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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON
GENERAL POLICY, INFORMATION AND DEFENCE
FOR THE PERIOD: JULY, 1990 - JANUARY, 1991

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa held its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 27th - 28th June, 1990. The Session was attended by twenty Member States, eight of them at Ministerial level. Twelve other OAU Member States, as well as the two National Liberation Movements recognized by the OAU (ANC and PAC) also participated as observers.

1.2 The Liberation Committee reviewed the struggle for the total liberation of Africa, and examined, inter alia, developments in apartheid South Africa and the continuing precarious security situation in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. The Committee also examined the situation in La Reunion and the Canary Islands.

1.3 The Fifty-fifth Ordinary Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa is taking place in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, at a time when the struggle for the total eradication of apartheid has reached a decisive stage. Like previous sessions, it is also taking place amidst continued improvement in East-West relations. The period under review has also witinessed a number of significant events. These include the Gulf Crisis; the unification of Germany; the resignation of Margaret Thatcher, a staunch ally of the racist minority regime, as Prime Minister of Great Britain; the formal lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal Province; the election of Comrade Clarence Mlamli Makwetu as President of PAC following the untimely and most unfortunate transition of President Zephania Mothopeng, and the return to his motherland, South Africa, of ANC President Comrade Oliver Tambo, after three decades of exile.

2. SCOPE

2.1 This report seeks to highlight significant developments or events relating to the liberation struggle, which have taken place since the Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session of the OAU Liberation Committee. The report also attempts to evaluate such developments or events, and recommends possible measures aimed at further intensifying the struggle for the total liberation of Africa. This, of course, includes an assessment of current requirements of National Liberation Movements. The report further examines, in general terms, the security situation in Southern Africa, with particular emphasis on the Pretoria regime's continued aggressive posture, as well as its acts of intimidation, blackmail, destabilisation and sabotage against the Frontline and other Neighbouring States.

S O U T H A F R I C A

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 It is almost seven months since the Liberation Committee held its last session to review the situation in South Africa, and to recommend possible measures aimed at accelerating the process of eradicating the inhuman and obnoxious system of apartheid. It will be recalled that the circumstances under which the Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee was convened included the lifting of the ban on the National Liberation Movements and other anti-apartheid organisations; the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and a few other political prisoners; the lifting of the State of Emergency, except in Natal Province, and the first session of exploratory talks between the ANC and the Pretoria regime.

3.2 The above-mentioned developments occurred following the adoption of the Harare Declaration on the question of South Africa by the OAU. This historic document, which has been endorsed by the international community, stipulates conditions for genuine negotiations on the future of South Africa. The exploratory talks, which commenced in May, 1990 at the initiative of the ANC, are aimed at removing all the obstacles to genuine negotiations.

3.3 At the first session of the exploratory talks, which is popularly known as the Groote Schuur Meeting, the ANC made it abundantly clear that there could be no negotiations until all conditions enshrined in the Harare Declaration were met. The parties to the talks agreed on a common commitment towards the resolution of the climate of violence and intimidation as well as to a peaceful process of negotiation. In this regard, the two parties undertook to establish efficient channels of communication between each other. They also established joint working groups to make recommendations on the definition of political offences in the South African context, and to work out mechanisms for the release of political prisoners. Additionally, the Pretoria regime undertook to review repressive security legislation in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. GENERAL SITUATION

4.1 During the period under review, the situation in South Africa has been characterized by the second meeting between the ANC and the Pretoria regime, the repeal of the notorious Separate Amenities Act, and the lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal Province. It will be recalled that when the State of Emergency was lifted in the other three provinces last June, it was retained in Natal under the pretext of seeking an end to the violence which has now been raging in that area for six years. Unfortunately, these developments were over-shadowed by increased acts of violence, which engulfed the townships around Johannesburg.

4.2 The Groote Schuur meeting underscored the release of all political prisoners and the safe return of all exiles as the most crucial remaining obstacles to genuine negotiations. The second session of the exploratory talks, held in Pretoria on 6th August, 1990, appeared to have removed the remaining obstacles to full scale negotiations. According to the Pretoria Minute, the outcome of that summit meeting, the racist minority regime committed itself to consider the lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal, which commitment had since been fulfilled. The Pretoria regime also made a series of solemn undertakings to ensure that by April, 1991, all political prisoners and detainees are freed; all exiles are in a position to return home, and that the myriad of repressive laws on the South African statute books are repealed. The processes leading up to this final date were to commence as from 1st September, 1990.

4.3 In a gesture of good will, and as a clear demonstration of its genuine commitment to the process of peaceful change, the ANC also decided to suspend the armed struggle. Of course, the suspension is on condition that the Pretoria regime honours its solemn undertakings. The Pretoria Minute contains a provision for a working group to define the modalities for the execution of this important ANC decision. Full text of the Pretoria
- - - Minute is attached to this Report as Annex I.

4.4 Meanwhile, the PAC has declared that it will not negotiate with the Pretoria regime until elections for a Constituent Assembly are held on the basis of one-person-one vote, on a common voters' roll. Like the ANC, the PAC maintains that the new Constitution for a free South Africa can only be drawn up by a democratically elected body. The PAC is only prepared to pre-negotiate the modalities of such a Constituent Assembly. This important decision was taken at a PAC National Congress, held for the first time in three decades in South Africa, from 7th - 9th December, 1990, and following the invitation extended by the Pretoria regime for the Movement to participate in exploratory talks. The Congress also mandated the PAC to remain committed to the liberation struggle on all fronts, including the armed struggle. The National Congress, which elected Comrade Clarence Mlamli Makwetu as PAC President, established a twenty-member internally-based National Executive Council, and an eighteen-member externally-based Central Committee. Full text of the statement by the PAC National Congress is attached to this
- - - Report as Annex II.

4.5 Inspite of some positive developments which have taken place in South Africa, the situation on the ground, as of now, is not substantially different from that which obtained during the 54th session of the Liberation Committee. The inhuman and obnoxious system of apartheid, as well as its institutionalized pillars remain intact. The Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Bantu Education Act, the South African Constitution Amendment Act (1983) and the various Homeland Acts, which constitute the political pillars of apartheid, are still firmly in place.

4.6 Besides, the Pretoria regime has been dragging its feet not only in meeting the conditions stipulated in the Harare Declaration, but also in fulfilling its commitments under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. Relatively few political prisoners, out of a total of about three thousands (3,000) have been released. Meanwhile, anti-apartheid activists are still being detained in increasing numbers without trial and under draconian laws. Even indemnified leaders of National Liberation Movements are not spared, as evidenced by the recent arrest of Comrade Mac Maharaj, and the warrants of arrest issued against Comrades Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils.

4.7 The Pretoria regime has also failed to demonstrate serious commitment over the question of indemnity for refugees and exiles. According to official estimates, there are about fifty thousand South African refugees, most of whom are based in Africa. Repatriation of such a large number of people can only be facilitated by a general amnesty covering all returnees without any exception.

4.8 However, the Pretoria regime insists that no indemnity for any one, in respect of any event or offence can be granted automatically. Application for indemnity must be made through pre-determined channels, and only those who fall within the guidelines defining "political offences" can qualify for indemnity. The regime has also decided that indemnity will be considered only for involvement in events or category of events which took place before 8th October, 1990. Over and above this, the indemnity does not cover people either on trial, or facing trial for politically related offences.

4.9 Under the circumstances, timely repatriation of refugees and exiles, as demanded by the Pretoria Minute may not materialise. Indeed, the commencement of this exercise has already been unduly delayed. Instead of starting as scheduled in September, 1990, the exercise started at the end of December when only 750 exiles were granted indemnity. Meanwhile, South Africans are still leaving their homeland to seek shelter in other parts of Africa. More than 1,000 have left the country since September, 1990.

4.10 The dishonest attitude of the regime of racist President F.W. de Klerk towards its commitments under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes has now forced the ANC to set a deadline for Pretoria to remove all obstacles to genuine constitutional negotiations. The ANC has warned that if the Pretoria regime does not meet its demands by 30th April, 1991, it would consider suspension of the whole negotiation process. The ANC has also decided to suspend all activities that its working groups, responsible for translating various elements of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, have been carrying out with the Pretoria regime. This decision was taken at the ANC National Consultative Conference, held in mid-December, 1990 inside South Africa. It must also be noted that the ANC intends to hold a National Congress in June this year, at which elections for a new leadership will be held. Full text of the statement by the ANC National Consultative Conference is attached to this Report as Annex III.

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4.11 Given the complexity of the situation, and the Pretoria regime's notoriety for intransigence and prevarication, Africa needs to be more vigilant in monitoring the situation in South Africa.

4.12 Meanwhile, the Pretoria regime has concentrated its efforts on repealing petty apartheid laws, under the illusion that the world might be led into believing that there was movement in doing away with what has been declared a crime against humanity, and a threat to international peace and stability. The unbanning of National Liberation Movements as well as the lifting of the state of emergency, and the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act are undoubtedly great victories for the struggling masses of South Africa. By these actions, the Pretoria regime has been responding to a situation in which it no longer has absolute control. The fact of the matter, however, is that, although National Liberation Movements and other anti-apartheid organisations have been unbanned, the laws under which they were banned are still intact. For instance, under Section 4(1) of the Internal Security Act, 74 of 1982, all these organisations can technically still be banned.

4.13 Similarly, the lifting of the State of Emergency throughout the country has left racist President F. W. de Klerk armed with a whole range of laws that can be used for the same purpose. Indeed, the regime still retains the power to invoke even more draconian measures than those under a full-scale State of Emergency. Under the Public Safety Act, the police can be given special powers including detention without trial, extra-ordinary rights to search and seize and summarily to order any person out of a given area. Needless to mention, racist troops still enter the townships for operational purposes, and continue to mount road blocks to impede free political activities.

4.14 Even the Separate Amenities Act, which was repealed in October, 1990 is effectively still inforce in a number of municipalities, particularly those controlled by the right wing groups. This notorious act sanctioned racial segregation in public places, such as swimming pools, parks, libraries and the like. The bill to repeal the Separate Amenities Act was published in June, 1990 after the regime had announced its intention to do so on a number of occasions. In doing that, the Pretoria regime provided its municipalcouncils ample time to enact local ordinances in order to retain the status quo. The simplest strategem has been to raise the entrance fee to public facilities to a level beyond the reach of the vast majority of the black people. A variant has been to impose an extra-ordinarily high fee on non-residents. As the facilities are located in segregated white areas, residents are white, and non-residents are black.

4.15 For example, in Bethal, a farming town in the Transvaal Province, use of the public library costs non-residents an annual membership fee of R500 (US$ 200), or a deposit of R20 (US$ 8) for each library book borrowed. Meanwhile, in Sasolburg, Orange Free State , admission to the public swimming pool will be by season tickets, available only to residents. These measures are being reinforced by the hostile attitude of conservative whites, some of whom are zealots in the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

4.16 Moreover, the Pretoria regime has not completely abandoned the idea of white supremacy, and remains committed to such apartheid concepts as collective units, associations, minority rights and national entities. According to its constitutional blue print made public last October, the regime is formulating a plan aimed at giving the impression of majority rule, but hedging it with so many blocking mechanisms that the status quo will not only be maintained, but will also be entrenched. The central feature of the plan is a two chamber parliament, with a House of Representatives elected on the basis of one-person-one vote, and a Senate in which groups and regions will have equal representation regardless of their size. As few as one-quarter of the Senate Representatives will have the power to override the majority in the House of Representatives, vetoeing or blocking a wide range of issues defined as minority rights. Under the constitutional dispensation envisaged by the Pretoria regime, minority rights include the right to "live, worship, work and play with your own people".

4.17 The Pretoria regime also remains arrogantly opposed to the election of a Constituent Assembly, as a body to negotiate the new constitution for the country, and to determine what type of government should manage the transition from apartheid to a democratic, non-racial and unitary state. The preference for a Constituent Assembly is shared by all anti-apartheid forces. In this regard, the ANC has called for the convening, after the removal of all obstacles to genuine negotiations, of an all-party congress to set out the broad principles within which detailed constitutional work could be carried out. The PAC, however, has rejected this proposal.

4.18 A Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person-one vote on a common voter's roll, is indeed the only formular that can enable the people of South Africa determine the future of their country in a democratic manner. Similarly, only a representative interim government can give all the people - white, black, coloured and Indian - the confidence that the elimination of apartheid is irreversible and the process of change is on course. It may, be worth noting that the Executive Secretariat has received a proposal on possible electoral systems for South Africa from the Electoral Reform Society based in London. The proposal has been forwarded to the National Liberation Movements.

4.19 However, the Pretoria regime still appears to be committed to a formula in which it will be present in the negotiations both as player and referee. The regime would also like to be the sole authority to determine who should be present at the negotiating table. Evidently, this is aimed at accommodating its surrogate elements, and thus dilute the power and influence of National Liberation Movements. At the same time, by retaining final legislative and executive authority, the regime would possess an effective veto over the process of change itself. Over and above this, the Pretoria regime insists that any negotiated solution to the crisis facing South Africa must be approved by the present white electorate.

4.20 However, the most disturbing development in the country is the upsurge of violence. It will be recalled that violence has become endemic in Natal Province, where it has claimed more than 5,000 lives during the past four years. This scourge has now spread to other provinces with the worst fighting, and by far the grimmest death toll. Conventional wisdom holds that the violence is the result of political rivalry amongst the organisations of the oppressed people. However, a study of the facts and close monitoring of the events reveal that such rivalry accounts for only a tiny fraction of the carnage.

4.21 The roots of violence in South Africa lie in the system of apartheid itself. It has now become common knowledge that elements of the racist security forces, in collaboration with the Zulu-based Inkatha Movement of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have been perpetrating violence in Natal since 1984. The massacres of commuters on the trains in Johannesburg; the raids on the hostels in Sebokeng; the massacres in the East and the West Rand, and the spate of killings in Bekkersdal, Zonkizizwe, Phola Park and other squatter settlements are all examples of an orchestrated campaign of counter-revolutionary violence. The very sophistication and professionalism of the killing machine deployed suggest the involvement of trained hitmen. Eye witness accounts described the attackers in townships and trains as wearing balaclavas and not speaking. Some white elements were also seen participating in the carnage, and later being bussed away in Police casspirs.

4.22 These killings are aimed at weakening the National Liberation Movements, as well as at discrediting the whole concept of disciplined mass action among the oppressed people. The plan clearly serves the strategy of the white right-wing, which undoubtedly continues to have a very strong presence within the security establishment of the Pretoria regime. It must also be noted that, following Namibia's independence, most of Pretoria's special forces and their commanders have been redeployed inside South Africa. It will be recalled that these forces were notorious in Namibia for their brutality and random killing of innocent civilians.

4.23 Meanwhile, the regime of racist President F. W. de Klerk has adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the violence sweeping the country. The only response the regime has thus far been able to muster against the spate of violence are cynical pleas of impotence and more repression. The so-called "Operation Iron-Fist", launched last September, was essentially designed to abridge the civil liberties of the Africanpopulation in the townships around Johannesburg. The regime invoked powers more draconian than those under a full-scale state of emergency. Similarly, the Pretoria regime launched "Operation Sentry" at the beginning of this year specifically in order to intimidate the oppressed people into surrendering their very limited means of self-defence. This operation includes lucrative rewards, ranging from US$ 1,200 for an RPG-7 rocket launcher to US$ 2,000for AK-47 rifle, for people who turn in the weaponry. There have also been other deliberate attempts to destabilise and undermine the National Liberation Movements. These include character assassination, distortions, misrepresentations and outright lies about the character and objectives of the struggle against apartheid.

4.~~23~~24 The Pretoria regime has also not taken any visible measures to disband its various murder squads, which include the Civil Co-operation Bureau (C.C.B.), the Askaris, the Koevoet and other mercenary formations such as Battalion 32. The permissiveness with which it reacts to the provocative behaviour and pronouncement of the white ultra-right para-military formations also confirms a continued commitment to racist double standards.

For instance, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has not only pledged to take up arms to prevent majority rule, but is also openly running military training camps throughout the country. Currently, AWB intends to raise a right-wing army of thirty thousand (30,000) men for deployment in Pretoria alone in order to protect "white property, women and children against blacks". Similar arrangements are being made in other areas, particularly in the gold-mining town of Welkom, in Orange Free State Province, where about three thousand (3,000) armed men patrol the streets to kill or terrorise innocent black people. The leader of AWB, Eugene Terre Blanche, has also been calling on whites to arm themselves in preparation for the so-called Boer Freedom War, without being challenged in any way by the government of the day. Incidentally, the law permits whites to own as many as twenty-seven fire-arms each. Yet, the black people are being intimidated into surrendering their very limited means of self defence, and are not allowed even peaceful protest against well known and long-standing grievances.

4.25 Meanwhile, in an effort to hoodwink the outside world, the racist ruling National Party has declared its membership open to all races. The decision has been taken unanimously by all four of the Party's Provincial organs. It will be recalled that the National Party came to power forty years ago by adopting unvarnished racism as its cardinal policy, and has been applying apartheid ever since.

4.26 The significance of this is unclear. However, racist President F.W. de Klerk and his regime are believed to be seeking alliances with their collaborators in the apartheid tri-cameral parliament. De Klerk is also looking for an alliance with those black people and organisations which have always worked within the apartheid system, such as township councillors and homeland leaders, in order to counterbalance the influence of the National Liberation Movements and other democratic formations of the oppressed people.

4.27 In this regard, it is worth noting that the Inkatha Movement of Kwa-Zulu homeland has transformed itself into a national political movement under the name of Inkatha Freedom Party. The ceremony marking this transformation was attended by the ruling racist National Party Chairman for Natal Province, Jurie Mentz. There are also other political parties emerging. These include the United Christian

Par Party (UCP), which is said to support a strong anti-communist line; the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA), which advocates a post-apartheid political and economic structure indistinguishable from that proposed by the racist President F.W. de Klerk's National Party, and the National Forum (NF), which is made-up of black township councillors operating within the apartheid structure. If the experience of Namibia is anything to go by, many more parties will mushroom.

4.28 Following the lifting of the ban on the ANC and PAC, the two movements have formally re-established themselves inside South Africa. The Movements have opened Head Offices in Johannesburg, with regional and sub-offices throughout the country. As indicated earlier, the ANC and PAC have held a National Consultative Conference and a National Congress, respectively, inside South Africa, for the first time in three decades. The resumption of open political activities puts extra demands on financial and material resources of the Liberation Movements.

4.29 The Movements have also entered a continuing exchange of views with all sections of the oppressed people, including the authorities in the so-called homelands and the nominally independent Bantustans. For instance, the two movements and leaders of virtually all political tendencies of the oppressed people recently attended what has been called a peace summit meeting at the Bishopscourt, residence of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in Cape Town, All unanimously declared their desire for a democratic government in a single, and unbalkanized South Africa. Only Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu homeland and Lucas Mangope of nominally independent Bophuthatswana stayed away from the meeting.

4.30 For the first time, the ANC and PAC have declared their readiness to forge greater unity in order to confront the common enemy, and thus speed up the eradication of apartheid. It can only be hoped that this encouraging development will soon be followed with concrete action. There is an urgent need for the establishment of a united front made up of all anti-apartheid organisations.

5. SANCTIONS

5.1 It will be recalled that at its Fourth Session, held in Lusaka, Zambia on 19th March, 1990, the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa established a Monitoring Group to follow closely developments in South Africa as they relate, in particular, to the implementation of the Harare Declaration on South Africa as well as the UN Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Under this mandate, the Monitoring Group of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee was required to submit a report to the OAU Secretary General, which would constitute Africa's input into the report of the U.N. Secretary General on the implementation of that UN consensus declaration on apartheid.

5.2 In its report submitted to the OAU Secretary General last July, the Monitoring Group of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa concluded that, in spite of the measures taken by the regime of racist President F.W. de Klerk, no fundamental change had occurred in South Africa to warrant the review of the position of the international community in terms of economic sanctions and other forms of international pressure. Although there were differences of view on the substance of the report of the UN Secretary General, the Forty-fourth resumed Session of the UN General Assembly, which considered it, adopted a resolution on 14th September, 1990, which, inter alia, called upon all Governments and Intern-Governmental Organisations to maintain existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid, until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes.

5.3 That process of change is not yet in clear evidence, much less being profound and irreversible. Yet, there has been a serious erosion of the international consensus on the maintenance of sanctions and other forms of international pressure against South Africa. The promise of change has been taken for change itself. The EEC has now joined Great Britain and the Netherlands in lifting the ban on new investments in South Africa. This unfortunate decision has been taken inspite of the passionate appeal by ANC Deputy President Comrade Nelson Mandela for the EEC Heads of State and Government to maintain existing sanctions until the process of change becomes irreversible. Britain has now gone a step further by resuming imports of coal from South Africa.

5.4 President George Bush of the United States of America has also signalled the need to consider ending the sanctions campaign. This followed the visit of racist President F.W. de Klerk to Washington in September, 1990, the first by a South African racist leader for 45 years. President Bush's remarks, and the warm and friendly reception the racist leader received, indicate that the Washington Administration intends to suspend or amend the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) under which US sanctions are applied. Be it as it may, the visit to Washington by racist President F.W. de Klerk is one of the most important diplomatic missions in the history of the apartheid regime. The racist leader has also been able to visit the Netherlands, which has been among Pretoria's most hostile critics.

5.5 It will be recalled that the 54th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee strongly condemned Hungary for establishing diplomatic relations with the Pretoria regime, and called upon that country to urgently reconsider its decision. Regrettably, the Committee's call has not produced any positive results at all. On the contrary, relations between Hungary and the Prerοria regime, have continued to grow. Hungary has even tried to defend its new policy through diplomatic channels, arguing that its decision to exchange "permanent offices" with the Pretoria regime does not amount to the establishment of diplomatic relations with that regime. At the same time, however, the Hungarian government justifies its change of policy on the presence of 20,000 Hungarian nationals in South Africa, and thousands of other Hungarian citizens seeking employment in that country.

5.6 There are also indications that Hungary is expanding its relations with the Pretoria regime. An official of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, Col. Lajos Hajma is reported to have told a recent meeting of the Prague-based International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) that his country would soon send a high level military delegation to South Africa to explore possibilities for future military cooperation.

5.7 Moreover, more Eastern European countries have established similar relations with Pretoria. These include Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has for the first time exchanged high ranking business delegations with Pretoria. The Soviet delegation, led by a prominent member of the Soviet Council of Ministers, A.V. Chernuklin, visited South Africa last November, to reciprocate a similar visit to the Soviet Union made earlier by racist Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister, Kent Durr. There are also reports to the effect that hundreds of Eastern European nationals have applied for employment in South Africa. According to a Johannesburg employment agency, Kelly Personnel Group, a total of 250 applications were received in September and October, 1990, averaging about six applications per day.

5.8 Unfortunately, there are also some African countries which have established various contacts or links with the Pretoria regime. For instance, since the last session of the Liberation Committee, racist President F.W. de Klerk has increased his tour of Africa by visiting Madagascar, Morocco and Senegal. De Klerk returned from Madagascar after signing a tourism and air links agreements. Meanwhile, his Foreign Minister, Roelof Pik Botha, was among the dignitaries who witnessed the consecration of Our Lady of Peace Basilica by Pope John Paul II in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivore. Mr Botha also visited Nairobi, Kenya, last November, the first by a member of the racist regime in decades. The visit has been followed by the establishment of air links between Kenya and South Africa. The regime has also opened trade offices or permanent offices of interest in a number of African countries, while expanding some of its old contacts.

5.9 Evidently, the African consensus on the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa can no longer be said to be holding. There is, therefore, an urgent need to take concrete measures aimed at maintaining and consolidating Africa's unity and cohesion on the question of continued pressure against the apartheid regime, including the pressure of sanctions. The objective of these pressures is to contribute to the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa. Indeed, the removal or relaxation of these pressures, at this moment in time, can only run the risk of undermining, if not aborting all together, the process of change.

5.10 Another issue of great concern relates to the increasing violations of the UN embargo on all supply of oil products to South Africa. In spite of this embargo, oil still flows to the apartheid regime. According to the September issue of the sixth report of the Armsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau (S.R.B.), oil tankers made 66 deliveries to South Africa between 1987 and 1988, providing the regime with 60% of its overall import requirements. The report mentions the Middle-East as still being the main source of supply. Needless to mention, if oil-exporting countries were to observe and enforce their embargo policies, and penalize companies which violate them, the flow of oil to South Africa could be significantly curtailed.

6. ARMS EMBARGO

6.1 No meaningful change has taken place regarding the UN Arms Embargo against South Africa. Indeed, violations of this embargo and the resultant acquisition by the Pretoria regime of sophisticated technology and more dangerous weaponry remain a common feature.

6.2 It is, however, gratifying to report that the new Government of Chile has decided to alter the policies of the previous military administration on South Africa. One of the measures undertaken by the new Government relates to maintenance contracts in Chile underwritten by the previous government, the last of which expired at the beginning of this year. The new Chilean administration has decided not to renew any of these contracts once their expiration date is up.

6.3 With regard to contracts underwritten between Cardoen Enterprises and the South African firm Armscor, the Government of Chile has promised to adopt appropriate measures to prevent Cardoen Enterprises from importing weapons parts from South Africa. Furthermore, no export licenses for weapons manufactured with South African parts will be authorised.

6.4 As for the agreements between the Chilean firm Asmar and the South African shipbuilder Sandock Austra, the new Chilean Government has disolved the joint venture between the two entities. Furthermore, the new Chilean authorities have taken measures to ensure that apartheid South Africa will no longer participate in Chile's Air and Space Exhibitions.

7. FRONTLINE AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING STATES

7.1 The security situation in the Frontline and other Neighbouring States still remains precarious. Indeed, there cannot be a definite end to acts of intimidation, destabilisation and aggression against these states as long as the obnoxious and inhuman system of apartheid persistsp Namibia is increasingly becoming a target state. Last July, the capital of Namibia, Windhoek, witnessed a fire bomb attack on the offices of a local newspaper amidst revelations of an alledged plot against the Government.

7.2 There are also reports indicating that over 1,000 former members of the Koevoet Unit and SWATF have left the country, and crossed into South Africa or Southern Angola. Meanwhile, several arms caches have been found in various parts of Namibia. There have also been incidents of theft of arms. Additionally, in mid-1990, unidentified gunmen fired shots at the homes of the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Home Affairs.

7.3 Another problem confronting Namibia relates to Pretoria's continued occupation of Walvis Bay, the country's only deep-sea port. This is in complete disregard of UN Security Council Resolution 432 (1978), which proclaims Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia. Accordingly, the international community has an obligation to prevail upon the Pretoria regime to respect Namibia's national sovereignty and territorial integrity, which includes Walvis Bay and the islands off main land Namibia, with its southern border extending into the Orange River.

7.4 Regrettably, the unfortunate war in Angola, and armed banditry in Mozambique continue unabated. This is in spite of repeated initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about normalisation of life in these countries. Armed bandits operating in Mozambique also continue to carry out cross-border raids against Zambia and Zimbabwe. It can only be hoped that the current peace initiatives by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique will soon bear fruit.

7.5 During the period under review, the Frontline States held one Summit Meeting in Lusaka, Zambia. The meeting, which was also attended by ANC Deputy President Comrade Nelson Mandela and PAC Chairman Comrade Johnson Mlambo, reviewed the general situation in Southern Africa with particular empnasis on South Africa itself. The leaders of the Frontline States reiterated their commitment to the struggle for the eradication of apartheid, and expressed the hope that the Pretoria regime would honour its commitments under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

7.6 With regard to the violence sweeping through South Africa, the Summit condemned the Pretoria regime for orchestrating and supporting it. In this regard, it noted that the regime was using Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Zulu-based Inkatha Movement to achieve its diabolical objectives.

7.7 The Frontline Summit praised the Government of the Republic of Namibia for its spirit of reconciliation, and hailed efforts by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique to bring about normalisation of life in their respective countries.

7.8 The period under review also witnessed the convening of the Fifth Session of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa. The Fifth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee, which was held in Kampala, Uganda, was also attended by the ANC Deputy President Comrade Nelson Mandela and PAC Chairman Comrade Johnson Mlambo. The Ad Hoc Committee considered a report submitted by the Frontline States, and reviewed the situation in South Africa against the background of the Harare Declaration.

7.9 The Ad Hoc Committee noted that the measures undertaken thus far by the racist Pretoria regime still fell far short of fulfilling the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration and the U.N. Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Accordingly, the Committee resolved that existing economic sanctions, and other forms of international pressure against the Pretoria regime, should, at the very least, be maintained until the process of eradicating apartheid becomes irreversible.

7.10 The Ad Hoc Committee condemned the destructive wave of violence sweeping through South Africa, and noted that the violence was being orchestrated and supported by elements within the security establishment of the Pretoria regime. Accordingly, the Committee called upon the international community to exert all necessary pressure on the Pretoria regime in order to force it to bring the violence to an immediate and definitive end.

7.11 The OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa, commended the ANC for its initiative in calling for exploratory talks with the Pretoria regime, which had thus far resulted in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. In this regard, the Committee called for increased assistance to the National Liberation Movements to facilitate their formal re-establishment inside South Africa, and to enhance the prosecution of the struggle. Full text of the Kampala Communique of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa is available for distribution.

8. LA REUNION AND CANARY ISLANDS

8.1 It will be recalled that the 54th Ordinary Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa directed the Executive Secretariat to submit a comprehensive report on La Reunion and the Canary Islands to the 55th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee, detailing their status, geographical and sociological links with Africa as well as the activities of the Independence Movement of La Reunion (M.I.R.), and the Movement for Self-Determination and Independence of the Canarian Archipelago (MPAIAC), and any other nationalist movements in the territories.

8.2 Pursuant to this directive, the Executive Secretariat addressed identical telegrammes in September, 1990 to the leaders of the two factions of the Independence Movement of La Reunion (MIR), namely Mr J. B. Ponama and Mr Serge G. Sinamale, as well as to the leader of the Independence Movement of the Canary Islands (MPAIAC), Mr Antonio Cubillo. In the messages despatched, the Movements mentioned above were requested to submit to the Executive Secretariat, latest by the end of October, 1990 comprehensive reports on the political situation in their respective territories, and on the activities of their various organisations. The Movements were also asked to indicate clearly their expectations from the OAU, and to send delegations to Dar es Salaam, in mid-November, 1990 for further consultations with the Executive Secretariat.

8.3 Regrettably, the reaction of the Movements has not been wholly encouraging. Only Mr Serge George Sinamale, leader of one of the two rival factions of MIR of La Reunion fulfilled the requirements of the Executive Secretariat. Mr. J.B. Ponama, who heads the other faction of MIR, and Mr Antonio Cubillo of MPAIAC of the Canary Islands could neither submit the required reports, nor travel to Dar es Salaam for further consultations with the Executive Secretariat. This was inspite of the fact that the Executive Secretariat had secured return air tickets for them, and was to meet their subsistence while in Dar es Salaam.

8.4 The Island of La Reunion in the Indian Ocean lies about 650 km east of Madagascar, and 190 km southwest of Mauritius. The island is about 65 km long, and up to 50 km wide; the total area is 2,512 square kms, with a population of about 530,000 inhabitants. About a quarter of the population is of French origin. Others are a mixture of African, Indian, Malay and Indo-Chinese, descendants of workers once brought to farm the plantations.

8.5 La Reunion was first colonised by France in 1638, and was governed as a colony until 1946, when it was made a so-called department of France. Since then, it has been regarded by France as an integral part of the French Republic, with an administration similar to **that** in the metropolitan departments. Administered from La Reunion are the small Indian Ocean Islands of Bassas da India, Juan De Nova, Europa and the Iles Glorieuses, which are claimed by Madagascar, and Tromelin, which is claimed by both Madagascar and Mauritius.

8.6 The Canary Islands, an archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean, are approximately 115 kms from the Northwest coast of Africa, but more than 1,000 km from the southernmost tip of Europe. The archipelago comprises seven islands, namely Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, Tenerife, Gomera, La Palma and Hierro. The islands cover an area of 7,273 square kms, with a population of about 1,500,000 inhabitants. The indigenous people of the islands, the Guanches, are of African stock, akin to those of North Africa. After centuries of colonialism and miscegenation, the present population is largely Spanish in outlook, culture and language.

8.7 The Canary Islands were conquered by force of arms towards the end of the 15th century, and became a Spanish colony. Today, they are administered as an integral part of Spain, constituting the so-called provinces of Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

8.8 Both La Reunion and the Canary Islands are of great strategic importance to their colonial powers. La Reunion has been the headquarters of French military forces in the Indian Ocean since 1973, while the Canary Islands have, to all intents and purposes, been converted into a NATO base. It should also be mentione that these territories are of great strategic importance to Africa as well.

8.9 According to Article I (2) of the OAU Charter, Africa includes Madagascar and the other islands surrounding Continental Africa. La Reunion and the Canary Islands are, therefore, an integral part of Africa, hence the establishment of OAU Sub-Committees on these territories. The mandate of the Sub-Committees is to monitor development in La Reunion and the

Canary Islands, and to advise the OAU as to how the people of these territories can be assisted in their struggle for national independence and sovereignty.

8.10 The Sub-Committee on La Reunion comprises Libya (Chairman), Comoros, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania and Seychelles. The Committee has so far held twelve meetings. The OAU Sub-Committee on the Canary Islands is composed of Algeria, Guinea, Libya, Nigeria and Senegal. It will be recalled that in June, 1981, the then Secretary General of the OAU, H.E. Mr Edem Kodjo, undertook a mission to the Canary Islands. His Mission Report, Document PL/DEC/41/52.82, was submitted to the Thirty-eight Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee held in Kinshasa, Zaire, in January, 1982. Ealier on, in July, 1975, the Liberation Committee had despatched a fact finding mission to the archipelago.

8.11 As indicated earlier, only Mr Serge George Sinamale, leader of one of the two rival factions of the Independence Movement of La Reunion (MIR) has been able to meet fully the requirements of the Executive Secretariat. Mr Sinamale now heads a movement known as Mouvement pour l'Independance de la Reunion - Mouveman Lindepandans Renyon (MIR-MLR). The faction led by Mr J.B. Ponama, which still retains the old name, M.I.R., has now registered itself as an official political party in order to operate fully within the colonial administration. Indeed, Mr J.B. Ponama and his Secretary-General, Mr Michel Reale were candidates in the colonial Parliamentary elections, held in June, 1998.

8.12 According to the report submitted by Mr Serge G. Sinamale, ahd his subsequent discussions with the Executive Secretariat, the situation in La Reunion remains unchanged. The colonial administration maintains its propaganda campaign against the idea of national independence and sovereignty for the territory. The campaign includes a lavish social welfare programme mainly targeted at the youth. There is also a deliberate attempt to encourage the youth to migrate to France, while the territory continues to receive new settlers. Full text of the report submitted by Mr Serge G. Sinamale is attached to this Report as Annex IV.

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8.13 As of now, MIR-MLR is the only movement whose objective is to secure national independence and sovereignty for La Reunion. According to the leader of the movement, Mr Serge G. Sinamale MIR-MLR is run by a seven member Political Bureau and a National Council of 15 members. Mr Sinamale himself impressed the Executive Secretariat as a determined and committed patriot.

8.14 However, the tasks confronting the people of La Reunion remain formidable. La Reunion is virtually a besieged territory, and its people are not yet in a position to agitate for independence in the normal manner. Indeed, their situation is made more difficult by the fact that La Reunion is a small island far away from independent countries like Madagascar and Mauritius, not to mention continental Africa itself.

8.15 Naturally, the internal aspects of the struggle for independence have to be dealt with by the people of La Reunion themselves. However, the struggle would benefit significantly from selected forms of external assistance. Besides establishing links of solidarity with independent Africa, there is need for the people of La Reunion, through their Movements, to explain their plight to the world. In this regard, participation in meetings organised by progressive forces in Europe and other parts of the world, could be very useful. Owing to the status imposed by France, La Reunion is not in the U.N. List of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

8.16 As indicated earlier, Mr Antonio Cubillo and his colleagues in MPAIAC have, somehow, been unable to submit a comprehensive report on the situation in the Canary Islands as requested by the Executive Secretariat. The Movement has also been unable to send a delegation to Dar es Salaam. However, Mr Cubillo addressed a letter to the Executive Secretariat early this year in which he explained some of his difficulties. The letter also reaffirms MPAIAC's position as explained in the report submitted by Mr Cubillo himself to the Liberation Committee at its 53rd Ordinary Session held in Cairo, Egypt, in February, 1990. Mr. Cubillow maintains that the political situation in the Canary Islands remains unchanged.

There are continued attempts by the colonial administration not only to entrench its authority, but also to change the demography of the islands. Mr. Cubillo has also requested the Liberation Committee to urgently extend financial assistance to his Movement to enable it contest elections at Municipal, Cabildos and local Parliament levels to be held in May this year. MPAIAC participates in such elections and other local activities under Congreso Nacional De Canarias (C.N.C.).

8.17 It should be noted that there are other political movements in the Canary Islands operating within the colonial establishment. These, however, are, with the exception of Frente Popular De Las Islas Canarias (FR-EPIC-AWANAK), campaigning for autonomy as opposed to independence. FR EPIC-AWANAK, which has also been in touch with the Executive Secretariat, shares a common objective with MPAIAC.

8.18 It would appear that for the time being, it is very difficult to organise genuine nationalist activities in the Canary Islands. The islands are highly militarised and under an authoritarian colonial administration. Indeed, Mr Cubillo and his colleagues cannot openly operate under MPAIAC inside the territory, hence their participation in elections and other local activities under Congreso Nacional De Canarias (C.N.C.). C.N.C. was itself established in 1986 in order to enable supporters of MPAIAC to participate in the colonial elections of June, 1987.

8.19 A great deal still remains to be done internally by MPAIAC. Externally, the OAU could assist the movement mount a propaganda campaign for the decolonization of the Canary Islands, particularly by fighting for its inclusion in the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

9. INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY SERVICE

9.1 The Executive Secretariat continues to issue press statements and releases on developments relating to the liberation struggle.

9.2 In its efforts to disseminate, as widely as possible, information about the liberation struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa to eradicate the inhuman system of apartheid, the Executive Secretariat has acquired some video films for sale to delegations of Member States. A list of available video films will be circulated in the course of this Session.

9.3 The Executive Secretariat continues to run its Printing Unit, through which it assists National Liberation Movements in the production of propaganda materials. The Unit also conducts basic training for their cadres in preparation for further training overseas. Presently, there are fourteen (14) cadres undergoing training at the Printing Unit.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 The struggle for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa has reached a decisive stage, demanding more vigilance and concerted actions. In this regard, and having examined issues raised in this Report as well as the briefings by the National Liberztion Movements, the Standing Committee on General Policy, Information and Defence may wish to consider the attached Draft Resolutions on South Africa, and on the Frontline and other Neighbouring States for submission to the 55th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee.

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SC.55/DOC.2/Res.1

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its 55th Ordinary Session in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 20th - 21st February, 1991,

Having considered the reports of the Executive Secretary and the Standing Committees, as well as the briefing by the ANC and PAC on the current developments inside South Africa,

Cognisant of the fact that the limited policy measures announced thus far by President F.W. de Klerk of the racist Pretoria regime, were a direct result of internal and international pressure, especially the armed struggle, economic sanctions and political isolation,

Noting with deep concern that the institutionalised political pillars of apartheid have not been abolished and are still intact,

Gravely concerned over the continued brutal repression, incarceration of political prisoners and political trials of opponents of apartheid,

Deeply concerned about the continued murderous activities of hit squads of the racist regime against opponents of apartheid, and the orchestrated wave of violence sweeping through South Africa,

Further gravely concerned that the recurring violence resulting largely from the continued existence of apartheid poses a threat to the negotiating process,

Noting further with grave concern the growing military co-operation between the racist Pretoria regime and some countries, such as Zionist Israel and Taiwan, particularly the collaboration in the recent production and testing of nuclear missiles by that regime,

Indignant at decisions by some countries to lift or relax sanctions and other forms of pressure, and at the increasing violations of the U.N. Oil Embargo against South Africa,

Noting with satisfaction the growing determination of the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa to rid themselves of the scourge of apartheid, and establish a democratic, non-racial and unitary state,

Recalling the Harare Declaration on the question of South Africa adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa in Harare, Zimbabwe on 21st August, 1989,

Further recalling the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 16th Special Session in December, 1989,

1. CONDEMNS the continued incarceration of political leaders and activists, including the Upington 14 and the Sharpeville 6, as well as the growing brutal repression perpetrated by the racist regime;

2. STRONGLY CONDEMNS the Pretoria regime for orchestrating, co-ordinating and abetting the destructive wave of violence engulfing South Africa, particularly the black townships around Johannesburg;

3. FURTHER CONDEMNS the Pretoria regime for its bad faith and unwillingness to fully fulfil its undertakings under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes;

4. NOTES WITH SATISFACTION efforts by the National Liberation Movements, internal and international progressive forces to intensify the struggle and mobilise support for the elimination of apartheid;

5. COMMENDS the African National Congress for its statesmanlike initiative in calling for talks with the Pretoria regime that have thus far resulted in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, aimed at clearing obstacles to genuine negotiations;

6. CALLS UPON opponents of apartheid South Africa to form a broad united front, and demonstrate unity of purpose and concerted action in order to thwart efforts by the racist regime to undermine the struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the ultimate establishment of a united, non-racial, and democratic society in which all people, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, will enjoy the same fundamental freedoms and human rights;

7. FURTHER CALLS for increased assistance to the National Liberation Movements to facilitate their re-establishment in South Africa and to enhance their pursuit of the struggle;

8. REITERATES Africa's preference to end the apartheid system through genuine negotiations as provided for in the Harare Declaration and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa;

9. FURTHER REITERATES Africa's determination, in the absence of a negotiated settlement, to continue to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa on all fronts, including the armed struggle;

10. STRONGLY URGES the international community to maintain, at the very least, existing sanctions and other forms of international pressure against the racist Pretoria regime in order to compel it to eradicate apartheid, and REAFFIRMS that any relaxation of economic sanctions and other forms of pressure is not only a betrayal of the oppressed people of South Africa but is also in violation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted unanimously by the U.N. General Assembly at its Sixteenth Special Session;

11. FURTHER URGES the international community, including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, not to extend loans and credits to the Pretoria regime, whether to the public or private sector, until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa, bearing in mind the objectives of the U.N. Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences; in Southern Africa;

12. STRONGLY CONDEMNS the establishment of diplomatic relations and various other contacts with the Pretoria regime and CALLS UPON countries engaged in such activities to urgently reconsider their decisions;

13. FURTHER CONDEMNS the migration of some Eastern Europeans to apartheid South Africa;

14. STRONGLY CONDEMNS the growing military and nuclear co-operation between the racist Pretoria regime and Zionist Israel, as well as that regime's military co-operation with Taiwan, and accordingly, CALLS for the strict observance of the United Nations Arms Embargo Against South Africa as demanded in Security Council Resolution 418 (1977);

15. ALSO CONDEMNS increasing violations of the U.N. Oil Embargo against South Africa, and REQUESTS all States to adopt effective measures to broaden the scope of the embargo in order to ensure the complete cessation of the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, whether directly or indirectly;

16. CALLS ON THE OAU Member States to adopt a united and concerted position, and continue with the complete isolation of the racist regime as well as the maintenance of sanctions and other forms of pressure until apartheid is eradicated.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION ON

FRONTLINE AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING STATES

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its 55th Ordinary Session in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 20th - 21st February, 1991,

Having considered the reports of the Executive Secretary and the Standing Committees,

Gravely concerned over the continuing volatile situation in Southern Africa engendered by the obnoxious system of apartheid,

Noting with serious concern the continuing effects of the acts of aggression and destabilisation that have been committed by the Pretoria regime against the Frontline and other Neighbouring States, in particular against the Republic of Angola and the Republic of Mozambique,

Fully aware of the enormous sacrifices which the Frontline States continue to make in the course of the struggle for the total liberation of Africa,

1. COMMENDS the Frontline and other Neighbouring States for their continued sacrifices and support to the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against apartheid and colonialism;

2. CALLS UPON the United Nations and the international community at large to continue extending all-round assistance to the new nation of Namibia to enable it consolidate the institutions of Government and ensure security and economic development in the country;

3. REAFFIRMS that Walvis Bay and the islands off mainland Namibia constitute an integral part of the territory of Namibia, whose southern borders extend into the Orange River;

4. CONDEMNS the racist Pretoria regime for its continued acts of intimidation, destabilisation and blackmail against the Frontline and other Neighbouring States, and DEMANDS an immediate end to the Pretoria regime's support to puppet groups in Angola and Mozambique;

5. REITERATES its appeal to the international community to support efforts by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique to bring about reconciliation and normalisation of life in the two countries;

6. FURTHER REITERATES its appeal to the international community to render all possible assistance to the Frontline and other Neighbouring States to enable them withstand South Africa's acts of intimidation, blackmail and destabilisation.

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SC.55/DOC.2
ANNEX I

P R E T O R I A M I N U T E

The Government and the ANC have held discussions at the Presidency, Pretoria, today, 6 August, 1990.

1. The Government and the ANC have again committed themselves to the Groote Schurr Minute.

2. The final report of the Working Group on political offences dated 21 May, 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the Report will be applied in a phased manner. The Report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed. The meeting has instructed the Working Group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August. The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

* The body or bodies referred to in paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will be constituted by 31 August, 1990.

* The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on 1 September, 1990.

* Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from 1 October 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990.

* In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted according to paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible. It is hoped that this process will be completed within six months, but the latest date envisaged for the completion of the total task in terms of the Report of the Working Group is not later than 30 April, 1991.

This programme will be implemented on the basis of the Report of the Working Group.

3. In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe will take place. It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by 15 September, 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

4. Both delegations expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal. They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solved through negotiations. Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved.

5. With due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties the delegations consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of communication are needed should be developed at local, regional and national levels. This should enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict.

6. The Government has undertaken to consider the lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

7. In view of the new circmustances now emerging there will be an ongoing review of security legistation. The Government will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:-

(a) refer to communism or the furthering thereof;
(b) provide for a consolidated list;
(c) provide for a prohibition of the publication of statements or writings of certain persons; and
(d) provide for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered.

The Government will continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The Minister of Justice will issue a statement in this regard, inter alia calling for comments and proposals.

8. We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country. In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress. All of us can henceforth walk that road in consultation and co-operation with each other. We call upon all those who have not yet committed themselves to peaceful negotiations to do so now.

9. Against this background, the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting which will be held soon.

PRETORIA
6 August, 1990

PAC SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Second National Congress of the PAC took place from 7 - 9 December, 1990 at SHAREWORLD outside Soweto. On the first day 500 delegates registered. By the second day 793 delegates from formally launched branches and 400 observers from branches yet to be formally launched attended.

Official delegates were from 253 formally launched branches and 208 branches yet to be formalised.

The new National Executive Council comprises of the following:

1.	President	Clarence Mlamli Makwetu
2.	1st Deputy President	Johnson P. Mlambo
3.	2nd Deputy President	Adv. Dikgang Moseneke
4.	Secretary General	Benny Alexander
5.	Ass. Secretary General	Carter Seleke
6.	National Organiser	Mpolose Mangqangwana
7.	Secretary for Finance	Mike Matsobane
8.	Secretary for Political Affairs ...	Mahlubi Mbandazayo
9.	Secretary for Culture	Fitzroy Ngcukana
10.	Secretary for Legal Affairs ...	Willy Seriti
11.	Secretary for Health	Dr. Selva Saman
12.	Secretary for Labour	Victor Zamela
13.	Secretary for Education ...	Joe Gwabeni
14.	Secretary for Economic Affairs ...	Thompson Gaza
15.	Secretary for Womens Affairs ...	Nomonde Kakaza
16.	Secretary for Youth Affairs ...	Themba Godi
17.	Secretary for Environment ...	Dr. Solly Skosana
18.	Secretary for Foreign Affairs ...	Patricia De Lille
19.	Secretary for Projects	Mark Shinners
20.	Secretary for Publicity ...	Barnery Desai.

ANNEX II

THOSE BASED AT EXTERNAL MISSION AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE

21.	Joe R. Mkwanazi	...	Administrative Secretary
22.	Secretary for Foreign Affairs	...	Ahmed Gora Ebrahim
23.	Secretary for Finance ...	...	Joe Moabi
24.	Secretary for Defence ...	...	Sabelo Phama
25.	Secretary for Economic Affairs	...	Mfanasekhaya Gqobose
26.	Secretary for Labour ...	...	Lesaoana Mkhanda
27.	Secretary for Welfare and Health	...	Nomvo Booi
28.	Secretary for Women Affairs	...	Elizabeth Sibeko
29.	Secretary for Education ...	...	-
30.	Secretary for Publicity ...	...	-
31.	Maxwell Nemadzhivanani ...	...	Member of Central Committee
32.	Barney Hlatshwayo ...	...	Member of Central Committee
33.	Dan Mohato	...	Member of Central Committee
34.	Phillip Gxekwa	...	Member of Central Committee
35.	M. K. Nkula	...	Member of Central Committee
36.	Elliot Mfaxa	...	Member of Central Committee
37.	T. M. Ntantala	...	Member of Central Committee
38.	Thobile Gola	...	Member of Central Committee

The PAC Constitution was amended to unite the 20 members elected internally and 18 members externally based Central Committee into the new National Executive Council. The internal leadership will function as the National Working Committee and the external leadership will function as the Central Committee under the Chairmanship of Comrade Johnson Mlambo. The National Executive Council will also include representatives of mass Africanist structures and 6 appointed persons.

Another New Constitutional structure is the Inter-Regional Council (I.R.C.) comprising the President, Deputy Presidents, Secretary General and Regional Leaders.

External Representatives to the National Conference, other than the Central Committee leaders, included an Emissary from Yugoslavia, Togolese Minister, Emissaries from the Islamic Republic of Iran, Egypt, ZANU P.F. Representatives as well as Representatives from various support groups, PAC External Branch and Diplomatic Representatives.

The PAC regards the National Conference as being highly successful, bearing in mind that it is only since March, 1990 that we are operating in our own name. The level of debates were high and serious and it was hardly necessary to divide the house to vote as concensus on all major issues were easily achieved.

SC.55/DOC.2

ANNEX II

RESOLUTION ON MR. DE KLERK'S INVITATION TO TALKS

This Congress of the PAC after receiving feed-back from Internal and External Branches as well as having had consultations with Governments supporting our Party, resolves:-

1. That there is no principle, tactic or policy barring us from seeking a democratic solution to the country's problems.

2. That the P.A.C. will not negotiate with the DE KLERK regime unless negotiations are preceeded by an election for a Constituent Assembly on the Basis of One-Person-One-Vote on a common voters roll in a unitary State.

3. That the De Kler regime has failed to create conducive conditions for negotiations as demanded by the United Nations and the international community.

4. That the P.A.C. has the mandate from the oppressed and dispossessed people to demand that the Constitution for a free Azania only be drawn up by a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly.

5. That the P.A.C. is prepared to pre-negotiate only the modalities of creating the constituent assembly i.e. the Date, Age of Voters, Voters' Roll, Supervision etc. Any such talks should take place in a neutral venue.

6. That the P.A.C. remains committed to continue the struggle for liberation on all fronts, including the armed struggle.

7. That the P.A.C. remains committed to the PAN AFRINCAIST POLICY on the return of land and all other resources to the toiling and dispossessed African masses.

8. That the P.A.C. will inform Mr. F.W. de Klerk of these decisions in writing.

ANNEX II

RESOLUTIONS ON SANCTIONS

Convinced that economic, military and cultural sanctions are important weapons in the just struggle to isolate the illegal minority racist regime and the eradication of the apartheid system;

Further convinced that sanctions imposed thus far have and continue to have the desired effect;

This Congress resolves:

1. That existing sanctions in the economic, military and cultural fields must remain and be strengthened;

2. Calls for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions;

3. Condemns all efforts aimed at undermining sanctions; and

4. Undertakes to intensify the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

RESOLUTIONS ON VIOLENCE

This Congress, after debating the violence sweeping the African townships and noting the many factors that contribute to it, CALLS on every African in our country to oppose and expose all the elements in our society that promote the violence;

CALLS on the NEC to engage other political groups in the process of curbing violence in our townships; and

CALLS on the NEC to hold regular seminars, workshops and peace rallies for all Africans, whatever their political persuasion, to spread the message of "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy".

RESOLUTION ON UNITED FRONT

Realising and convinced of the importance of a United Front involving all forces who have a contradiction with the enemy, this Congress resolves:

1. That the United Front with other organisations of the oppressed should be formed, with the PAC guided by the following principles:

   a. It is only the African masses who are the vehicle for change and not the regime;

   b. Apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eradicated;

   c. All forms of struggle, with the armed struggle as the principal one, must be encouraged.

RESOLUTION ON THE UPINGTON 14

Noting that on May 26, 1989, the apartheid regime's court sentenced 14 Africans to death on the doctrine of "common purpose" after a three year trial. This followed a similar sentence on the Sharpeville 6;

And further noting that they are the largest group of people ever to be sentenced to death in apartheid South Africa for an alleged single murder;

Congress therefore resolves:

1. To launch a campaign to free the Upington 14 and the Sharpeville 6;

2. To rally the international community on the issue of justice; and

3. To further campaign for the release of African patriots detained and jailed by the regime.

SC.55/DOC.2
ANNEX II

RESOLUTION OF THE EDUCATION CRISIS

The crisis that has disturbed the entire education process, thus negatively affecting the African masses in general and the African students in particular, is not a spontaneous and goal less development. It is a direct result of the illegitimate regime's pre-meditated attempts to marginalise the African's role in his socio-economic and political milieu.

This Congress therefore resolves that:

1. The PAC should produce a detailed, well thought and clearly defined education policy that takes into account the African philosophy of life, which is the essence of the eudcation of our nation. When formulating this policy, the PAC will seek expertise and contributions of educationists especially education planners;

2. A teachers' forum harbouring, projecting and perpetuating the Africanist image and tendencies be started immediately. Such a forum must coordinate the activities of teachers; promote sound parent-teacher-student relationships; protect teachers against victimisation by the authorities; and must inculcate a sense of duty and responsibility in the minds of both the teachers and students;

3. The existing system of education is racist, illegitimate, discriminatory, and has been forced down the throats of the Africans and must therefore be eradicated in its entirety and be replaced by a non-racial, uniform system that is African in orientation.

4. The PAC demands an interim measure that the present illegitimate regime:

   a. Provide African schools with meaningful material resources for the improvement of the education of our African students;

CALLS on the international community to maintain and intensify the cultural boycott;

SUPPORTS the principled positions pursued by non-racial, non-sectarian cultural and sports organisations;

URGES Azanian cultural and sports organisations to unite and intensify the boycott; and

INSTRUCTS the NEC to strengthen ties with these cultural and sports organisations and to participate in all attempts to unify sports bodies in this country.

RESOLUTION ON PROGRAMME OF ACTION

After noting that one of the important weapons in the struggle for our liberation is mass mobilisation, this Congress instructs the NEC to:

1. Intensify the struggle for liberation on all fronts;

2. Appoint a campaigns committee whose primary task will be to decide on and implement strategies for mass mobilisation on the political, economic, educational, and other areas, with particular attention to campaigns for a Constituent Assembly and for the unconditional release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

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ANNEX III

1990 ANC NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

DECLARATION:

1. The 1990 National Consultative of the African National Congress has been convened on the soil of our country for the first time in thirty years. Our conference has brought together our freedom fighters and patriots from all over the world - from our camps, branches, from the underground, from overseas missions - to chart the course for our vanguard movement.

2. We, 1603 delegates, have been inspired to pursue our strategic objective of transfer of power to all South Africans and to the construction of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, united South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

3. We unanimously and unequivocally rededicate ourselves to the four pillars of our revolutionary strategy, believing that there have been no fundamental changes in the political situation which would require a departure from our strategy.

4. At the same time we are aware that we have, through the struggles of our people, succeeded in forcing the apartheid regime to accept that it can no longer rule in the old way. This has certainly introduced a new element to our strategic perspective.

5. While we remain committed to exploring every possibility for a peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa, the apartheid regime has in recent months demonstrated that it is not committed to our objective of a democratic South Africa. The regime has its own agenda, that of retaining white domination in a new form. It is violating and distorting all its undertakings to the ANC and the people, as contained in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

6. Our patience with this regime is running out. We demand that the regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith. We say to the international community and the regime that should real progress in this regard not be evident, we shall not hesitate to direct the NEC to suspend talks.

7. We take this opportunity to remember all our fallen heroes and heroines. We salute our cadres in the Camps, those in exile, those in underground structures, in MK, those in hiding, and those in apartheid prisons and on death row for their sacrifices and undiminished dedication.

We call on the regime to stop hunting Comrade Ronnie Kasrils and other comrades in hiding. We commit ourselves to defending our comrades.

8. A special tribute is extended to our people in the rural areas, whose spirit of resistance in the most difficult conditions has inspired us over the years. We are painfully aware of our continued failure to give due attention and resources to the organising of our rural people and their struggles. This we will rectify.

9. Our courageous people in all parts of South Africa, men and women, have been the main architects for the crumbling of apartheid. As we stand on the threshold of the most challenging period of our struggle, we declare that 1991 will be a year of MASS ACTION FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

We believe that only our organised and militant people can write the final chapter of our struggle. We, dedicated cadres of the ANC, commit ourselves to tirelessly mobilising and organising our people for the prosecution of their historical task of finally bringing about a democratic, united, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.

ANNEX III

RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND SUSPENSION OF THE ARMED ACTIONS

PREAMBLE

Noting that:

1. Negotiations is only one form of struggle towards the transfer of power to the people for the creation of a non-racial, unitary and non-sexist South Africa.

2. Conference supports and endorses the negotiations strategy outlined in the Harare Declaration.

Further noting:

3. That the regime has not yet removed obstacles contained in the Harare Declaration; - namely,

   - unconditional release of all political prisoners
   - unconditional return of exiles
   - repeal of all security and repressive legislation
   - termination of all political trials.

4. That consequently the regime has failed and/or neglected to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation for a new constitution.

5. That the current endemic violence further creates further obstacles against the creation of a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation.

6. That this violence is part of a deliberate attempt by the State and its allies to destabilise the ANC and to slaughter innocent people and believing that whilst the Harare Declaration remains our lodestar, it is not a dogma.

We therefore resolve:

1. To mandate the NEC to proceed with talks about talks and invest them with discretionary powers in the execution of their tasks with a view to creating a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations.

Further resolve that:

2. In the execution of these tasks the NEC should regularly consult with its constituencies on all major issues.

3. That appropriate mechanisms be set up for such consultations and communication with the said constituencies.

4. The NEC involves in the negotiation its revolutionary allies.

5. That a comprehemsive negotiating team composed of chief negotiators, working groups, researchers, be created as a matter of extreme urgency and that such teams include a fair representation of women.

And further resolve that:

6. The NEC serve notice on the regime that unless all the obstacles are removed on or before the 30th April, 1991, the ANC shall consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process.

In the light of the endemic violence and the slaughter of innocent people by the regime and its allies we:

1. Reaffirm our right and duty as a people to defend ourselves with any means at our disposal.

2. We hereby serve notice on the regime that unless it ends this carnage, the ANC will find it difficult, if not impossible to adhere to the agreements entered into with the government, especially paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute pertaining to armed action and related activities.

Lastly conference resolves:

1. To mandate the NEC to take active steps to create peoples defence units as a matter of extreme urgency for the defence of our people.

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ANNEX III

RESOLUTION ON THE UNDERGROUND AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

We remain committed to the strengthening and growth of our people's army MK and the underground.

We therefore stand resolved:

a) to continue with the process of recruitment and training of our forces for the purpose of defending our people against enemy orchestrated violence and to prepare ourselves for a central role in a new army whose tasks will be to defend and uphold democratic values.

b) that the NEC is directed to ensure that the welfare and future of MK cadres is carefully and fully discussed and catered for.

c) to build the underground to guarantee that our Movement does not suffer any [illegible]rious setbacks.

d) that it is a necessity for our Movement to maintain and develop a network to carry out appropriate underground work.

e) that the NEC must demand that the police must explain the disappearances and deaths of a number of our cadres throughout the country in particular the recent disappearance of Comrade Charles Ndaba and Comrade Mvuso Tshabalala and the cold blooded murder of Comrade Welile Saalman and Comrade Vukile Gondiwe.

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ANNEX IV

REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN LA REUNION

The political situation in our country has not changed. What we said in our last report submitted to you during the 12th Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on La Reunion (14th and 15th December, 1989) is still valid.

The French imperialism is intensifying its occupation. France is transforming our country from a French colony and strategic military base into a European Colony.

Indeed, with the 'Single European Act' and the establishment of a great European market, the frontiers will disappear between the 12 European countries allowing the free movements of goods and people.

The consequences of the Single European Act will be a greater occupation of our country by the citizens of the 12 European countries, by Capitalist investors and European citizens escaping from Europe in a serious crisis created by more than 20 million unemployed people. Adventurers and con men will come to the Island to make their fortune with all the vices of the old decadent Europe. They will definitely contaminate our people and pollute our country, which is part of Africa.

Our population runs the risk of becoming a minority group. The risk of movement of population through immigration as was the case in New Caledonia or of disappearing like the Arborigenes in Australia or the Indians in America.

Our dwindling economy, a result of colonial plundering and the competition between the imperialist monopolies, will disappear in favour of major European Trusts.

In 1993, La Reunion will become the show-case of Europe in the Indian Ocean, a bridge between the old colonial powers for the reconquest and plunder (regional cooperation) of Africa.

Today, France is pouring billions of French Francs in the form of assistance to the Reunion people. This assistance called "national solidarity" is indeed a poisoned sweet which transform our brothers into genuine beggars and suppress their national conscience. But inspite of all these manoeuvres contradictions still persist.

- Massive unemployment particularly among the youth (40% unemployment).

- Failure of the immigration policy: our youth refuse to emigrate thanks to the propaganda of our Movement in La Reunion and in France. The fear of a social explosion haunts our corrupted and puppet leaders.

- Peasants are ruined and demonstrate vigorously their discontent and grievances.

- The artisans and small businessmen are on the verge of bankruptcy because of the ruthless competition of the super markets belonging to multinationals such as Euromarche, Euro-ocean.

- The school children are in the forefront of the struggle, they are the seeds of the resistance. They have responded to our appeal: "STAND UP AND BE COUNTED". Everyday they set up road blocks in order to get a positive answer to their claims.

- The overpaid civil servants (corruption of the elite by colonialism) are worried by the administration's efforts to suppress some of their privileges.

- Even the delinquents produced by the system - are attacking the French. Here also, our watch word "white people out - (ZOREY DEOR), settlers out" - has had some success. Our watch word has been heard and implemented.

- At the cultural level, many youth associations have been created in the four corners of the island for the expansion of Reunion culture which is of African origin. The "superior" values of the colonisers are denounced in Creole songs (our national language which is gradually taking hold). The M.I.R. welcomes this ongoing cultural revolution. Since 1984, we have created a cultural association called "CEMENDEF" in memory of the leader of the resistance during the slave period. The aim of the association is to return to the African roots of the Reunion people in order to oppose the Africaneity of La Reunion to the French character of the colonial system.

In conclusion, the situation in the Reunion Island is very tense. Despite all the efforts of colonialism and its local puppets with their billions of French Francs and despite our limited resources, we continue to destabilise the system.

At this historical stage, we are committed, with the assistance of our anti-imperialist brothers in the world, to hasten this irreversible process.

Reunion Island, 15th October, 1990

On behalf of the Movement for the Independence of La Reunion,

Serge George Sinamale
THE SECRETARY GENERAL