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Stockholm, 30th June, 1990

URGENT: REQUEST IMMEDIATE ATTENTION

RECOMMENDATIONS AND REQUESTS TO ANC HEADQUARTERS ARISING FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 4TH MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ANC TO THE NORDIC REGION, STOCKHOLM, 30th JUNE-1st JULY 1990.

Cole
Abdullah
Minty

The chief representatives of the ANC missions to Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, as well as of the National Women's Executive Committee representative in the Nordic area, the ANC representative to the World Peace Council, and ~~the ANC Head of the World Campaign~~, met in Stockholm to discuss the situation of the struggle and the issues common to the ANC in the Nordic area.

After careful analysis, the participants at the meeting resolved jointly to present the following recommendations and requests to ANC Headquarters, for action ~~or~~ advice:

1. THE NEED OF AN OFFICIAL ANC DELEGATION TO MAKE A VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF DENMARK, FINLAND, NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND POSSIBLY ICELAND.

Noting that the Donors' Conference with the ANC will take place in October 1990;

noting that a number of issues discussed below are in urgent need of discussion with the governments of the five Nordic countries, many of which seriously affect the relations of the ANC with these countries;

noting that the prior discussion of these issues on an official basis with the respective governments could greatly contribute to creating a positive mood at the Donors' Conference:

strongly
the Representatives ~~warmly~~ recommend that an official ~~high-~~ *ANC Delegation* level ANC delegation be composed to visit the governments of the respective countries before the Donors' Conference, in order to discuss and resolve the issues in question;

should
and also recommend that this delegation ~~reserve~~ *should* time to speak ~~to~~ *and meet* the anti-apartheid movements and principal supporting NGO's in the respective countries.

2. THE "TRANSFORMATION" OF ANC FROM A LIBERATION MOVEMENT INTO A POLITICAL PARTY.

The Representatives noted that, in the Nordic context especially, ^{may not be} should the ANC be officially perceived as a SA political party, or should it itself lay claim to this status, this will alter official relations with the host countries and governments and seriously affect the status that ANC missions in these countries presently enjoy. As a liberation movement, the ANC is afforded support and funding, including the financing of the missions. As a political party, the ANC ~~will no longer be entitled to~~ any funding from the Nordic governments, affecting both ANC projects and ANC missions.

It was further noted that various of the governments of the Nordic countries were already taking up the issue of whether the ANC was not now a political party and thus disqualified from ^{some} governmental support and funding.

The Representatives requested information from ANC Headquarters as to whether any official position on this issue had been developed, that is, under what conditions the ANC would cease to be a liberation movement and become a political party.

The Representatives recommended that the ANC official delegation referred to in (1) above should take up this issue with the respective Nordic governments as soon as possible. These discussions would lay the ground for the Donor Conference.

*to the Nordic
to the ANC*
The Representatives also requested information from Headquarters on ANC policy regarding the future of the ANC missions to these countries in the event of government funding being discontinued. There was a need for discussions on the question which should include an analysis of what funds given to ANC could be used to finance the missions.

in this connection
The Representatives noted that the ANC would need soon to start mobilizing the supporting NGO's as regards the whole issue of the status of ANC as liberation movement or political party.

It was also suggested that the ANC discuss strategies on how to set up independent long-term projects which would both meet the needs of the liberation struggle and which would still be eligible for funding from the respective Nordic governments when ANC was pronounced to be a political party.

Should ANC be pronounced

3. THE STATUS OF ANC PROJECTS EXTERNAL TO SOUTH AFRICA.

The Representatives noted that government donor agencies had come to question the relevance of financing ANC projects outside of SA, such as SOMAFCO, etc. Substantial Danish funds voted to ANC external projects had not been disbursed as the government did not consider the situation of these projects to be clear enough. Donor interest had come to focus more on supporting internal projects, and even on maintaining direct contacts to these projects.

It was stated that it would be useful for the recommended official ANC delegation (1, above) to underline the continued need of financing such projects well into the future.

to finance external

4. REQUESTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO NORDIC DONORS FOR FUNDING.

The Representatives noted that various problems had arisen around requests for Nordic funding of activities in South Africa.

Some requests came from ANC structures inside SA without going through the external missions. The Representatives appealed in this case for Headquarters coordination of funding requests, and for such requests thereafter to be channeled through the appropriate external mission.

Some requests originate from various sectors of the Mass Democratic Movement, which use the name of the ANC to gain access to funds. Given previous agreements between MDM and ANC on this issue, the Representatives request HQ to take up the question with the MDM and ask them at least to take *contact* with the external missions before going to the donors. It is feared that in a few cases funds are even being stolen through the uncontrolled access of individuals to donor funds. *The situation could also lead to abuse*

It was recommended that this issue be taken up also at the Donors' Conference.

The Representatives decided that they would attempt by the end of July to get figures on their respective government's total funding of projects linked to SA and pass this on to HQ. This would give an idea of the scale of the problem as well as the size of the prospective "pot" reserved by the governments for SA-related projects, and could be useful in preparing the Donors' Conference.

5. ALTERATION BY NORDIC COUNTRIES OF REGULATIONS REGARDING VISITS TO AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

observed the
The Representatives had discovered that a recent meeting of the Nordic countries had decided to relax visa requirements for visitors from SA "aiming at promoting the process of dialogue". Further, increased numbers of representatives of Nordic organizations were visiting SA. This represents a de facto relaxation of sanctions by the Nordic countries.

ascertain
The missions would try to discover what exact criteria the respective governments were now applying to granting visas to visitors from SA.

The Representatives recommended that the proposed ANC official delegation also take up this question with the respective governments, in order to try to arrive at proper criteria for such a relaxation, if any.

Many visitors from Nordic countries are going to SA on the direct invitation of MDM's. The Representatives appealed for greater coordination of policy in this matter.

6. OFFICIAL VISIT BY COMRADE VICE-PRESIDENT TO NORWAY, FINLAND, DENMARK, AND POSSIBLY ICELAND.

In some cases no clear answer have been received
The Representatives noted with anxiety that the governments of Denmark, Finland, and Norway considered themselves to have been snubbed through Comrade Vice-President Mandela not having made any visit to them, especially as no clear answer had been received to invitations sent by the Heads of these governments.

The Representatives thus urged Headquarters to organize such a visit at the earliest opportunity, noting that the period before the Donors' Conference would be especially suitable.

They also requested HQ to enter into consultation with the ANC missions in the respective countries as to the timing and details of the itinerary of such a visit. *well in advance*

7. RELATIONS WITH THE LABOUR MOVEMENTS IN THE NORDIC AREA.

It was noted that in the present situation the phasing out of SACTU had created gaps in relations with the unions and labour movements in the Nordic countries. This could affect funding prospects in relation to COSATU.

The Representatives requested HQ to approach COSATU on the possibility of the missions in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Holland (the major sources of labour movement

cooperation and funding) holding a meeting with COSATU to decide how to deal properly with this issue.

In the interim, the Representatives requested guidance from HQ on how the missions should deal with trade union contacts.

8. OFFICIAL ANC POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS.

In connection with the forthcoming UN special session on apartheid, involving the participation of the UN member governments, the Representatives noted that problems had arisen in relation to the differences between the OAU (Harare) Declaration on Negotiations and the UN Declaration. A tendency had arisen of treating the two Declarations as containing only "minor differences". The Representatives urged HQ to issue a public statement clarifying the issue.

9. RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

The meeting expressed its grave concern on the development of relations between East European countries and the apartheid regime, manifested inter alia by increasing immigration to South Africa from such countries, and requested HQ and the MDM to make a public clear statement on the question. The Representatives noted that such a statement would enable representatives in all regions:

- to request the embassies of East European countries to take positive action on the question;
- to get Nordic churches and NGO's to use their influence with organizations in East Europe to oppose such relations and immigration.

10. THE ISSUE OF A SOUTHERN AFRICAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE.

The SA regime has agreed to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty on condition that the Front Line States also do so. ^{Some} The Front Line States have been refusing to do so as they regard the Treaty as permitting the major powers and South Africa to retain a nuclear monopoly. If they sign under present conditions, they will give SA the position of being brokers of peace and creators of a nuclear-free zone in Southern Africa. The Representatives believe that this ^{will be a step to reverse the} would create conditions for nuclear sanctions against SA to be reversed, notably as regards SA export of uranium. They have been informed that some Nordic countries are now pressuring the Front Line States to sign the Treaty. The

*Beside
between
the Frontline
States -*

Representatives thus wish to alert HQ as to this danger.

11. THE PROBLEM OF THE LACK OF UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION ON CURRENT ISSUES.

The meeting noted unanimously that the ANC missions are seriously under-informed on changes in the on-going situation and in ANC policy, strategy, and tactics in relation to the developments internally and abroad. It is damaging to the movement that the missions have to rely on international media for information, and receive no rapid supply of briefings and reports from the structures of the ANC. The Representatives strongly requested that information should be ^{is necessary} sent daily by fax to all external missions from Lusaka and Johannesburg, and that during official ANC visits abroad, an information officer should be attached to the delegations to carry out the same functions.

They noted there is a burning need for a lengthy meeting of all the external Representatives with ANC leaders to be thoroughly ^{informed} briefed on the current situation and on current ANC positions on important questions, and requested HQ to organize such a meeting as soon as possible.

^{Deputy} They recommended also that towards the end of official visits overseas of vital policy-making nature by Comrade Vice-President, he should hold a briefing session of external Representatives before returning to SA.

In particular, the Representatives noted the urgent need for rapid information and briefing on the ANC leadership's consideration of the Report shortly to be issued by the Working Group set up through the Groote Schuur talks.

12. PREPARATION FOR THE DECEMBER 1990 CONFERENCE OF ANC.

The Representatives requested Headquarters for immediate briefing and information on the plans for the December Conference of the ANC, in order properly to prepare for their regions' full participation in it.

13. THE SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN.

^{A variety} The meeting recorded considerable confusion in the world as to the issue of sanctions against apartheid. The argument that "only the blacks suffer" is gaining ground, and the formulation that sanctions should be lifted on evidence of "profound and irreversible changes" in SA was open to wide interpretation. Various forces were also pressing for "step-by-step" lifting of sanctions to encourage the regime to

continue making changes.

could be organized
The Representatives noted that the external ~~steam~~ ^{momentum} to apply sanctions ^{was} failing, and that only large and visible public demonstrations inside SA in favour of sanctions would result in keeping the sanctions in place. Discussions with a SAYCO representative during the meeting indicated that little work in this direction had been done, but that it was important for such a campaign to get moving.

prepare
The Representatives also requested HQ to issue a detailed public statement on sanctions, including a recommendation on which sanctions (if any) should or could be lifted under which objective conditions of change in SA.

14. THE NORDIC FACT-FINDING MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA.

This has caused concern among the ANC leadership with the fact that it would damage the visit which has been approved by the ANC.
The Nordic countries are putting together a fact-finding mission composed of high-level figures to visit SA and study the situation. They allege that the mission has been approved by the leadership of ANC. The Representatives noted that such a mission would go too late to influence the UN General Secretary's Report to the UN Special Session on Apartheid, and that, whatever its findings, it would by its nature necessarily elevate the relations between the Nordic countries and the regime.

The Representatives in this context requested guidance from HQ as to how to handle the issue from now on, as there has been no official indication of ANC attitudes to the mission.