AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

P O Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR, United Kingdom Telephone (071) 837-2012 Telex: 299555 Fax: (071) 278-2736

CIRCULAR TO ALL ANC CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES IN EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS

> 1992: January 2 Our Ref: MM/bb/006

Dear Comrades

RE: BRIEFING OF ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS AND SUPPORT GROUPS

You probably are aware that our Movement sent a delegation to Geneva, Switzerland where it briefed both the Anti-Apartheid Movements and Support Groups, including the Special Committee against Apartheid. The meeting was held from 3 to 5 November 1991. I trust that our Department has briefed you accordingly.

This communication is merely to bring you up on the activities undertaken by the Liaison Group of National Anti-Apartheid Movements in the Countries of the European Community since November 1991. Relevant copies of documents are attached hereto for your information, namely:

- a) Copy of letter addressed to me and dated 12 December 1991.
- b) Copy of Memorandum on the Case for an Interim Government of National Unity in South Africa, dated November 1991.
- c) Statement on South Africa signed by Members of the European Parliament. (Incidentallky, more signatures have since been obtained).

Please note that letters referred to in the Memorandum are being omitted from this package as they are by and large a restatement of what is contained in the said Memorandum.

Your comments, if any, will be appreciated.

Amandla - Matla!

MENDI MSIMANG -

Chief Representative

ANC MISSION: U.K. AND IRELAND

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Comite Contré Le Colonialisme et
L'Apartheid

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PORTUGAL

Movimento Contra o Apartheid

Mr Mendi Msimang, Chief Representative, African National Congress, 28 Penton Street, London Nl

12th December 1991

Dear Mendi,

I am writing on behalf of the Secretariat of the Liaison Group of EC AAMs to outline to you the activities undertaken by the Group since its meeting in Geneva on 4th November. As you will recall, it was agreed at that meeting that the Liaison Group should organise a co-ordinated campaign in all EC countries in order to try and secure the endorsement by the European Council meeting in Maastricht of the need for the establishment an Interim Government of National Unity in South Africa.

The Liaison Group therefore published a Memorandum setting out the case for an Interim Government which was addressed to the President and members of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. The Memorandum was sent to the Dutch President, Mr Van den Broek as well as to the President of the Commission, M. Jacques Delors and the President of the European Parliament, Sr Enrique Baron Crespo. The AAMs in the Liaison Group also addressed copies to their Minister of Foreign Affairs and widely circulated it within their respective countries.

In addition the Liaison Group prepared a short Statement on South Africa for endorsement by MEPs which supported the call by the European Parliament for an Interim Government. This Statement was circulated by each AAM to MEPs in their respective countries.

The Secretariat also sent a delegation to Brussels on 13-14th November which met with representatives of five of the Political Groups in the Parliament (Socialist, Vertes, GUE, ARC and Left Unity) and made contact with individuals from other Groups. Their attention was drawn to the resolutions adopted by the Parliament in February and May 1991, they were presented with copies of the Memorandum and the Statement and they were also briefed on the outcome of the Geneva meeting and the future prospects for the negotiating process.

Whilst in Brussels the Secretariat also met with representatives of the Commission and the Political Counsellor to the President of the Parliament. Meetings were also held with representatives of SANAM and the OAU mission in Brussels. We also made direct contact with the European TUC whose Executive Committee endorsed the call for an Interim Government at its meeting prior to the Maastricht summit.

In general there was a positive response to the Liaison Group's initiative and support was forthcoming for an Interim Government from all five political groups which we met.

In our meetings with the Commission however it emerged that there were again moves to relax the Community's sanctions against South Africa and that this might be on the agenda of Maastricht. This was confirmed in contact with a number of Foreign Ministries and the Commission over the next two weeks.

At the same time the preparatory meeting for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was held on 29/30th November and resolved to invite the EC to observe the opening of the Convention together with other international organisations. After consultations Archbishop Huddleston wrote on 2nd December to the President of the Parliament, on behalf of the Liaison Group, raising three matters, namely: the need for an Interim Government, the importance for the EC to be represented at the highest possible level, and our opposition to any moves to relax EC sanctions at this stage. The President responded positively to this approach and wrote to the President of the Council of Ministers who in turn replied to the President of the Parliament. (see correspondence). A copy of Archbishop Huddleston's letter was also sent to the leaders of the five political groups in the Parliament which had indicated their support for the Liaison Group's position.

In view of these developments, and in the light of the large number of endorsements of the Liaison Group Statement, it was agreed to deliver the Statement together with the list of MEPs signing the statement together with letters from Archbishop Huddleston to the Presidents of the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the Parliament. Meetings were therefore arranged for Friday 6th December - to coincide with the international day of action called for in Geneva - and the Statement with the attached list of signatures (165 MEPs which represents almost 1/3rd of the Parliament and included MEPs from nine out of the ten political groups in the Parliament) were presented.

The Secretariat met with Jonkherr Roell (Director for Africa and the Middle East) and Mr H. Horbach (Head of the Southern Africa Department) at the Dutch Foreign Ministry in the Hague. The attached letters from Archbishop Huddleston to the Dutch Prime Minister and Foreign Minister were delivered. In Brussels the same day a meeting was held with Mr Zepter (M. Delors advisor on international affairs) at which a letter from Archbishop Huddleston to Mr Delors was presented together with the statement and signatures. A further meeting was held with Mr Harris, the Political Counsellor to the President of the Parliament, at which a letter expressing the Liaison Group's appreciation for the

prompt action of the President was delivered together with the Statement and signatories. A press statement was also released.

At these meetings we were briefed as to developments within the EC. The UK with the support of other member states had been pressing very hard for the lifting of the 1986 sanctions measures (presently blocked by the Danish Parliament's veto) and for the 1985 measures on oil and nuclear sanctions. They were also arguing for the lifting of restrictions on co-operation with the police in such a way as to help in the re-training of the police as envisaged in the Peace Accord. Opposition, we understand privately, was largely from France, Ireland and Denmark. As a result it had been decided that there would be no discussion at Maastricht. The impression we had was that if it had been on the agenda then it was likely that some agreement would have been reached to relax sanctions. We were also advised that the former Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr van den Stoel would probably represent the Council of Ministers - this has still to be agreed finally and announced - and the Commission therefore will send a former Commissioner.

Whilst we failed in our efforts to get South Africa on the agenda of the Maastricht summit we believe the work has been important. We helped to ensure that there was no relaxation of sanctions and succeeded again in focussing the attention of the Parliament onto the South African question. We believe that it is important to take advantage of the EC's presence at CODESA to keep up the pressure in the following ways:

- i) to present the Statement and signature (now approaching 200) to the Conveners of the Convention (representatives of the AAB Netherlands are now in South Africa)
- ii) to prepare a short briefing for the EC observers and to send them this and other relevant material
- iii) to encourage the Parliament's Political Committee to appoint a Rapporteur who can monitor the negotiating process and ensure that the Parliament's attention is continually focussed on the work of CODESA and what flows from it.

I hope this report is useful and that you will be able to make it available to the NEC and the other ANC representatives in EC countries.

With best wishes,

MOTO

Mike Terry For the Secretariat of the Liaison Group of EC AAMs

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The Case for an

INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

IN SOUTH AFRICA

To the President and Council of Ministers of the European Community

November 1991

1.0 Introduction

The European Community has pursued, since 1985, a common policy approach towards South Africa based on a committment to seek the total abolition of apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial democracy. Pressures exerted by the Community and its member states during the second half of the last decade helped to convince Pretoria of the need to reach a political settlement with authentic leaders of the Black majority and to start removing the obstacles to negotiations such as the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations and the release of political leaders such as Nelson Mandela.

We very much welcome the considerable influence which the Community has brought to bear during 1991 with the aim of removing all obstacles to negotiations, in particular the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, as well as pressing for effective measures to halt the violence and ensure impartial policing.

Although there continue to be serious outstanding problems, not least the continuing high level of violence and the large number of political prisoners still in custody, including those in Bophuthatswana and especially those on death row, the prospect exists that an All-Party Congress or similar gathering will be convened in the near future which should open the way to negotiations on a new democratic and non-racial constitution for South Africa based on one-person one-vote.

We therefore believe that the European Community now needs to address how best it can assist the peace process forward and ensure that it leads to a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. This Memorandum examines the most pressing issue - the need to establish an Interim Government of National Unity to rule South Africa during the process of negotiations and transition.

2.0 The need for an Interim Government

It is important to recall that the existing constitutional order in South Africa has been declared "as null and void" by the United Nations Security Council when it adopted Resolution 554 on 17th August 1984. The Security Council in this resolution also rejected any "negotiated settlement based on bantustan structures or on the so-called new constitution."

It would therefore be unacceptable, both to the international community and to the legitimate representatives of the disenfranchised majority population in South Africa, if the government of South Africa would continue during a period of transition on the basis of a constitution which the UN Security Council has declared to be null and void. Indeed there already exists a consensus within the international community that

The compelling case for an Interim Government is that the National Party cannot be entrusted with the government of South Africa during the process of transition. This was stated most eloquently by the ANC Deputy President, Walter Sisulu, addressing the Patriotic Front Conference in Durban from 25-27 October 1991. He said:

"Given their track record, who can trust de Klerk to govern our country during the transition? We all know he wants to be referee, player, linesman and write the score."

It is worthwhile recording examples of the 'track record' that Mr Sisulu referred to which serve to underline the case for an Interim Government:

- the South African regime's history of covert funding. There has been a long history of covert funding and dirty tricks by the South African security forces. The Inkathagate and other subsequent exposures demonstrated that these operations are continuing. This covert funding was clearly aimed at undermining and weakening the ANC and other democratic groupings. The process of transition can neither be fair nor democratic if there is a ruling party in power which has a proven record of such activities.
- South Africa's funding of anti-SWAPO parties in Namibia. During the Inkathagate scandal it was disclosed, and the South African Foreign Minister subsequently admitted, that anti-SWAPO parties had been covertly funded during Namibia's pre-independence elections in November 1989. The total sum involved was over R100m, of which at least R65m was spent on the DTA equivalent to approximately R340 for each vote for the DTA cast in the election [R340 = 100 ECU]. If the National Party was willing to breach solemn agreements it had entered into in relation to its impartiality during the implementation of the UN Plan and abuse its powers of government by using state funds illegally to finance anti-SWAPO parties, then there is every reason to believe that, whatever undertakings it gives, it will repeat this practice in South Africa.
- South Africa's breach of agreements. The experience of the period since February 1990 and especially since the adoption of the Pretoria Minute of August 1990 demonstrates a unique capacity of the Pretoria regime to fail to honour agreements it has entered into through prevarication, delays and the unilateral rewriting of such agreements. Such practices could have disastrous consequences if they were to be repeated whilst negotiations were taking place.
- The National Party's moves to pre-empt the policies of a democratic government. A new democratic government will face immense challenges in seeking to address the legacies of decades of apartheid policies. There is growing concern, especially amongst the Black majority, that the National Party is now pursuing economic and social policies which will restrict the policy options of a future democratic government. These concerns focus in particular on privatisation and taxation policies. An Interim Government would ensure that policies during the period of transition would enjoy consensus support.

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Statement on South Africa.

- I, the undersigned Member of the European Parliament,
 - * reaffirm my support for a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa;
 - * recognise the need for rapid progress to be made towards the adoption of a new non-racial constitution in South Africa based on one-person one-vote;
 - * note that the constitutional proposals put forward by the National Party in September 1991 are inconsistent with such a constitutional order in that they seek to entrench white minority rule in a new form;

and therefore in particular

* endorse the call of the European Parliament of February 1991 for the establishment of an Interim Government for the period of transition.

Signed			
Name			
Constituency (i	fappropria	ate)	
Political Group			

Please return by fax to: The British Anti-Apartheid Movement - 071 388 0173

or

by post to: Liaison Group of European Community AAMs c/o P.O. Box 10500 1001 EM Amsterdam

or by fax to: (31) 20 623 7335 / (31) 20 627 0441

NAME	COUNTRY	GROUP	PARTY
Adam, Gordon	UK .	S	Labour
Ainardi, Sylviane	France.	ÇG	PCF
Alavanos, Alexandros	Hellas .	CG	SYN
Amendola, Gianfranco	Italia	V	Verdi .
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Andrews, Niall		V	Verts
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Aulas, Marie-Christine	France		Verts
Avgerinos, Paraskevas	Hellas	S	PASOK
Balfe, Richard	UK	S	Labour
Bandres Molet, Juan	Espana	V	IP
Banotti, Mary	Ireland	PPE	Fine Gael
Barrera i Costa, H.	Espana	ARC	ERC
Barros Moura, Jose	Portugal	CG	PCP
Barton, Roger	UK	S	Labour
Barzanti, Roberto	Italia	GUE	PDS
Belo, Maria	Portugal	S	PS
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Catasta, Anna	Italia	GUE	PDS
Ceci, Adriana	Italia	GUE	PDS
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Ford, Glyn	UK	S	Labour
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Glinne, Ernest	Belgique	S	PS
Goedmakers, Annemarie	Nederland	S	PvdA
Green, Pauline	UK	S	Labour
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Hermans, Anna	Belgique	CG	PCF
Herzog, Philippe	France		Labour
Hindley, Michael	UK	S	
Hoon, Geoffrey	UK	S	Labour
Hughes, Stephen	UK	S	Labour
Hume, John	UK	S	SDLP
Imbeni, Renzo	Italia	GUE	PDS
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Van Hemeldonck, Marijke	Belgique	S	SP
Van Outrive, Lode	Belgique	S	SP
Vecchi, Luciano	Italia	GUE	PDS
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West, Norman			
White, Ian	UK	S	Labour
Wilson, Anthony	UK	S	Labour
Woltjer, Eisso	Nederland	S	PvdA
Wurtz, Francis	France	CG	PCF

Romberg, Walter Germany (East) Observer

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Sr. Enrique Baron Crespo, President, The European Parliament, 97-113 rue Belliard, B-1047, Brussels, Belgium,

2nd December 1991

Dear Sr. Baron Crespo,

I am writing on behalf of the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements in the European Community concerning the Community's policy towards South Africa.

As you will be aware agreement has now been reached on the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which will hold its first meeting on 20th and 21st December 1991. The convening of this Convention marks a very important stage towards securing a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The European Community, and its institutions, have played an important role in encouraging the process of change which is now underway in South Africa. This is evident from the decision of the preparatory meeting held last weekend to extend an invitation to the Community to observe the meeting of the Convention.

We would like to place on record our appreciation of the contribution which the European Parliament has made and in particular the positions it has adopted since the release of Nelson Mandela. The invitation extended to Mr Mandela to address the Parliament and the resolutions adopted by the Parliament in June 1990 and February and May 1991 have been of great significance and have helped shape the Community's policy as a whole in a positive direction.

We would hope therefore, in the light of the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, that you would feel able to encourage the peace process by drawing to the attention of the European Council and the Council of Ministers the resolutions adopted by the Parliament this year and in particular the decision of the Parliament in February to support the establishment of an Interim Government to rule South Africa during the transition process (point 20 of the resolution on Southern Africa of 21st February 1991).

In our judgement the Community would make a further positive contribution to the process of change in South Africa if the European Council in Maastricht were to issue a Declaration welcoming the convening of the Convention for A Democratic South Africa.

Such a Declaration could also express the hope that the Convention would lead to rapid agreement on the matters under consideration including the principles for a new constitution, the mechanism to draw up a new constitution and transitional arrangements such as an Interim Government. You will know that the Liaison Group has drawn up a memorandum addressed to the President and Council of Ministers setting out the case for an Interim Government.

We would also hope that you would be willing to bring your influence to bear to ensure that the European Community is represented at the highest possible level when the Convention meets on 20-21st December. Such a presence would be an expression of the continued committment of the Community to the total abolition of apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Finally we wish to draw to your attention our grave concern over reports that some member states wish the Maastricht meeting of the European Council to agree to the relaxation of sanctions and other measures against South Africa. We believe that, at such a critical stage in the peace process, it would be a grave error of judgement for the Community to do anything which could prejudice the prospect of a successful outcome of the negotiations.

We are particularly concerned over proposals that the European Council should decide to overrule the Danish Parliament's veto on the lifting of the restrictive measures imposed by the Community in September 1986 and that the oil embargo and restrictions on nuclear relations imposed in September 1985 should be lifted.

You will recall that the European Parliament in the Resolution on South Africa adopted on 16th May 1991 appealed to the Council to consult fully with the Parliament in relation to the relaxation of sanctions. The same resolution specifically expressed its opposition to the lifting of the oil embargo and nuclear sanctions. We would hope therefore that you would be able to raise this as a mater of urgency with the Dutch Presidency to seek an assurance that there will be no action to relax sanctions without the fullest possible consultation with the Parliament.

Whilst I appreciate that many important issues face the Community at present, I do hope that you will be able to respond positively to our requests. A real prospect now exists for rapid progress towards a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and it would be tragic if this opportunity were lost due to any failure by the international community.

Yours sincerely,

+ Truskuedler CR

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR President, British Anti-Apartheid Movement on behalf of the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements The Tresidens' of the European Parliament

= 4 DEC. 1991

Archbishop Trevor HUDDLESTON, CR, President, British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements, 13 Mandela Street, LONDON NW1 ODW

Your Grace,

Thank you very much for your letter of 2nd December 1991 concerning recent developments in South Africa. For your information I enclose a copy of a letter which I have sent today to the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, Mr. VAN DEN BROEK.

Please accept, Your Grace, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Enrique BARON CRESPO

- 4 DEC. 1991

Mr. H. VAN DEN BROEK, President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, 170 rue de la Loi, 1048 BRUSSELS.

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the European Parliament I would like to welcome the convening of all-party talks with a view to the establishment of genuine democracy in South Africa.

As you will be aware, the European Parliament continues to follow developments in South Africa with great concern and I would remind you of the resolution adopted on 21st February 1991 in which the European Parliament called not only for the convening of such an all-party congress, but also for the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and provide for the formation of an interim government to rule South Africa during the transition process.

I would also ask for an assurance that there will be no action by the Community to relax sanctions without the fullest possible consultation of the European Parliament.

I would be grateful if you would draw the contents of this letter to the attention of your fellow Foreign Ministers in advance of the forthcoming meeting of the European Council in Maastricht.

Yours sincerely,

Enrique BARON CRESPO



Artesb. 19

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS .

The Hague, 6 December 1991

Referring to your letter of 4 December 1991 I have the honour to inform you that, following your request, the text of your letter has been transmitted to my fellow foreign Ministers and to the European Commission.

For the sake of good order I wish to assure you that South Africa is not among the subjects which have been proposed for discussion by the European Council in Maastricht on 9 and 10 December.

H. van den Broek
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Mr. Enrique Baron Crespo President of the European Parliament

CC: Gerando

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Movimiento Anti-Apartheid

PORTUGAL

Movimento Contra o Apartheid

Sr. Enrique Baron Crespo, President, The European Parliament, 97 - 113 rue Belliard, B-1047, Brussels, Belgium

6th December 1991

Dear Sr. Baron Crespo,

I am writing to thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of 2nd December with which you sent a copy of your letter to the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers. I could have asked no more from you and from the European Parliament. I am most grateful.

I have written today to Prime Minister Lubbers, to Mr Van den Broek, and to M. Delors, the President of the Commission, and I have pleasure in enclosing copies of this correspondence.

May I take this opportunity to present to you copies of the Statement on South Africa which was draw up by the Liaison Group and has been endorsed by over 150 Members of the European Parliament. As you will see from the signatures it enjoys widespread support within the Parliament.

With many thanks,

Your swicerely + Trevalluation Ch

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR
President,
the British Anti-Apartheid Movement,
on behalf of the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid
Movements

BELGIUM.

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Movimiento Anti-Apartheid

PORTUGAL

Movimento Contra o Apartheid

Mr R. Lubbers,
President-in-Office of the European Council, Postbox 2001 Binnenhof 20 2500 EA Den Haag Netherlands

6th December 1991

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing on behalf of the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements of the European Community on the eve of the Maastricht meeting of the European Council concerning the Community's policy towards South Africa.

The Maastricht meeting will be taking place a few days before the opening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on 20/21 December 1991. This Convention could prove to be an event of historic importance if it opens the way to a process of negotiations which leads to the total abolition of apartheid and the creation of a . united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

I would like to take this opportunity of placing on record my appreciation and that of the Liaison Group of the contribution which the European Community has made towards creating the conditions in which this Convention could be convened.

I am sure that the Community recognises the potential significance of this Convention. Indeed I was encouraged by the statement which was issued in the name of the European Community and its member states on 29th November welcoming this development.

However I believe it to be of the utmost importance for the European Council to welcome the convening of the Convention and to express the hope that it will lead to rapid agreement on the key issues on its agenda including the re-incorporation of the bantustans, principles for a new constitution, the mechanism for drawing up the constitution and transitional arrangements. In particular, for the reasons set out in the Memorandum prepared by the Liaison Group, we would urge the Council to declare its support for the rapid establishment of an Interim Government to rule South Africa during the process of transition. I have been greatly encouraged by the signs that agreement could be reached soon on this proposal.

The importance which is attached to the role of the international community in encouraging the democratic transformation of South Africa is underlined by the decision to invite a number of intergovernmental organisations to be present to observe the Convention, including the European Community. We believe that the Community should be represented at the highest possible level as a signal of its continuing committment to securing a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. I trust that agreement can be reached at Maastricht on this question.

My final point concerns reports that some member states wish to secure agreement in Maastricht on the further relaxation of the Community's restrictive measures. Can I plead for caution in this regard? We are now at a most delicate stage in the entire process and it would be tragic if the Community were to take action which could put the negotiations at risk. The ANC has already signalled that it would look to the relaxation of economic and financial sanctions when an Interim Government is in place. The possibility therefore exists, in the near future, for the Community to be able to pursue a policy which has the support of all the major parties in South Africa. I would urge you to use your influence to prevent any premature action being taken at Maastricht.

I wish you well in the onerous task ahead of you in presiding over the Maastricht meeting of the European Council and hope that its deliberations will advance the cause of democracy and social justice both in Europe and Southern Africa.

Yours sincerely,

+ Trustandeum CR

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR President, British Anti-Apartheid Movement, on behalf of the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements

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Movimento Contra o Apartheid

Mr. H. Van Den Broek,
President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, 170, rue de la Loi, 1048, Brussels, Belgium

6th December 1991

Dear Mr President,

I am writing concerning the Community's policy towards South Africa. As you may be aware I had the opportunity to meet with your predecessor, M. Jacques Poos, a few days before the Luxembourg meeting of the European Council. I found that meeting to be most encouraging as I did the Declaration on South Africa adopted at the Summit.

Since then I have had the opportunity to return to South Africa for the first time in 35 years when I was invited to open the National Conference of the African National Congress. This visit confirmed in me my conviction of the importance of the international community's role during the process of transition in South Africa.

I had hoped to have been able to meet you in person so that I could share with you my insights into the process now underway in South Africa. However I understand fully the many other responsibilities which you have in preparing for the Maastricht meeting of the European Council which have made such a meeting impossible.

My purpose in writing on behalf of the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements of the European Community is three-fold.

Firstly I believe it to be of the utmost importance for the European Council to welcome the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which will open on 20/21 December 1991. I would be greatly encouraged if the meeting in Maastricht could agree on a Declaration which expressed the hope that the Convention would lead to rapid agreement on the key issues on its agenda including the re-incorporation of the bantustans, principles for a new constitution, the mechanism for drawing up the constitution and transitional arrangements. In particular, for the reasons set out in the Memorandum prepared by the Liaison Group, we would urge the Council to declare its support for the rapid establishment of an Interim Government to rule South Africa during the process of transition.

The extent of support within the Community for an Interim Government is demonstrated by the Statement on South Africa which we have pleasure in presenting to you. It has been endorsed personally by over 150 Members of the European Parliament.

My second point concerns the invitation which has been extended to the European Community to observe the opening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. This invitation underlines the importance which is attached to the role of the international community in encouraging the democratic transformation of South Africa. I believe that the Community should be represented at the highest possible level as a signal of its continuing committment to securing a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. This would be symbolised above all by your presence at the opening of the Convention in your capacity as President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers.

My third point concerns the question of sanctions. I understand that once more there are moves by some member states to secure the lifting of the 1986 sanctions package and even some of the key measures imposed in 1985 in particular the nuclear sanctions and the oil embargo. I would urge you to respect the position of the African National Congress on this matter. I know that they gave it the most careful consideration at their National Conference in July. They have already signalled that they would look to the relaxation of economic and financial sanctions when an Interim Government is in place. I do hope that you will be able to ensure that no decisions are taken which could prejudice the negotiating process which is now reached such a critical stage.

Finally could I express my personal thanks to you and your colleagues in the Foreign Ministry and in your Embassy in South Africa for all the efforts which have been made on behalf of the Community to secure the release of the political prisoners in Bophuthatswana. I, together with Nelson Mandela, had been invited by those who were then on hunger strike to visit them on the day before my departure from South Africa in July. Despite waiting several hours I was unable to meet them and since that day I have been greatly troubled by their plight. I am sure that your efforts helped to secure the recent releases. I do hope that you will continue to insist on the release of all political prisoners.

I do hope that the Maastricht meeting will send a clear message to South Africa on the basis of the positions outlined in this letter and the Liaison Group's memorandum setting out the case for an Interim Government. I wish you a successful meeting.

Yours sincerely,

+ Tunabuable ou CE

+ Trevor Huddleston CR President, British Anti-Apartheid Movement on behalf of the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements

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PORTUGAL

Movimento Contra o Apartheid

M. Jacques Delors
President
Commission of the European Communities
Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Brussels
Belgium 6th I

6th December 1991

Dear M. Delors,

I am writing concerning the Community's policy towards South Africa and, in particular, to draw your attention to correspondence which I have addressed today to the President of the European Council, Mr Lubbers, and the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, Mr Van den Broek.

I would like to also take this opportunity to present you with the enclosed Statement on South Africa which has been drawn up by the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements of the European Community. As you will see from the attached list this Statement has been endorsed personally by over 150 Members of the European Parliament which I believe reflects the extent of support within the Community for the establishment of an Interim Government to rule South Africa during the process of transition.

Finally I would wish to draw your attention in particular to the request I have made in my correspondence with Mr Lubbers and Mr Van den Broek concerning the Community's presence at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa when it opens on 20/21 December 1991. I would hope very much that the Commission would be represented at the highest possible level - either by yourself or one of the Vice-Presidents.

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa marks a very important stage in the process of transforming South Africa from an apartheid state to a democratic and non-racial society. I am convinced that the highest possible international representation at the opening of the Convention will be an important factor in ensuring a successful outcome.

Yours sincerely,

+ Tunalluallum Cp

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR
President, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement
on behalf of the Liaison Group of EC Anti-Apartheid
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Amsterdam, 6 December 1991

PRESS-release 165 Members of the European Parliament back call for an Interim Government in South Africa on eve of Maastricht summit - European Anti-Apartheid Movements deliver appeal to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

Members of nine out of the ten political groups in the European Parliament, including the leaders of four of the Groups, have endorsed a Statement initiatiated by the Liaison Group which calls for "the establishment of an Interim Government for the period of transition" in South Africa. The 165-plus signatories represent almost one third of the members of the European Parliament.

The MEPs are also backing the adoption of a new non-racial constitution and recognise that the ruling National Party's constitutional proposals - published in September - seek to entrench white minority rule in a new form. The Statement is part of a co-ordinated EC-wide campaign during the run-up to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which opens on 20/21 December. The campaign, with its focus on the Maastricht summit, is aimed at securing the European Community's support for the peace process and in particular the establishment of an Interim Government.

A delegation of the Liaison Group will present today (Friday) the signatures to Senior Officials of the Dutch Foreign Ministry. The AAMs will also deliver a letter addressed to Minister van den Broek urging the Maastricht Summit to support the rapid replacement of the De Klerk regime with an Interim Government. The letter also requests the Community. to respond to the invitation to observe the opening of the Convention by being represented at the highest possible level.

The Liaison Group is totally opposed to moves by some EC member states, notably the United Kingdom, to try and get the remaining EC sanctions lifted at Maastricht - although such moves have recently agained been blocked reportedly by France, Ireland and Denmark. During a debate in the Dutch parliament on the 4th of December the Minister of Foreign Affairs showed, after being questioned, no inclination to support the British position. The European Parliament has also intervened. Its President, Enrique Baron Crespo, wrote on 4th December to Minister van den Broek asking for "an assurance that there will be no action by the Community to relax sanctions without the fullest possible consultation of the European Parliament." He also reminded the Minister of the resolution adopted by the Parliament in February 1991 which called for "the formation of an Interim Government to rule South Africa during the transition process."

The delegation will be led by the Executive Secretary of the British AAM Mike Terry and leaders of the Dutch and Belgium Anti-Apartheid Movements. Similar representations will also be made on 6th December to the Presidents of the Commission and Parliament in Brussels.

For more information contact AABN tel 31 - 20 - 6267525 KZA tel 31 - 20 - 6270801

Thursday, 21 February 1991

7. Political situation in Southern Africa

- A3-0369/90

RESOLUTION

on the political situation in Southern Africa

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previously adopted resolutions on Southern Africa of 15 February 1990 (1) and of 14 June 1990 (2),
- having regard to the statements made by European Political Cooperation on 12 February 1990, 20 February 1990, 6 April 1990 and 14 September 1990,
- having regard to the statements made by the European Council in December 1989 and June 1990.
- having regard to Rule 121 of the Rules of Procedure,
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (A3-0369/90),
- A. whereas development and lasting peace in Southern Africa are inseparable from the political processes in progress in each of the States in the region, namely the consolidation of independence in Namibia, the ending of armed conflict in Angola and Mozambique and the dismantling of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa,
- B. whereas the international community comprising the UN, the front line states, the EEC and its Member States, the USA and the USSR may without interference play an increasingly important part in encouraging and supporting the peace and democratization processes in progress in Southern Africa,

regarding Namibia:

- C. whereas the New York agreements of December 1988 were decisive in creating a new political dynamism with concrete results throughout Southern Africa, since they not only guided Namibia's independence process, but also solved such problems as the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops and dismantling of SWAPO bases in Angola and the military withdrawal of South Africa, back to their own countries,
- D. whereas the elections in Namibia for a constituent assembly were 'fair and free', an opinion confirmed by the European Parliament special delegation which visited the area for this purpose,
- E. whereas this demonstrates once more that it is a mistake and offensive to maintain that universal suffrage and a multi-party system are unsuitable for certain African cultures,
- F. whereas it also proves that resolving conflicts by negotiation is the only solution compatible with the best interests of the populations involved,
- G. mindful of the positive way in which the Namibian Constituent Assembly fulfilled its role in a spirit of reconciliation, decisively aided by the spirit of cooperation shown by the parties involved and in particular by the constructive attitude displayed by SWAPO,

¹⁾ OJ No C 68, 19.3.90, p. 135.

⁽²⁾ OJ No C 175, 16.7.90, p. 161.

Thursday, 21 February 1991

- U. whereas the People's Assembly (i.e. the Angolan Parliament) has embarked on a constitutional reform with a view to implementing a multi-party political system from March 1991, thus ensuring the participation of all the political parties,
- V. whereas the ceasefire in Angola is a prerequisite for the normalization of social, economic and political life in the country, to be achieved in particular through the holding of free elections and the creation of a unified army,

regarding Mozambique:

- W. whereas, soon after achieving independence in 1975, Mozambique too was affected by armed conflict, with the emergence in 1977 of RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance) a movement backed initially by Rhodesia, subsequently by the South African regime and finally by extremist forces in South Africa which waged a campaign of guerrilla attacks on military, economic and civilian targets,
- X. whereas Mozambique is now in a very serious situation with widespread famine which is producing the highest level of general malnutrition in the world today and an estimated total of more than 3 million refugees from the conflict, about 1,2 million of whom have fled to Malawi, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa,
- Y. drawing attention to the attempted mediation by African Heads of State during the first series of talks between the parties in dispute, which was unfortunately unsuccessful,
- Z. having regard to the new constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, in force since 30 November 1990 and adopted by its Parliament, which heralded fundamental reforms such as the adoption of a multi-party system, abolition of the leading role of the Party and guaranteeing freedom of expression and of the press, justice and progress,
- Za. whereas direct negotiations between the disputing parties were finally initiated in Rome in June this year under the auspices of the Catholic Church (Community of Saint Giles),
- Zb. whereas, although the results of the first meeting were unspectacular, the parties involved expressed their commitment to establishing a common working platform to put an end to the conflict and bring about the appropriate political, economic and social conditions for achieving peace and normalizing the life of all Mozambicans,
- Zc. welcoming the reopening of direct negotiations between the disputing parties under the auspices of the Catholic Church and the Italian Government and noting the preliminary agreement concluded on 1 December 1990 concerning the presence and role of the Zimbabwean army during the period leading up to the ceasefire,

regarding the Republic of South Africa:

- Zd. whereas the UN Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989 at the 16th Special Session of the UN General Assembly represents the internationally agreed basis for a political settlement in South Africa,
- Ze. whereas, since the election of President De Klerk on 14 September 1989, the South African Government has displayed considerable courage and clear willingness to undertake political reforms and take steps towards the dismantling of apartheid,
- Zf. whereas these measures make an invaluable contribution to bringing about the conditions necessary for a broad national dialogue aimed at establishing a new constitutional order,
- Zg. whereas the substance of any political change in South Africa is now dependent on negotiations between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and organizations representing the population, such as the ANC,
- Zh. whereas, by way of preconditions for starting in-depth negotiations following the recent lifting of the state of emergency, the ANC called for the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of the army from the townships and, subject to these conditions, renounced its armed struggle,

Thursday, 21 February 1991

regarding Mozambique:

- 10. Congratulates the Mozambican Government and RENAMO on the successful conclusion of the preliminary agreement whereby the Zimbabwean army will be concentrated in the Beira and Limpopo corridors and RENAMO has undertaken to cease all offensive military action in these areas;
- 11. Condemns the campaign of terror which RENAMO is continuing to wage against defenceless civilian communities, leading to suffering and to the destruction of economic and social infrastructures;
- 12. Encourages the parties to continue the negotiations in the same spirit of dialogue, with the aim of achieving a complete ceasefire and peace in Mozambique;
- 13. Welcomes the adoption by the Mozambican Parliament on 2 November 1990 of the constitution, in force since 30 November, which makes provision for elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot, the creation of a multi-party system, equal rights for all religious faiths and the legitimization of private property alongside state property;
- 14. Calls on the Council, the Commission and the Member States immediately to increase urgent humanitarian aid to the thousands of refugees dispersed in the neighbouring countries and the victims of famine in Mozambique, in addition to the vital and substantial aid for the reconstruction and economic and social development of this country;
- 15. Calls on the Governments of the Member States of the Community to play an active role in aid to Mozambique and the reconstruction of the country which has been severely hit by continued RENAMO attacks and the policy of destabilization pursued by South Africa;

regarding the Republic of South Africa:

- 16. Reaffirms its total opposition to apartheid in all its forms and its support for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, based on the fundamental principles set out in the UN Declaration on South Africa, which provides for electoral lists on non-racial lines, and therefore welcomes the Pretoria agreements of 7 August 1990 which open the way for negotiations on a new constitutional order;
- 17. Expresses its concern at the delays in implementing the steps agreed in the Pretoria Minute, especially over the release of political prisoners, granting immunity for political exiles and the repeal of repressive legislation, and calls for immediate action to speed up the process to ensure implementation by the 30 April deadline set out in the agreement;
- 18. Urges the South African Government to cooperate fully with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in order to facilitate the return of all refugees and political exiles to South Africa;
- 19. Reaffirms its support for the willingness to negotiate expressed in the Pretoria agreement and calls for all democratic political forces representing the people of South Africa to be involved in such negotiations;
- 20. Supports in this connection the proposals made by the ANC on 8 January 1991, including an all-party congress, an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and an interim government to rule South Africa during the transition process;
- 21. Reaffirms its solidarity with the people of South Africa and supports the position they have adopted through their organizations and leaders, whereby the aim of negotiations should not be the reform of apartheid but its abolition, as called for in the UN General Assembly resolution of 17 December 1990;

16 May 1991

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RESOLUTION

on South Africa

The European Parliament.

- having regard to its previously adopted resolutions on Southern Africa of 15 February 1990 (1), 14 June 1990 (2) and 21 February 1991 (3).
- having regard to the Pretoria Minute of 6 August 1990 and the agreements reached between the South African Government and the ANC on 12 February 1991,

- A. aware that positive steps have been taken towards a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa,
- B. noting that the South African Government has failed to implement fully the agreements reached with the ANC on the removal of obstacles to negotiations by the agreed deadline of 30 April 1991,
- C. mindful of the decision of over one hundred political prisoners to participate in a hunger strike in order to secure release,
- D. concerned that violence has escalated to such a level that it may be impossible to create a climate conducive to negotiations and recognizing that the South African Government has the primary responsibility for ending the violence, killings and murders,
- E. welcoming the fact that the South African Government has tabled legislation to repeal the Land and Group Areas Acts, but regretting that these Acts have not yet been repealed,
- F. having regard to the decision of the Foreign Ministers of 15 April 1991 in Luxembourg partially to lift sanctions against South Africa without prior consultation of the European Parliament,
- G. having regard to the new legal situation arising from the refusal of the Danish Parliament to agree to the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.
- H. whereas the Presidents of the neighbouring countries of South Africa ('Front line states') meeting in Lusaka called for the maintaining of EC sanctions against South Africa,'
- 1. Reaffirms its full support for a negotiated political settlement in South Africa on the basis of the UN Declaration on South Africa and calls once again on all parties involved in South Africa to achieve by peaceful means a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa;
- 2. Recognizes that the prospect of a political settlement is now seriously threatened;
- 3. Calls upon the South African Government to take all necessary and appropriate action to curb the violence and in particular to take immediate action to create the conditions conducive to negotiations as set out in the UN Declaration on South Africa;
- 4. Expresses its support for the political prisoners who are on hunger strike and calls for their immediate release;
- 5. Urges the Council to maintain all the existing pressure until the South African Government has removed all obstacles to negotiations;
- 6. Expresses its opposition to any moves to relax the oil embargo and the arms, military and nuclear sanctions, measures which were adopted in September 1985;
- 7. Reiterates its appeal to the Council to consult fully with Parliament and to take into account, in its policy towards South Africa, the position of the ANC and other democratic movements in South Africa, especially in relation to the relaxation of sanctions;
- 8. Regrets the Commission's failure to inform Parliament that it had made legislative proposals to lift certain sanctions and its failure to propose consultation of Parliament in its texts: calls for closer cooperation between the Commission and Parliament in any future initiatives relating to South Africa;
- 9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Government of South Africa, the UN Secretary-General and the African National Congress.

^{(&#}x27;) OJ No C 68, 19.3.1990, p. 135.

⁽i) OJ No C 175, 16.7,1990, p. 161.

^{(&#}x27;) Part II. Item 7 of that day's minutes.