPEAL FOR RESOURCES TO ADDRESS THESE SPECIFIC AREAS. THESE RESOURCES SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BE RECEIVED BY GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS BUT SHOULD GO TO INTERIM GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN WHICH WOULD BE REPRESENTED THE ANC, THE REST OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. THESE STRUCTURES WOULD THEN DECIDE THE DISBURSEMENT OF THE RESOURCES THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN MOBILISED.

16.4.2. WITH REGARD TO INVESTMENTS, WE SHOULD DIRECT POTENTIAL INVESTORS TO SUCH EFFORTS AS THE "VIVA PROJECT" WHICH HAVE THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF "BLACK EMPOWERMENT" AND REDISTRIBUTION OF

WEALTH.

16.4.3. WE SHOULD OPPOSE THE LIFTING OF FINANCIAL SANCTIONS, ESPECIALLY BY THE IMF, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE COUNTRY IS STILL GOVERNED BY A WHITE MINORITY REGIME AND THAT EVEN THE APPLICATION FOR SUCH RESOURCES WOULD BE MADE BY SUCH A REGIME WHICH WOULD HAVE DETERMINED THEIR USE IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN DECIDED EXCLUSIVELY BY THIS REGIME.

16.4.4. WE SHOULD OFFER TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE OF TRADE SANCTIONS WITH ALL AFFECTED BODIES IN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE TRADE UNIONS, BUSINESS ORGANISATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT WITH A VIEW TO ADDRESSING APARTHEID PRACTICES WITHIN THE EXPORT SECTOR AND TYING THE EASING OF TRADE SANCTIONS TO SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS TO ABANDON SUCH PRACTICES.

17.0. FOR THE OBVIOUS REASON THAT THE COUNTRY IS STILL RULED BY A WHITE MINORITY REGIME, THE ARMS EMBARGO SHOULD REMAIN.

18.0. EQUALLY, THE OIL EMBARGO SHOULD REMAIN. WE COULD RELATE THIS TO ANOTHER MATTER WHICH HAS NOW BEEN RAISED PUBLICLY, NAMELY THE SALE OF EXISTING OIL RESERVES AND THE USE OF THE MONEY GENERATED, TO ADDRESS THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE MAJORITY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A PROPERLY REPRESENTATIVE INTERIM GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE. THIS STRUCTURE WOULD THEN HAVE THE POSSIBILITY TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT WITH FOREIGN SUPPLIERS FOR THE REPLENISHMENT OF THE STOCK IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

19.0. WE SHOULD ALSO ANNOUNCE A PROGRAMME OF CONTACT AND DISCUSSION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS COMMUNITY, IN PREPARATION FOR INVESTMENT IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. THIS WOULD INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF SUCH AN INVESTMENT CODE AS WE MAY ELABORATE AND OTHER PROPOSALS DIRECTED AT ENSURING THAT SUCH INVESTMENT HELPS TO ADDRESS THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT WE CONSIDER NECESSARY FOR THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION.

20.0. WE SHOULD ALSO ANNOUNCE A PROGRAMME OF DISCUSSIONS WITH SADCC, THE PTA AND THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF BALANCED AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC REGIONAL AND CONTINENTAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, ONCE SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

21.0. WE SHOULD ALSO INDICATE OUR INTENTION TO WORK FOR THE SECONDMENT OF PEOPLE TO SUCH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, THE EEC, THE WORLD BANK, THE IMF AND THE RELEVANT SPECIALISED AGENCIES OF THE UN, TO TRAIN THE SPECIALISED CADRE THAT WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH THESE INSTITUTIONS ON BEHALF OF A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

22.0. WE SHOULD DISCUSS THE VIEWS INDICATED ABOVE WITH, AMONG OTHERS:

22.1. THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE ANC;

22.2. THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE ANC;

22.3. COSATU;

22.4. THE SACP;

22.5. THE SACC, THE SACBC AND THE WCRP;

22.6. OTHER RELEVANT BODIES WITHIN THE COUNTRY SUCH AS THOSE DEALING WITH ISSUES OF SPORT, EDUCATION AND CULTURE AS WELL AS OTHERS SUCH AS NAFCOC, FABCOS, THE BMF, SELECTED HOMELAND LEADERS ETC.

22.7. THE FRONTLINE STATES;

22.8. THE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL;

22.9. THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT; AND,

22.10. THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID.

22.11. ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANISATIONS, INCLUDING THE WCC, ICFTU, THE IOC AND OTHERS.

23.0. IT IS NECESSARY TO BEAR IN MIND THAT SUCH A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION CANNOT BE KEPT SECRET. WE WOULD THEREFORE HAVE TO CONSIDER HOW WE PRESENT IT IN PUBLIC.

24.0. AT THE SAME TIME, EXTRA EFFORTS WILL HAVE TO BE UNDERTAKEN TO KEEP THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY INFORMED ABOUT THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY SO THAT A CLEAR DISTINCTION EMERGES AS BETWEEN THE STATEMENT OF THE REGIME AND THE ACTUAL SITUATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY. ENDS.